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"Sowninge in moral vertu
was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne
and gladly teche."

THE

WORKS

OF

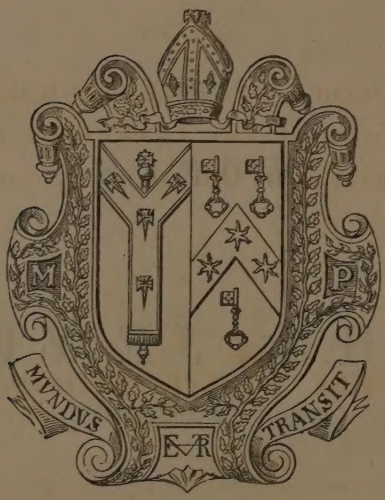
JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Parker society, London

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

Jewel, John, Bp. of Salisbury

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THE THIRD PORTION,

CONTAINING,

APOLOGIA ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ.
AN APOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
THE DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGY, PARTS I—III.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A.,
OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MINISTER OF ST JOHN'S CHAPEL, HAMPSTEAD.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS volume comprises bishop Jewel's Apology, in the original Latin, and lady Bacon's English translation, together with a portion of the bishop's Defence of his Apology against Dr Harding.

The Apology in a separate form is not printed in the folios of 1609, and 1611. The text here given is that of the original Latin edition of 1562, with which the editions of 1581, 1584, 1591, 1599, in the editor's possession, have been collated. The text of the English translation is the original of 1564; to which the principal variations in Harding's "Confutation" and in the first edition of the Defence of the Apology have been subjoined. The text of the Defence is that of 1611; with which the "Confutation," Antwerpe, 1565, and the Defence of the Apology, 1567, 1570 have been collated. The folio of 1609 has also been consulted.

Considerable pains have been taken in the verification of the references; and the editor trusts that he has fallen into no serious error.

It is expected that another volume will comprise the remaining works of bishop Jewel, to which a memoir and index will be appended. The Parker Society will then have presented to the public a more complete edition of the writings of this celebrated divine than has ever yet appeared.

The editor has again to acknowledge the kind assistance of those friends to whom he expressed his obligations on the publication of the first volume.

He may add that, having now access to the original edition of the "Seven godly and learned Sermons," he will be able to note in a future volume the variations which may exist between its text and that of the folios. See Advertisement to Vol. II.

APRIL, 1849.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. II. p. 900, note 4. The Mariale of Bernardinus de Busti should have been cited. See Bernard. de Bust. Marial. Hagen. 1513. Pars III. Serm. iii. fol. l. 5.

p. 920, note 1. A different work of Joannes Major should have been referred to. The passage intended is the following: Illud enim Matthei xvi. Petro dictum. Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum &c. certum est quod oportet intelligere illam auctoritatem cum sale, clave scilicet non errante.....Propterea fatuæ et superstitiosæ sunt quædam inscriptiones viginti millium annorum.—J. Major in Quart. Sentent. Quæst. Par. 1516. Dist. xx. Quæst. Secund. fol. 145, 6.

p. 1083, note 5, *for* 889 *read* 899.

Vol. III. p. 56, l. 17, *for* means *read* mean.

p. 65, l. 16, *for* Jesus *read* Jesu.

p. 67, l. 28 from bottom, *for* to be called *read* be called.

p. 72, l. 13 ————, *for* this *read* thus.

p. 73, l. 8 ————, *for* were *read* be. In the last two cases the reading of the text was followed, the corrections at the end of the book having been overlooked.

p. 75, marg. *for* Angust. *read* August.

p. 145, note 9. The reference should be: Panorm. sup. Quart. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. xiv. cap. 8. fol. 33.

p. 208. The statement about the bishop of Vegla and the exclusion of the protestant divines from the Council of Trent may be found M. Flac. De Sect. Diss. &c. Basil. 1565. p. 89.

APOLOGIA

ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ.

Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

ROMA. I.

Non enim me pudet Euangelii CHRISTI. Potentia siquidem est Dei, ad salutem omni credenti.

LONDINI

Anno Domini

M.D.LXII.

D. JOANNI JUELLO,

EPISCOPO SARISBURIENSI,

P. MARTYR, S.D.

Opera episcopi Londinensis, amplissime præsul et Domine quotidie mihi etiam atque etiam observande, allatum est exemplum tuæ Apologiæ pro Anglicana Ecclesia, quæ neque a me neque a nostris antea fuerat visa. In tuis quidem postremis illam proditurum potius innuisti quam significaveris: sed tantum itineris hactenus conficere non potuit, ut prius ad nos quam circiter Cal. Sextiles pervenerit. Hinc tu animo tuo metiaris, quantum damnum ob locorum distantiam subinde faciamus. Ea vero non tantum mihi, cui omnia tua probantur et mirifice placent, omnibus modis et numeris satisfecit; verum etiam Bullingero, ejusque filiis et generis, necnon Gualthero et Wolphio, tam sapiens, mirabilis, et eloquens visa est, ut ejus laudandæ nullum modum faciant, nec arbitrantur hoc tempore quicquam perfectius editum fuisse. Hanc ingenio tuo felicitatem, hanc ædificationem ecclesiæ, hoc Angliæ decus vehementer gratulor, teque obtestor, ut quam ingressus es viam pergas tuis vestigiis premere. Etenim bonam licet habeamus causam, tamen præ hostium numero pauci sunt qui eam tueantur: et illi jam ita videntur experrecti, ut bonitate styli et argutis sophismatis multum se probent imperitæ multitudini. Loquor autem de Staphylis, Hosiis, et plerisque aliis hujus farinæ scriptoribus, qui hoc tempore mendaciorum papæ strenuos patronos agunt. Quare cum in Apologia tua illa doctissima et elegantissima tantum spei de te concitaveris, certo scias, omnes bonos et doctos jam sibi polliceri, veritatem evangelicam te vivo non esse ab hostibus impune lacessendam. Ego vero plurimum lætor, quod illum diem viderim, quo factus sis parens tam illustris et elegantis filii. Largiatur Deus cœlestis Pater, pro sua bonitate, ut sobole non absimili frequenter augearis[1].

Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

[[1] This letter has been frequently printed. See Epist. Theol. ad calc. P. Mart. Loc. Com. Heid. 1613, p. 1147. It is prefixed to the edition of the Apology of 1581, but not to that of 1584. In subsequent editions it is generally found. It was dated August 24, 1562.]

Apologia [Juelli]...*sic confecta est, ut prima pars sit veræ doctrinæ illustratio, et paraphrastica quædam duodecim fidei christianæ articulorum expositio: secunda, succincta et solida objectionum reprehensio. Si spectetur ordo, nihil distributius: si perspicuitas, nihil lucidius: si stylus, nihil tersius: si verba, nihil splendidius: si res, nihil nervosius: quam ego...optarem...in OMNIBUS SCHOLIS CHRISTIANÆ JUVENTUTI AD EDISCENDUM PROPONI: ex qua et eloquentiæ præceptiones et pietatis initia tuto et plene hauriantur.*—Laurent. Humfred. Joan. Juell. Vit. et Mors, Lond. 1573. p. 187.

APOLOGIA

ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ.

[Pars I.]

VETUS illa est querela a primis usque patriarcharum et prophetarum ducta temporibus, et omnis memoriæ literis et testimoniis confirmata, veritatem in terris peregrinam agere, et inter ignotos facile inimicos et calumniatores invenire. Id etsi aliis incredibile fortasse videri possit, si qui sunt qui ista minus attente observaverint, præsertim cum hominum universum genus ipso naturæ ductu, sine magistro, sua sponte, sit appetens veritatis, et Christus ipse Servator noster, cum inter homines versaretur, quasi nomine ad exprimendam omnem vim divinam, aptissime voluerit appellari Veritas; nos tamen, qui in sacris scripturis versati sumus, quique legimus et vidimus quid omnibus piis omnium fere temporum, quid prophetis, quid apostolis, quid sanctis martyribus, quid Christo ipsi acciderit, quibus illi probris, maledictis, contumeliis, cum viverent, veritatis unius causa vexati fuerint, videmus, id non tantum non esse novum aut incredibile, sed etiam receptum jam et omnibus temporibus usitatum. Imo illud multo potius mirum atque incredibile videri posset, si pater mendaciorum et hostis omnis veritatis, diabolus, nunc tandem repente mutaret ingenium, et speraret veritatem aliter quam mentiendo posse opprimi, aut aliis nunc artibus, quam quibus ab initio semper usus est, inciperet regnum suum stabilire. Ex omni enim memoria vix ullum tempus invenire possumus, vel crescentis[1], vel constitutæ, vel renascentis religionis, quo non veritas atque innocentia indignis modis ab hominibus et contumeliosissime acciperetur. Videt scilicet diabolus, veritate incolumi, se incolumem esse et sua tueri non posse.

[Cap. i. Div. I.]
Tertul. in Apolog.
Joh. viii.

Nam, ut ne quid de veteribus patriarchis et prophetis commemoremus, quorum, uti diximus, nulla pars ætatis fuit a contumeliis et probris libera; scimus fuisse olim quosdam, qui dicerent, et publice prædicarent, veteres Judæos, quos non dubitamus fuisse cultores unius et veri Dei, numinis loco aut suem aut asinum coluisse, et omnem illam religionem nihil aliud fuisse, quam sacrilegium, et contemptum omnium numinum. Scimus Filium Dei et Servatorem nostrum Jesum Christum, cum doceret veritatem, habitum fuisse pro præstigiatore, pro malefico, pro Samaritano, pro Beelzebub, pro seductore populi, pro homine bibulo et vorace. Et quis nescit quæ dicta olim fuerint in acerrimum præconem atque assertorem veritatis, divum Paulum; illum modo hominem seditiosum esse, militem conscribere, secessionem facere, modo esse hæreticum, modo insanire, modo contentionis atque animi causa in legem Dei blasphemum esse, et patrum instituta contemnere? Quis nescit divum Stephanum statim, cum penitus intimis animi sensibus veritatem accepisset, et eam cœpisset libere, sicut debuit, et fortiter prædicare et præ se ferre, statim vocatum esse in judicium capitis, quasi qui contumelias nefarie dixisset in legem, in Mosen, in templum, in Deum? Aut quis nescit fuisse olim, qui sacras scripturas arguerent vanitatis, quod in illis dicerent contraria et plane pugnantia contineri; et apostolos Christi singulos inter se, Paulum vero ab omnibus dissensisse? Et ne longum sit omnia colligere (id enim esset infinitum), quis nescit quæ olim convicia jacta fuerint in patres nostros, qui primi cœperunt agnoscere et profiteri nomen Christi; illos inter se conspirare, et occulta consilia inire[3] contra rempublicam, et ea causa antelucanis horis inter se in tenebris convenire, occidere pueros in-

Corn. Tacit.
Tertul. in Apolog. cap. xvi.
C. Plinius.
Joh. vii. ix. x.
Matt. xi.
Act. xxvi.
Epiph.
Marcion. ex Tertul.
Ælius e[2]
Lactant.
Euseb. Lib. v. cap. i.
Tertul. Apolog. cap. i. ii. iii. et vii. viii. ix.

[1 Constante, 1584.]
[2 A, 1584.]
[3 Mire, 1562. It may be proper to say that two copies, one in the university library, Cambridge, the other in the British Museum, of the edition of 1562, have been consulted; but as *both* of these have been altered with a pen, it is not always easy to detect the real reading.]

[Pars I.] fantes, explere se humanis carnibus, et ferali ritu bibere humanum sanguinem; postremo, extinctis luminibus, adulterium inter se, et incestum promiscue perpetrare, et fratres cum sororibus, filios cum matribus, sine reverentia sanguinis, sine pudore, sine discrimine concumbere, homines impios, sine religione ulla, sine Deo, hostes humani generis, indignos luce, indignos vita?

Ista tum omnia dicebantur in populum Dei, in Christum Jesum, in Paulum, in Stephanum, in eos omnes, quicunque primis temporibus amplexi sunt veritatem evangelii, et se passi sunt, odioso tum in vulgos nomine, appellari Christianos. Et quamvis ea non essent vera, id tamen diabolus satis putabat sibi fore, si effecisset saltem ut crederentur esse vera, utque Christiani publico omnium odio laborarent, et ab omnibus ad exitium quærerentur. Itaque reges et principes, hujusmodi tum persuasionibus inducti, occidere prophetas Dei ad unum omnes; Esaiam ad serram, Hieremiam ad lapides, Danielem ad leones, Amos ad vectem, Paulum ad gladium, Christum ad crucem, Christianos omnes ad carceres, ad equuleos, ad furcas, ad rupes, ad præcipitia, ad bestias, ad ignes condemnare[1]; et rogos ingentes ex illorum vivis corporibus, tantum ad usum nocturni luminis, et ad ludibrium inflammare; eosque non alio loco numerare, quam quo sordes vilissimas, et catharmata ac ludibria totius mundi. Sic videlicet semper accepti sunt auctores et professores veritatis.

Tertul. in Apolog. cap. iii.

Suet. Tranq. in Neron.

[Cap. ii. Div. 1.] Quo nos animo æquiore ferre debemus, quicunque professionem evangelii Jesu Christi suscepimus, si in eadem causa ad eundem tractamur modum; utque olim patres nostri, ita nos quoque hodie, nullo nostro merito, tantum quia docemus et profitemur veritatem, conviciis, contumeliis, mendaciis exagitamur.

1 Tim. iv.

[Cap. ii. Div. 2.] Clamant hodie passim nos omnes esse hæreticos, discessisse a fide, et novis persuasionibus atque impiis dogmatis ecclesiæ consensum dissipavisse; [Cap. ii. Div. 3.] nos veteres et jam olim damnatas hæreses ab inferis redivivas restituere, et novas sectas atque inauditos furores disseminare; jam etiam in contrarias factiones et sententias distractos esse, nec ullo pacto potuisse unquam inter [Cap. ii. Div. 4.] nos ipsos convenire; esse homines impios, et gigantum more Deo ipsi bellum [Cap. ii. Div. 6.] facere, et prorsus sine omni numinis cura, cultuque vivere; nos omnia recte facta despicere, non virtutis disciplina uti ulla, non legibus, non moribus; non fas, non jus, non æquum, non rectum colere; ad omnia flagitia laxare fræna, [Cap. ii. Div. 7.] et populum ad omne genus licentiæ atque libidinis provocare; nos id agere et quærere, ut monarchiæ et regnorum status evertantur, et omnia ad popu- [Cap. ii. Div. 8.] larem temeritatem et imperitæ multitudinis dominationem redigantur; nos ab ecclesia catholica tumultuose defecisse, et nefario schismate orbem terrarum concussisse, et pacem communem atque otium ecclesiæ publicum contur- basse; utque olim Dathan et Abiron ab Aarone et Mose, ita nos hodie a [Cap. ii. Div. 9.] Romano pontifice sine ulla satis justa causa secessionem fecisse; priscorum patrum et veterum conciliorum auctoritatem pro nihilo putare; cæremonias antiquas a patribus et proavis nostris multis jam seculis, bonis moribus et melioribus temporibus approbatas, temere et insolenter abrogasse; et nostra tantum privata auctoritate, injussu sacri et œcumenici concilii, novos in ecclesiam ritus invexisse; atque ista nos omnia, non religionis causa, sed contentionis tantum studio fecisse: Se autem nihil prorsus immutasse; omnia vero ut ab apostolis tradita, et ab antiquissimis patribus approbata fuerint, ad hunc usque diem per tot secula retinuisse.

Num. xvi.

[Cap. ii. Div. 10.] Neve res calumniis tantum agi, et ad invidiam nostram in angulis solum jactari videretur, subornati sunt a Romanis pontificibus homines quidam satis diserti, et non indocti, qui ad causam desperatam accederent, et eam libris et longis orationibus exornarent; ut, cum eleganter et copiose ageretur, homines imperiti possent in ea aliquid esse suspicari. Videbant, scilicet, ubique terrarum causam suam inclinare, artes suas jam videri et minoris putari, et præsidia sua in singulos dies labefactari, et omnino causam magnopere egere [Cap. iii. Div. 3.] patrocinio. Eorum autem, quæ ab illis in nos dicuntur, partim manifeste falsa sunt, et ipsorum, a quibus dicuntur, judicio condemnata; partim, etsi[2] falsa sunt illa quoque, tamen speciem[3] veri aliquam et similitudinem præ se ferunt, ut in illis incautus lector (maxime vero, si accedat istorum composita et elegans oratio) facile circumveniri et errare possit; partim vero sunt ejusmodi,

[1 Commendare, 1584.] [2 Partim et etsi, 1584.] [3 Specie 1562, 1584.]

ut ea nos non tanquam crimina refugere, sed, tanquam recte atque optima ratione facta, agnoscere et profiteri debeamus. Nam, ut uno verbo quod res est dicamus, isti omnia nostra, etiam ea quæ ne ipsi quidem negare possunt recte atque ordine esse facta, calumniantur; et, quasi nihil a nobis aut fieri aut dici recte possit, ita dicta nostra factaque omnia malitiose depravant. Simplicius quidem et candidius agendum erat, si vere agere voluissent. Nunc autem nec vere, nec ingenue[4], nec christiano more modoque, sed obscure et veteratorie, mendaciis nos oppugnant; et cæcitate populi et inscitia, atque ignorantia principum, ad odium nostri et ad opprimendam veritatem abutuntur. Est hæc potestas tenebrarum, et hominum stupore magis imperitæ multitudinis et tenebris quam veritate aut luce fidentium, utque Hieronymus ait, "clausis oculis veritati perspicue contradicentium." Nos vero Deo Optimo Maximo gratias agimus, eam esse causam nostram, in quam isti cum cuperent nullam contumeliam possent dicere, quæ non eadem in sanctos patres, in prophetas, in apostolos, in Petrum, in Paulum, in Christum ipsum torqueri posset. [Pars I.]

Jam vero si istis ad maledicendum disertis et eloquentibus esse licet, nos in optima nostra causa ad vere respondendum haud sane convenit esse mutos. Negligere enim quid de se suaque causa, quamvis false et calumniose, dicatur (præsertim cum id ejusmodi sit, ut in eo Dei majestas et religionis negotium violetur) hominum est dissolutorum, et ad injurias divini nominis secure atque impie conniventium. Etsi enim aliæ injuriæ sæpe magnæ ab homine modesto et christiano ferri ac dissimulari possint, tamen hæreseos notam qui dissimulet, eum Ruffinus negare solebat esse Christianum. Faciemus ergo nunc id, quod omnes leges, quod vox naturæ ipsa jubet fieri, quodque Christus ipse in simili causa contumeliis appetitus fecit, ut istorum criminationes propulsemus; ut causam innocentiamque nostram modeste et vere tueamur. Nam Christus quidem, cum a Pharisæis accusaretur veneficii, quasi consuetudinem haberet cum dæmonibus, et illorum ope multa faceret; "Ego," inquit, "dæmonium non habeo, sed glorifico Patrem meum; vos autem affecistis me ignominia." Et Paulus, cum a Festo proconsule contemneretur ut insanus; "Ego," inquit, "optime Feste, non insanio, ut tu putas, sed veritatis et sobrietatis verba loquor." Et Christiani veteres, cum pro homicidis, adulteris, incestis, rerum publicarum perturbatoribus ad populum traducerentur, et viderent hujusmodi criminationibus in dubium vocari posse religionem quam profitebantur; maxime vero, si tacere viderentur, et quodammodo crimen agnoscere, ne ea res evangelii cursum impediret, habuerunt orationes, scripserunt libros supplices, apud imperatores et principes verba fecerunt, ut sese suosque publice defenderent. [Cap. iii. Div. 5.] [Cap. iv. Div. 2.] Joh. viii. Act. xxvi. Quadrat. Justin. Melit. Tertul. aliique.

Nos vero, cum proximis istis viginti annis tot millia nostrorum fratrum inter exquisitissimos cruciatus testimonium dixerint veritati; et principes, cum frænare cuperent evangelium, multa moliendo nihil egerint; et totus jam prope terrarum orbis ad aspiciendam lucem oculos incipiat aperire; satis jam dictam et defensam putamus esse causam nostram, cumque res ipsa satis pro se loquatur, non multum opus esse verbis. Nam si pontifices ipsi vellent, aut etiam si possent, rem ipsam secum et initia progressusque religionis nostræ cogitare, quemadmodum sua pene omnia, nullo impellente, sine ulla humana ope ceciderint; nostra vero invitis ab initio imperatoribus, invitis tot regibus, invitis pontificibus, invitis prope omnibus, incrementa ceperint, et paulatim in omnes terras propagata[5] fuerint, atque etiam postremo in regum jam aulas et palatia pervenerint; vel hæc ipsa satis illis magna indicia esse possent, Deum ipsum pro nobis propugnare, et ipsorum conatus de cœlo ridere, et eam esse vim veritatis, quam nec humanæ vires nec inferorum portæ possunt convellere. Non enim insaniunt hodie tot civitates liberæ, tot reges, tot principes, qui a sede Romana defecerunt, et se potius ad Christi evangelium adjunxerunt. [Cap. iv. Div. 3.] [Cap. iv. Div. 7.] [Cap. v. Div. 3.]

Neque tamen, si pontificibus otium hactenus nunquam fuit de istis rebus attente et serio cogitandi, aut si nunc aliæ illos curæ impediunt et diverse distrahunt, aut si ista studia vulgaria et levia esse putant, et nihil ad dignitatem pontificiam pertinere, idcirco causa nostra debet videri deterior: aut si illi quod [Cap. v. Div. 4.]

[4 1581, 1591, 1599, omit *nec ingenue.*]

[5 Propagatæ, 1562, 1581, 1584, 1591.]

[Pars I.] vident, videre forte nolunt, et veritatem agnitam potius oppugnant, idcirco nos habendi statim sumus pro hæreticis, qui illorum voluntati non obsequimur. Quod si Pius pontifex is esset, non dicimus, quem se tantopere dici cupit; sed si is omnino esset, qui nos vel fratres suos vel omnino homines esse duceret, rationes prius nostras, et quid a nobis, quid contra nos dici posset, diligenter expendisset; ac non ita temere, cæcis tantum præjudiciis, bonam partem orbis terrarum, tot doctos et pios viros, tot respublicas, tot reges, tot principes in bulla illa[1] sua, qua nuper simulabat concilium, inauditos, indicta causa, condemnasset.

[Cap. v. Div. 6.] Pius IV.

[Cap. vi. Div. 1.] Verum, ne, quia ad hunc modum publice ab illo notati sumus, tacendo videamur crimen confiteri; et præsertim quia in publico concilio, in quo ille[2] nemini mortalium jus esse vult ferendi suffragii sententiæque dicendæ, nisi jurato addictoque potestati suæ, audiri nullo modo possumus (id enim proximis comitiis Tridentinis nimium experti sumus, cum principum Germaniæ et liberarum civitatum legati et theologi prorsus ab omni conventu excluderentur: neque adhuc oblivisci possumus, Julium tertium ante decem annos diligenter cavisse rescripto suo, ne quis nostrorum hominum in concilio audiretur, nisi si quis forte esset, qui vellet palinodiam canere et mutare sententiam): vel ea maxime causa visum est nobis rationem fidei nostræ scripto reddere, et ad ea, quæ nobis publice objecta sunt, vere ac publice respondere; ut orbis terrarum videre possit partes et fundamenta ejus doctrinæ, cui tot boni viri postposuerunt vitam suam; utque omnes intelligant cujusmodi tandem homines illi sint, quidque de Deo et religione sentiant, quos Romanus episcopus, antequam vocarentur ad dicendam causam, non satis considerate, nullo exemplo, nullo jure, tantum quod illos audiret a se suisque in aliqua parte religionis discrepare, condemnavit pro hæreticis.

[Cap. vi. Div. 2.] Et quamvis D. Hieronymus in suspicione hæreseos neminem velit esse patientem, nos tamen nec acerbe aut dicaciter agemus, nec efferemur iracundia: quanquam nec acerbus nec dicax videri debet, qui vera dicit. Istam eloquentiam libentius relinquimus adversariis nostris, qui quicquid in nos dicunt, quantumvis id acerbe aut contumeliose dictum sit, tamen satis modeste et apposite dictum putant; verene an falso, nihil curant. Nobis his artibus opus non est, qui veritatem defendimus.

Quod si docemus sacrosanctum Dei evangelium, et veteres episcopos, atque ecclesiam primitivam[3] nobiscum facere; nosque non sine justa causa et ab istis discessisse, et ad apostolos veteresque catholicos patres rediisse; idque non obscure aut vafre, sed bona fide coram Deo, vere, ingenue, dilucide, et perspicue facimus; si illi ipsi qui nostram doctrinam fugiunt, et sese catholicos dici volunt, aperte videbunt omnes illos titulos antiquitatis, de quibus tantopere gloriantur, sibi excuti de manibus, et in nostra causa plus nervorum fuisse quam putarint; speramus neminem illorum ita negligentem fore salutis suæ, quin ut velit[4] aliquando cogitationem suscipere, ad utros potius se adjungat. Certe quidem, nisi quis plane animo obduruerit, et audire nolit, eum non pœnitebit animum ad defensionem nostram advertere, et quid a nobis, quamque ad religionem christianam convenienter apteque dicatur, attendere.

[Cap. vii. Div. 2.] Nam quod nos appellant hæreticos, est illud crimen ita grave, ut nisi videatur, nisi palpetur, nisi manibus digitisque teneatur, credi facile de homine christiano non debeat. Est enim hæresis destitutio salutis, abjectio gratiæ Dei, discessio a corpore et Spiritu Christi. Sed fuit hoc semper istis et illorum patribus familiare ac solemne, ut si qui essent, qui de illorum erroribus quererentur, et religionem cuperent restitutam, eos statim, quasi novatores rerum et homines factiosos, condemnarent pro hæreticis. Christus enim non alia causa dictus est Samaritanus, quam quod ad novam quandam religionem et ad hæresim defecisse putaretur. Et Paulus apostolus Christi vocatus est in judicium, ut causam diceret de hæresi. "Ego quidem (inquit) juxta hanc viam, quam isti vocant hæresim, colo patrium Deum, credens omnibus quæ scripta sunt in lege et in prophetis."

Hæresis quid[5], [Cap. vii. Div. 3.]

Act. xxiv.

Tertul. in Apolog.

Breviter, universa ista religio, quam hodie profitentur homines christiani, primis temporibus ab ethnicis hominibus secta dicta est, et[6] hæresis. His isti[7] vocibus semper impleverunt aures principum; ut cum illi opinione præjudicata

[1] 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *illa*.]
[2] Illi, 1562, 1584.]
[3] Primitiva, 1584.]
[4] Velint, 1562, 1584.]
[5] This reference is inserted from 1584.]
[6] 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *et*.]
[7] Istis, 1599.]

nos odissent, et quicquid a nobis diceretur haberent pro factione et hæresi, a re ipsa et a cognitione causæ abducerentur. Sed quanto crimen illud gravius est et atrocius, tanto argumentis majoribus et clarioribus probari debuit; hoc præsertim tempore, postquam homines cœperunt minus istorum oraculis habere fidei, et in illorum doctrinam diligentius inquirere, quam solebant. Aliter enim nunc institutus est populus Dei, atque olim fuit, cum omnia pontificum Romanorum dictata haberentur pro evangelio, et omnis religio ab illorum tantum auctoritate penderet. Extant hodie sacræ literæ, extant scripta apostolorum et prophetarum, ex quibus et omnis veritas et doctrina catholica probari possit, et omnis hæresis refutari. [Pars I.] [Cap. viii. Div. 1.] 2 Tim. iii.

Cum nihil horum ab istis proferatur, tamen nos hæreticos appellari, qui nec a Christo, nec ab apostolis, nec a prophetis defecerimus, injuriosum est et peracerbum. Hoc gladio Christus rejecit diabolum, cum ab illo tentaretur: his armis evertenda et profliganda est omnis altitudo, quæ sese attollit adversus Deum. "Omnis enim scriptura[8]," inquit Paulus, "divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad refutandum, ad instituendum, ad arguendum, ut vir Dei perfectus sit, et ad omne opus bonum instructus." Sic semper pii patres contra hæreticos non aliunde quam e sacris scripturis pugnaverunt. Augustinus cum disputaret adversus Petilianum, hæreticum Donatistam, "Ne," inquit, "audiantur inter nos hæc verba, Ego dico, aut tu dicis: sic potius dicamus, Hæc dicit Dominus: ibi quæramus ecclesiam; ibi discutiamus causam nostram." Et Hieronymus: "Omnia," inquit, "ea quæ absque testimonio scripturarum[9] quasi tradita ab apostolis asseruntur, percutiuntur gladio Dei." Ambrosius etiam ad Gratianum imperatorem, "Interrogentur," inquit, "scripturæ: interrogentur apostoli, interrogentur prophetæ, interrogetur Christus." Non dubitabant, videlicet, tum temporis catholici patres et episcopi, religionem nostram satis e divinis scripturis probari posse; nec unquam illi quenquam habere ausi sunt pro hæretico, cujus errorem non possent ex iisdem illis scripturis perspicue et liquido coarguere. Nos quidem, ut cum D. Paulo respondeamus, juxta hanc viam, quam isti appellant hæresim, colimus Deum, et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et recipimus omnia, quæ aut in lege, aut in prophetis, aut in apostolorum libris scripta sunt. [Cap. viii. Div. 2.] [Cap. ix. Div. 1.] 2 Cor. x. 2 Tim. iii. [Cap. ix. Div. 2.] De Unit. Eccl. cap. iii. Eadem sententia habetur contra Maximum, [Cap. ix. Div. 3.] [Cap. ix. Div. 4.] Arianorum episcopum. Lib. iii. cap. xiv. In primum cap. Agg. Act. xxiv.

Quare si nos sumus hæretici, si isti sunt, quod appellari volunt, catholici, cur non faciunt id, quod vident patres, catholicos viros, semper fecisse? Cur nos e sacris scripturis non convincunt? Cur nos ad illarum examen non revocant? Cur nos non ostendunt a Christo, a prophetis, ab apostolis, a sanctis patribus discessisse? Quid hærent? Quid fugiunt? Est Dei causa. Cur eam dubitant permittere verbo Dei? Quod si nos sumus hæretici, qui omnes nostras controversias referimus ad sacras literas, quique ad illas ipsas voces, quas scimus a Deo ipso consignatas esse, provocamus, et illis alia omnia, quæcunque possunt ab hominibus excogitari, postponimus; quid istos, quos tandem homines aut quales convenit appellari, qui sacrarum scripturarum, hoc est, Dei ipsius judicium reformidant, et sua illis somnia et frigidissima commenta anteponunt, et, traditionum suarum causa, Christi atque apostolorum instituta aliquot jam secula violarunt? [Cap. x. Div. 1.]

Aiunt Sophoclem poetam tragicum, cum jam senex esset, et accusaretur apud judices a filiis suis pro deliro et fatuo, quasi qui rem suam familiarem temere profunderet, et opus jam habere videretur curatore, ut se purgaret eo crimine, venisse in judicium, et cum pronunciasset Œdipum Coloneum, tragœdiam a se illis ipsis diebus, cum accusaretur, valde elaborate et pereleganter scriptam, ultro interrogasse judices, num illud carmen videretur esse hominis delirantis. Ita nos quoque, quoniam istis furere videmur, et ab illis traducimur pro hæreticis, quasi quibus nihil jam rei sit nec cum Christo nec cum ecclesia Dei, non alienum aut inutile fore existimavimus, si aperte et libere proponamus fidem nostram in qua stamus, et omnem illam spem quam habemus in Christo Jesu; ut omnes videre possint, quid nos de quaque parte religionis christianæ sentiamus, et statuere secum ipsi possint, an ea fides, quam videbunt et verbis Christi, et apostolorum scriptis, et catholicorum patrum testimoniis, et multorum seculorum exemplis confirmatam, tantum sit rabies quædam hominum furentium et conspiratio hæreticorum. [Cap. x. Div. 2.] Sophocles Poeta[10].

[[8] Omnis scriptura, 1584.] [[9] Scriptorum, 1581, 1591, 1599.] [[10] This reference is inserted from 1584.]

[Pars II.] [Cap. i. Div. 1.] CREDIMUS ergo, unam quandam naturam esse et vim divinam, quam appellamus Deum; eamque in tres personas æquales distinctam esse, in Patrem, in Filium, in Spiritum Sanctum, ejusdem omnes potestatis, ejusdem majestatis, ejusdem æternitatis, ejusdem divinitatis, ejusdem substantiæ: et quamvis tres illæ personæ ita distinctæ sint, ut nec Pater sit Filius, nec Filius sit[1] Spiritus Sanctus aut Pater, Deum tamen esse unum, et illum unum creasse cœlum, et terram, et omnia quæ cœli complexu continentur.

Credimus Jesum Christum Filium unicum æterni Patris, quemadmodum jam olim ante omnia initia decretum fuerat, "cum venisset plenitudo temporis," suscepisse carnem, et omnem naturam humanam, ex beata illa et pura virgine, ut indicaret hominibus arcanam[3] et reconditam voluntatem Patris sui, quæ abdita fuerat a seculis et generationibus; utque in humano corpore perageret mysterium redemptionis nostræ, et peccata nostra, et syngrapham illam quæ erat scripta contra nos, affigeret ad crucem.

Gal. iv.[2]

Eum credimus nostra causa esse mortuum, sepultum, descendisse ad inferos, tertia die vi divina rediisse ad vitam, et resurrexisse; post quadraginta dies, spectantibus discipulis, ascendisse in cœlum, ut impleret omnia, et corpus illud ipsum, in quo natus, in quo versatus, in quo ludibrio habitus, in quo gravissimos cruciatus et dirum genus mortis passus fuerat, in quo resurrexerat, in quo ascenderat ad Patris dexteram, "supra omnem principatum, et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur, non solum in hoc seculo, sed etiam in futuro," in majestate et gloria collocasse; ibi eum nunc sedere, et sessurum esse, donec omnia perficiantur. Et quamvis majestas et divinitas Christi ubique diffusa sit, tamen corpus ejus, ut Augustinus ait, "in uno loco esse oportere:" Christum corpori suo majestatem dedisse, naturam tamen corporis non ademisse; neque ita asserendum esse Christum Deum, ut eum negemus esse hominem: utque ait martyr Vigilius, "Christum humana sua natura nos reliquisse, divinitate autem non reliquisse;" "eumque, cum absit a nobis per formam servi, tamen semper esse nobiscum per formam Dei."

August. Tract. 50. in Joan.

Act. iii.

August. Tract. 30. in Joan.

Ad Dard.

Contr. Eutych. Lib. i. Fulgent. ad Reg. Trasim.

Ab illo loco credimus Christum rediturum esse ad exercendum publicum illud judicium, tam de illis quos inveniet adhuc in corpore superstites, quam de mortuis.

[Cap. i. Div. 2.] Credimus Spiritum Sanctum, qui est tertia persona in sacra Triade, illum verum esse Deum, non factum, non creatum, non genitum, sed ab utroque, Patre scilicet et Filio, ratione quadam mortalibus incognita ac ineffabili, procedentem: illius esse duritiem humani cordis emollire, quum aut per salutiferam prædicationem evangelii, aut alia quacunque ratione, in pectora hominum recipitur; illum eos illuminare, et in agnitionem Dei, atque in omnem viam veritatis et in totius vitæ novitatem, et perpetuam salutis spem perducere.

[Cap. ii. Div. 1.] Credimus unam esse ecclesiam Dei, eamque non, ut olim apud Judæos, in unum aliquem angulum aut regnum conclusam, sed catholicam atque universalem esse, et diffusam in totum terrarum orbem; ut nulla nunc natio sit quæ possit vere conqueri se exclusam esse, et non posse ad ecclesiam et populum Dei pertinere. Eam ecclesiam esse regnum, esse corpus, esse sponsam Christi; ejus regni Christum solum esse principem; ejus corporis Christum solum esse caput; ejus sponsæ Christum solum esse sponsum. Varios in ecclesia esse ordines ministrorum; alios esse diaconos, alios presbyteros, alios episcopos, quibus institutio populi et religionis cura et procuratio commissa sit; neminem tamen unum nec esse[4], nec esse posse, qui summæ rerum universæ præsit; nam et Christum semper adesse ecclesiæ suæ, et vicario homine, qui ex asse in integrum succedat, non egere; et neminem mortalem posse existere, qui universam ecclesiam, hoc est, omnes partes orbis terrarum, vel animo complecti, nedum ordine collocare, et recte ac commode administrare possit: apostolos, ut Cyprianus ait, pari omnes inter se fuisse potestate; atque hoc idem fuisse alios, quod Petrus fuit; omnibus ex æquo dictum fuisse, "Pascite"; omnibus, "Ite in mundum universum;" omnibus, "Docete evangelium;" et, ut ait Hieronymus, "Omnes episcopos, ubicunque tandem sint, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, ejusdem esse meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii;" utque Cyprianus ait, "Episcopatum unum esse, et ejus

[Cap. iii. Div. 1.]

[Cap iii. Div. 2.]

[Cap. iii. Div. 3.]

De Simplic. Prælat.

[Cap. iii. Div. 4.]

[Cap. iii. Div. 5.]

Ad Evagr.

[1 Si, 1562.] [2 Inserted from 1584.] [3 Arcana, 1584.] [4 1584 omits *nec esse.*]

partem in solidum teneri a singulis;" et de sententia Niceni concilii, Romanum episcopum nihilo plus juris in ecclesiam Dei obtinere, quam reliquos[5] patriarchas, Alexandrinum et Antiochenum: Romanum vero episcopum, qui nunc ad se unum omnia revocat, nisi officium faciat, nisi administret sacramenta, nisi instituat populum, nisi moneat, nisi doceat, ne episcopum quidem, aut omnino presbyterum jure dicendum esse. Episcopum enim, ut Augustinus ait, "nomen esse operis, non honoris;" ut ille se intelligat non esse episcopum, qui velit præesse, et non prodesse. Caput vero ecclesiæ totius, aut universalem episcopum, non magis aut illum aut alium quemvis mortalem esse posse, quam sponsum, quam lucem, quam salutem, quam vitam ecclesiæ: hæc enim esse Christi unius privilegia et nomina, et illi uni proprie atque unice convenire; neque unquam[6] quenquam Romanum episcopum ante Phocam imperatorem, quem scimus (interfecto imperatore Mauricio domino suo) per nefarium scelus ad imperium aspirasse, hoc est, ante sexcentesimum decimum tertium annum a Christo nato, unquam passum fuisse sese tam superbo nomine salutari; concilium etiam Carthaginense diserte cavisse, ne quis episcopus aut summus pontifex, aut primus sacerdos diceretur: episcopum vero Romanum, quoniam ita hodie dici vult, et alienam potestatem sibi vendicat, præterquam quod aperte facit contra vetera concilia contraque patres, si Gregorio suo velit credere, nomen arrogans, profanum, sacrilegum, antichristianum, sibi imponere, esse regem superbiæ, esse Luciferum, qui se fratribus suis anteponat, abjecisse fidem, esse præcursorem antichristi.

[Pars II.] De Simplic. Prælat. [Cap. iii. Div. 6.] [Cap. iii. Div. 7.] 1 ad Tim. iii. [Cap. iv. Div. 1.] [Cap. iv. Div. 2.] Cap. 47. [Cap. iv. Div. 3.] Greg. Lib. iv. Epist. 76, 78, 80. et Lib. vii. Epist. 69.

Ministrum legitime vocari oportere, et recte atque ordine præfici ecclesiæ Dei; neminem autem ad sacrum ministerium pro suo arbitrio et libidine posse se intrudere. Quo major nobis ab istis fit injuria, quibus nihil sæpius in ore est, quam apud nos nihil ordine, nihil decenter, omnia confuse ac perturbate fieri; omnes apud nos esse sacerdotes, omnes esse doctores, omnes esse interpretes.

[Cap. v. Div. 1.]

Ministris a Christo datum esse dicimus ligandi, solvendi, aperiendi, claudendi potestatem. Ac solvendi quidem munus in eo situm esse, ut minister vel dejectis animis et vere resipiscentibus, per evangelii prædicationem, merita Christi absolutionemque offerat, et certam peccatorum condonationem ac spem salutis æternæ denunciet; aut ut eos, qui gravi scandalo et notabili publicoque aliquo delicto fratrum animos offenderint, et sese a communi societate ecclesiæ et a Christi corpore quodammodo abalienarint, resipiscentes reconciliet[7], et in fidelium cœtum atque unitatem recolligat ac restituat. Ligandi vero illum claudendique potestatem exercere dicimus, quoties vel incredulis et contumacibus regni cœlorum januam occludit, illisque vindictam Dei et sempiternum supplicium edicit, vel publice excommunicatos ab ecclesiæ gremio excludit. Sententiam autem, quamcunque ministri Dei ad hunc modum tulerint, Deus ipse ita comprobat, ut, quicquid hic[8] illorum opera solvitur et ligatur in terris, idem ipse solvere et ligare velit, et ratum habere in cœlis. Claves[9] autem quibus aut claudere regnum cœlorum aut aperire possint, ut Chrysostomus ait, dicimus esse "scientiam scripturarum;" ut Tertullianus, esse "interpretationem legis;" ut Eusebius, esse "verbum Dei." Accepisse autem discipulos Christi hanc potestatem, non ut audirent arcanas populi confessiones, aut captarent murmura, quod sacrificuli nunc omnes passim faciunt, atque ita faciunt, quasi in eo solo sita sit omnis vis atque usus clavium; sed ut irent, ut docerent, ut publicarent evangelium, ut essent credentibus "odor vitæ ad vitam;" ut essent incredulis atque infidelibus "odor mortis ad mortem"; ut piorum animi conscientia superioris vitæ et errorum consternati, postquam aspicere cœpissent lucem evangelii et in Christum credere, ut fores clave, ita illi verbo Dei aperirentur; impii autem et contumaces, quique nollent credere et redire in viam, quasi obserati et clausi relinquerentur, et proficerent, ut Paulus ait, "in deterius." Hanc esse rationem clavium; hoc pacto aut aperiri aut claudi hominum conscientias; sacerdotem quidem esse judicem, nullius tamen eum potestatis, ut ait Ambrosius, jus obtinere: idcirco Christum his verbis increpuisse scribas et Pharisæos, ut coargueret illorum in docendo negligentiam: "Væ," inquit, "vobis, scribæ et Pha-

[Cap. vi. Div. 1.] [Cap. vi. Div. 2.] [Cap. vi. Div. 3.] [Cap. vii. Div. 1.] [Cap. vii. Div. 2.] 2 Tim. iii. [Cap. vii. Div. 3.] De Pœnit. Dist. I. cap. Verbum Dei. [Cap. vii. Div. 4.]

[5 Reliquas, 1591, 1599.]
[6 Usquam, 1591, 1599.]
[7 Reconciliat, 1562.]
[8 1584 omits *hic*.]
[9 Clavis, 1562, 1581, 1584, 1591.]

[Pars II.] risæi, qui abstulistis claves scientiæ, et clausistis regnum cœlorum coram hominibus!" Cumque clavis, qua aditus nobis aperitur ad regnum Dei, sit verbum evangelii et interpretatio legis et scripturarum, ubi non sit verbum, ibi dicimus non esse clavem; et cum unum omnibus datum sit verbum, unaque sit omnium clavis, unam esse ministrorum omnium, quod quidem ad aperiendum aut claudendum attinet, potestatem; imo etiam pontificem ipsum, quamvis illi suaviter cantillentur illa verba a parasitis suis, "Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum," ac si eæ[1] illi uni, et præterea mortalium nemini convenirent; nisi id agat, ut hominum flectantur conscientiæ, et succumbant verbo Dei, negamus aut aperire, aut claudere, aut omnino habere claves. Et quamvis doceat et instituat populum, (quod utinam aliquando et vere faciat, et inducat aliquando animum, esse eam aliquam saltem partem officii sui!) tamen ejus clavem nihilo aut meliorem aut majorem esse quam aliorum. Quis enim illum discrevit? Quis illum docuit doctius aperire, aut melius absolvere, quam fratres suos?

Luc. xi. Matt. xxiii. [Cap. vii. Div. 5.] Matt. xvi.

Matrimonium in omni genere et statu hominum, in patriarchis, in prophetis, in apostolis, in sanctis martyribus, in ministris ecclesiarum, in episcopis, sanctum et honorificum esse dicimus; et, ut Chrysostomus ait, "fas et jus esse cum eo ad cathedram episcopalem ascendere;" utque Sozomenus ait de Spiridione, et Nazianzenus de patre suo, episcopum pium et industrium nihilo deterius ea causa, imo melius etiam et utilius, versari in ministerio. Legem autem illam, quæ hominibus eam libertatem per vim adimat, et invitos adigat ad cœlibatum, esse, ut divus Paulus ait, "doctrinam dæmoniorum;" et ex eo (quod episcopus Augustanus[2], Faber, abbas Panormitanus, Latomus, opus illud tripartitum quod adjunctum est secundo tomo conciliorum, aliique pontificiarum partium satellites, resque adeo ipsa, et omnes historiæ confitentur) incredibilem vitæ ac morum impuritatem[3] in ministris Dei, et horrenda flagitia esse consecuta; et recte dixisse Pium secundum Romanum episcopum, videre se multas causas, cur eripiendæ fuerint uxores sacerdotibus, multo autem et plures videre et graviores, cur sint reddendæ.

[Cap. viii. Div. 1.] In Tit. primo. Hom. 2. [Cap. viii. Div. 2.] Theophyl. ad Tit. 10. Euseb. Lib. x. cap. v. In monodia sua super Basil. [Cap. viii. Div. 3.] 1 Tim. iv. Plat. in Pii II. Vita[4].

Recipimus et amplectimur omnes canonicas scripturas, et veteris et novi testamenti: Deoque nostro gratias agimus, qui eam lucem nobis excitarit, quam semper haberemus in oculis, ne vel humana fraude vel insidiis dæmonum ad[5] errores et fabulas abduceremur; eas esse cœlestes voces, per quas Deus voluntatem suam nobis patefecerit; in illis solis posse hominum animos acquiescere; in illis ea omnia, quæcunque ad nostram salutem sint necessaria, ut Origenes, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus docuerunt, cumulate et plene contineri; eas esse vim et potentiam Dei ad salutem; eas esse fundamenta prophetarum et apostolorum, in quibus ædificata sit ecclesia Dei; eas esse certissimam normam, ad quam ea, si vacillet aut erret, possit exigi, et ad quam omnis doctrina ecclesiastica debeat revocari; contra eas nec legem, nec traditionem, nec consuetudinem ullam audiendam esse, ne si Paulus quidem ipse aut angelus de cœlo veniat, et secus doceat.

[Cap. ix. Div. 1.]

Recipimus sacramenta ecclesiæ, hoc est, sacra quædam signa et[6] cæremonias, quibus Christus nos uti voluit, ut illis mysteria salutis nostræ nobis ante oculos constitueret, et fidem nostram, quam habemus in ejus sanguine, vehementius confirmaret, et gratiam suam in cordibus nostris obsignaret. Eaque cum Tertulliano, Origene, Ambrosio, Augustino, Hieronymo, Chrysostomo, Basilio, Dionysio, aliisque catholicis patribus, figuras, signa, symbola, typos, antitypa, formas, sigilla, signacula, similitudines, exemplaria, imagines, recordationes, memorias appellamus. Nec dubitamus etiam cum eisdem dicere, esse illa visibilia quædam verba, signacula justitiæ, symbola gratiæ; diserteque pronunciamus in cœna credentibus vere exhiberi corpus et sanguinem Domini, carnem Filii Dei, vivificantem animas nostras, cibum superne venientem, immortalitatis alimoniam, gratiam, veritatem, vitam; eamque communionem esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, cujus participatione vivificamur, vegetamur, et pascimur ad immortalitatem, et per quam conjungimur, unimur, et incorporamur Christo, ut nos in illo maneamus, et ille in nobis.

[Cap. x. Div. 1.] [Cap. xi. Div. 1.]

[1 Ea, 1562.]
[2 Augustinus, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[3 Impunitatem, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[4 1584 omits this reference.]
[5 Et, 1584.]
[6 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *et*.]

Duo autem sacramenta, quæ eo nomine proprie censenda sint, agnoscimus; [Pars II.] baptismum, et eucharistiam. Tot enim videmus tradita esse et consecrata a [Cap. xi. Div. 2.] Christo, et a veteribus patribus, Ambrosio et Augustino, approbata.

Et baptismum quidem sacramentum esse remissionis peccatorum, et ejus [Cap. xi. Div. 3.] ablutionis quam habemus in Christi sanguine; et ab eo neminem qui velit profiteri nomen Christi, ne infantes quidem christianorum hominum, quoniam nascuntur in peccato, et pertinent ad populum Dei, arcendos esse.

Eucharistiam esse sacramentum, hoc est, symbolum conspicuum corporis et [Cap. xii. Div. 1.] sanguinis Christi, in quo subjicitur quodammodo oculis nostris mors Christi, et ejus resurrectio, et quæcunque gessit in humano corpore; ut de ejus morte et nostra liberatione gratias agamus, et frequentatione sacramentorum ejus rei memoriam assidue renovemus; ut vero Christi corpore et sanguine alamur in spem resurrectionis et vitæ æternæ, utque pro certissimo habeamus, id esse animis nostris alendis corpus et sanguinem Christi, quod alendis corporibus est panis et vinum. Ad hoc epulum invitandum esse populum, ut omnes inter se communi- [Cap. xii. Div. 2.] cent, et societatem suam inter se, spemque eam quam habent in Christo Jesu, publice significent et testificentur. Itaque si quis fuisset, qui spectator tantum esse vellet[7], et a sacra communione abstineret, illum veteres patres, et Romanos episcopos in primitiva ecclesia, antequam nata esset privata missa, tanquam improbum atque ethnicum excommunicasse; neque ullum fuisse eo tempore hominem christianum, qui, ceteris spectantibus, communicaret solus. Ita olim decrevit Calixtus, ut, "peracta consecratione, omnes communicarent, nisi mallent carere ecclesiasticis liminibus: sic enim," ait, "apostolos statuisse, et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam tenere." Populo vero ad sacram communionem accedenti utramque partem eucharistiæ tradendam esse: id enim et Christum jussisse, et apostolos ubique terrarum instituisse, et omnes veteres patres et catholicos episcopos secutos esse; et si quis contra faciat, eum, ut Gelasius ait, committere sacrilegium; et adversarios hodie nostros, qui, explosa atque abdicata communione, sine verbo Dei, sine veteri concilio, sine ullo catholico patre, sine exemplo primitivæ ecclesiæ, sine etiam ratione, privatas missas et mutilationem[8] sacramentorum defendant, idque non tantum contra expressum mandatum et jussum Christi, sed etiam contra omnem antiquitatem faciant, improbe facere, et esse sacrilegos.

Chrysost. ad Ephes. Serm. 3. cap. i. De Consecr. Dist. 1. cap. Omnes. Dist. 2. cap. Seculares. De Consecr. Dist. 2. cap. Peracta. [Cap. xii. Div. 3.] De Consecr. Dist. 2. cap. Comperimus.

Panem et vinum dicimus esse sacra et cœlestia mysteria corporis et sanguinis [Cap. xiii. Div. 1.] Christi; et illis Christum ipsum, verum panem æternæ vitæ, sic nobis præsentem exhiberi, ut ejus corpus sanguinemque per fidem vere sumamus: non tamen id ita dicimus, quasi putemus naturam panis et vini prorsus immutari atque abire in nihilum, quemadmodum multi proximis istis seculis somniarunt, neque adhuc potuerunt unquam satis inter se de suo somnio convenire. Neque enim id Christus egit, ut panis triticeus abjiceret naturam suam, ac novam quandam divinitatem indueret; sed ut nos potius immutaret, utque Theophylactus loquitur, "transelementaret" in corpus suum. Quid enim magis perspicue dici potest, quam quod Ambrosius ait, "Panis et vinum sunt quæ erant, et in aliud commutantur:" aut quod Gelasius, "Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini:" aut quod Theodoretus, "Post sanctificationem mystica symbola naturam suam propriam non abjiciunt:" "manent enim in priori sua substantia, et figura, et specie:" aut quod Augustinus, "Quod videtis panis est et calix, quod etiam oculi renunciant;" "quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis:" aut quod Origenes, "Ille panis qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, quod quidem ad materiam attinet, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur:" aut quod Christus non tantum post consecrationem calicis, sed etiam post communicationem[10] dixit, "Non bibam amplius de hac generatione vitis?" Certum enim est ex vite progenerari vinum, non sanguinem. Nec tamen, cum ista dicimus, extenuamus [Cap. xiv. Div. 1.] cœnam Domini, aut eam frigidam tantum cæremoniam esse docemus, et in ea nihil fieri; quod multi nos docere calumniantur. Christum enim asserimus vere sese præsentem exhibere in sacramentis suis; in baptismo, ut eum induamus; in cœna, ut eum fide et spiritu comedamus, et de ejus cruce ac sanguine habeamus vitam æternam: idque dicimus non perfunctorie et frigide, sed re ipsa et vere fieri. Etsi enim Christi corpus dentibus et faucibus non attingimus, eum tamen

In Joan. cap. vi. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. In Dialog. 1 et 2. In Serm. ad Infant. De Consecr. Dist. 2. cap. Qui manducant. In Matt. xv.[9] Luc. xxii.

[7 Velit, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[8 Multitudinem, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[9 1584 omits this reference.]
[10 Communionem, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

[Pars II.] fide, mente, spiritu, tenemus et premimus. Neque vero vana ea fides est, quæ Christum complectitur, nec frigide percipitur, quod mente, fide, et spiritu percipitur. Ita enim nobis in illis mysteriis Christus ipse totus, quantus quantus est, offertur et traditur, ut vere sciamus esse jam nos carnem de ejus carne, et os de ossibus ejus, et Christum in nobis manere, et nos in illo.

[Cap. xiv. Div. 2.] De Consecr. Dist. 1. cap. Quando. [Cap. xiv. Div. 3.] [Cap. xiv. Div. 4.] [Cap. xiv. Div. 5.] Itaque in peragendis mysteriis, antequam ad sacram communionem veniatur, recte admonetur populus, ut sursum habeant corda, et animos in cœlum dirigant; ibi enim esse illum, de quo nos oporteat satiari ac vivere. Et Cyrillus in percipiendis mysteriis excludendas esse ait crassas cogitationes. Et concilium Nicenum, ut Græce citatur a quibusdam, diserte vetat, ne humiliter intenti simus ad propositum panem et vinum. Et ut Chrysostomus recte scribit, "corpus Christi dicimus esse cadaver, nos oportere esse aquilas, ut intelligamus in altum subvolandum esse, si velimus ad Christi corpus accedere. Hanc enim aquilarum esse mensam, non graculorum." Et Cyprianus, "Hic," inquit, "panis cibus mentis est, non cibus ventris." Et Augustinus, "Quomodo," inquit, "tenebo absentem? Quomodo in cœlum mittam manum, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem," inquit, "mitte, et tenuisti."

De Cœn. Dom. [Cap. xiv. Div. 6.] In Joan. Tract. 50.

[Cap. xv. Div. 1.] Nundinationes vero et auctiones missarum, et circumgestationes atque adorationes panis, et alias idololatricas et blasphemas ineptias, quas nemo istorum affirmare potest Christum et apostolos tradidisse, in ecclesiis nostris non ferimus; et episcopos Romanos recte reprehendimus, qui sine verbo Dei, sine auctoritate sanctorum patrum, sine exemplo, novo more, non tantum proponunt populo panem eucharisticum divino cultu adorandum, sed etiam illum in equo gradario, quocunque ipsi iter faciunt, (ut olim ignem Persicum aut Isidis sacra,) circumferunt, et Christi sacramenta ad scenam[1] jam et pompam traduxerunt; ut in ea re, in qua mors Christi inculcanda et celebranda erat, et in qua mysteria redemptionis nostræ[2] sancte ac reverenter erant agitanda, hominum oculi nihil aliud quam insanis spectaculis et ludicra levitate pascerentur. Quod autem dicunt, et interdum etiam stultis persuadent, sese missis suis posse distribuere atque applicare hominibus (sæpe etiam nihil de ea re cogitantibus, nec quid agatur intelligentibus) omnia merita mortis Christi, et ridiculum et ethnicum et ineptum est. Fides enim nostra mortem et crucem Christi nobis applicat, non actio sacrificuli: "Fides," inquit Augustinus, "sacramentorum justificat, non sacramentum." Et Origenes, "Ille," inquit, "est sacerdos, et propitiatio, et hostia, quæ propitiatio ad unumquemque venit per viam fidei." Atque ad hunc modum, sine fide, ne vivis quidem prodesse dicimus sacramenta Christi; mortuis vero multo minus. Nam quod de purgatorio isti suo jactare solent, etsi illud scimus non ita novum esse, tamen non aliud quam fatuum et anile commentum est. Augustinus quidem, modo hujusmodi quendam locum esse ait, modo posse esse non negat, modo dubitat, modo prorsus pernegat, et in eo homines humana quadam benevolentia putat falli. Tamen ab hoc errore uno tanta crevit seges sacrificulorum, ut, cum in omnibus angulis missæ palam et publice venderentur, templa Dei facta fuerint tabernæ meritoriæ, et miseris mortalibus persuasum fuerit, nihil prorsus esse vendibilius: istis quidem certe nihil erat utilius.

Lib. de Cæremon. Eccles. Rom. [Cap. xv. Div. 2.] Ad Rom. cap. iii. Lib. iii. [Cap. xvi. Div. 1.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 2.] August. in Psal. lxxxv. In Enchir. cap. lxvii. De Civit. Dei. Lib. xxi. cap. xxvi. Contr. Pelag. Lib. Hypog. 5.

[Cap. xvii. Div. 1.] Ad Januar. Epist. 119. De multitudine otiosarum cæremoniarum scimus Augustinum graviter suo tempore conquestum esse. Itaque nos magnum earum numerum resecavimus, quod illis sciremus affligi conscientias hominum, et gravari ecclesiam Dei.

Retinemus tamen et colimus, non tantum ea quæ scimus tradita fuisse ab apostolis, sed etiam alia quædam, quæ nobis videbantur sine ecclesiæ incommodo ferri posse; quod omnia cuperemus in sacro cœtu, ut Paulus jubet, "decenter atque ordine administrari." Ea vero omnia, quæ aut valde superstitiosa, aut frigida, aut spurca, aut ridicula, aut cum sacris literis pugnantia, aut etiam sobriis hominibus indigna esse videbamus, qualia infinita sunt hodie in papatu, prorsus sine ulla exceptione repudiavimus; quod nollemus Dei cultum ejusmodi ineptiis longius contaminari.

[Cap. xviii. Div. 1.] Precamur ea lingua, quam nostri, ut par est, omnes intelligant; ut populus, quemadmodum Paulus monet, "e[3] communibus votis utilitatem communem capiat;" quemadmodum omnes pii patres, et catholici episcopi, non tantum in veteri, verum etiam in novo testamento, et precati sunt ipsi, et populum

[1 Cœnam, 1584.] [2 Vestræ, 1584.] [3 A, 1584.]

precari docuerunt; ne, ut Augustinus ait, tanquam psittaci et merulæ, videamur [Pars II.]
sonare quod nescimus.

Mediatorem et precatorem, per quem accedendum sit ad Deum Patrem, non alium habemus quam Jesum Christum, cujus unius nomine omnia a Patre impetrantur. Turpe autem et plane ethnicum est, quod in istorum ecclesiis videmus passim fieri, non tantum quod infinitum numerum habere volunt precatorum, idque prorsus sine auctoritate verbi Dei, ut, quemadmodum Hieremias ait, "Divorum numerus æquet nunc, vel potius superet, numerum civitatum," et miseri mortales nesciant ad quem se potissimum debeant vertere; quodque, cum tot sint ut numerari non possint, illis tamen singulis suum cuique ab illis[4] munus et officium, quid impetrare, quid dare, quid efficere debeant, descriptum est; sed etiam quod ita, non tantum impie, sed etiam impudenter appellant virginem matrem, ut se matrem esse meminerit, ut imperet Filio, ut in illum utatur jure suo. Hier. ii. & xi. Bernard.

Dicimus hominem natum esse in peccato, et in peccato vitam agere; neminem posse vere dicere, mundum esse cor suum; justissimum quemque servum esse inutilem[5]; legem Dei perfectam esse, et a nobis requirere perfectam et plenam obedientiam; illi a nobis in hac vita satisfieri non posse ullo modo; neque esse mortalium quenquam qui possit in conspectu Dei propriis viribus justificari; itaque unicum receptum nostrum et perfugium esse ad misericordiam Patris nostri per Jesum Christum, ut certo animis nostris persuadeamus, illum esse propitiationem pro peccatis nostris; ejus sanguine omnes labes nostras deletas esse; illum pacificasse omnia sanguine crucis suæ; illum unica illa hostia, quam semel obtulit in cruce, omnia perfecisse, et ea causa, cum animam ageret, dixisse, "Consummatum est;" quasi significare vellet, persolutum jam esse pretium pro peccato humani generis. [Cap. xix. Div. 1.]

Hoc sacrificium si qui sunt qui non putant esse satis, eant sane et quærant aliud melius. Nos quidem, et quia illud unicum esse scimus, uno contenti sumus, nec exspectamus aliud; et, quia semel tantum offerendum erat, non jubemus repeti; et, quia plenum et omnibus numeris et partibus perfectum erat, non substituimus continentes hostiarum successiones.

Quamvis autem dicamus, nihil nobis esse præsidii in operibus et factis nostris, et omnem salutis nostræ rationem constituamus in solo Christo; non tamen ea causa dicimus, laxe et solute[6] vivendum esse, quasi tingi tantum et credere satis sit homini christiano, et nihil ab eo aliud exspectetur. Vera fides viva est, nec potest esse otiosa. [Cap. xx. Div. 1.]

Sic ergo docemus populum, Deum vocasse nos, non ad luxum et libidinem, sed, ut Paulus ait, "ad opera bona, ut in illis ambulemus;" Deum eripuisse nos a potestate tenebrarum, ut serviamus Deo viventi, ut rescindamus omnes reliquias peccati, ut in timore et tremore operemur salutem nostram, ut appareat Spiritum sanctificationis esse in membris nostris, et Christum ipsum per fidem in cordibus nostris habitare. Eph. ii.[7] Col. i.[7] Eph. iii.[7]

Postremo, credimus hanc ipsam carnem nostram, in qua vivimus, quamvis mortua obierit[8] in pulverem, tamen ultimo die rediturum esse ad vitam, propter Spiritum Christi qui habitat in nobis. Tum vero, quicquid hic interim patimur ejus causa, Christum abstersurum esse omnem lacrymam ab oculis nostris; et nos propter illum fruituros esse æterna vita, et semper futuros cum illo in gloria. Amen. [Cap. xxi. Div. 1.] Apoc. vii. xii.[7]

Istæ sunt horribiles illæ hæreses, quarum nomine bona pars orbis terrarum hodie a pontifice inaudita condemnatur. In Christum potius, in apostolos, in sanctos patres lis intendenda fuit. Nam ab illis ista non tantum profecta, sed etiam constituta sunt: nisi isti forte velint dicere, quod etiam fortasse dicent, Christum non instituisse sacram communionem, ut inter fideles distribueretur; aut apostolos Christi veteresque patres dixisse privatas missas in omnibus angulis templorum, modo denas, modo vicenas, uno die; aut Christum et apostolos abegisse omnem plebem a sacramento sanguinis; aut id quod ab ipsis hodie ubique fit, atque ita fit[9]; ut eum condemnent pro hæretico, [Pars III.] [Cap. i. Div. 1.]

[4 Illi, 1584.]
[5 1584 omits the words between *mundum esse* and *inutilem*.]
[6 Absolute, 1584.]
[7 These references are inserted from 1584.]
[8 Abierit, 1581, 1584, 1591, 1599.]
[9 1584 omits *atque ita fit*.]

[Pars III.] qui secus faciat, a Gelasio suo non appellari sacrilegium; aut non esse ista verba Ambrosii, Augustini, Gelasii, Theodoreti, Chrysostomi, Origenis, panem et vinum in sacramentis manere eadem quæ fuerant[1]; illud, quod videtur in sacra mensa, esse panem; non desinere esse substantiam panis, et naturam vini; panis substantiam et naturam[2] non mutari; aut illum ipsum panem, quod quidem ad materiam attinet, abire in ventrem, et in secessum ejici; aut Christum, apostolos, et sanctos patres, non precatos esse ea lingua, quæ a populo intelligeretur; aut Christum unica illa hostia, quam semel obtulit, non omnia perfecisse; aut illud sacrificium fuisse imperfectum, ut nunc nobis opus sit alio. Hæc illis omnia dicenda sunt, nisi forte malint hoc dicere, omne jus et fas esse conclusum in scrinio pectoris pontificii, quodque olim quidam ex ejus asseclis et parasitis non dubitavit dicere, illum posse dispensare contra apostolum, contra concilium, contra canones apostolorum, et istis exemplis atque institutis et legibus Christi non teneri.

[Cap. i. Div. 2.] Dist. 36. Lector in Gloss. Dist. 82. Presbyter.

[Cap. i. Div. 3.] Ista nos didicimus[3] a Christo, ab apostolis, et sanctis patribus, et eadem bona fide docemus populum Dei; atque ea causa hodie ab antistite, scilicet, religionis appellamur hæretici.

O Deum immortalem! Ergo Christus ipse, et apostoli, et tot patres una omnes erraverunt? Ergo Origenes, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Gelasius, Theodoretus erant desertores fidei catholicæ? Ergo tot veterum[4] episcoporum et doctorum virorum tanta consensio nihil aliud erat quam conspiratio hæreticorum? Aut quod tum laudabatur in illis, id nunc damnatur in nobis? Quodque in illis erat catholicum, id nunc, mutatis tantum hominum voluntatibus, repente factum est schismaticum? Aut quod olim erat verum, nunc statim, quia istis non placet, erit falsum? Proferant ergo aliud evangelium; aut causas ostendant, cur ista, quæ tam diu in ecclesia Dei publice observata et approbata fuerint, nunc demum oportuerit revocari. Nos quidem illud verbum quod a Christo patefactum, et ab apostolis propagatum est, scimus et ad salutem nostram, et ad omnem veritatem propugnandam, et ad omnem hæresim convincendam esse satis. Ex illo nos solo omne genus veterum hæreticorum, quos isti nos aiunt ab inferis revocasse, condemnamus; et Arianos, Eutychianos, Marcionitas, Ebionæos, Valentinianos, Carpocratianos, Tatianos, Novatianos, eosque uno verbo omnes, qui vel de Deo Patre, vel de Christo, vel de Sancto Spiritu, vel de ulla alia parte religionis christianæ impie senserunt, quia ab evangelio Christi coarguuntur, impios et perditos pronuntiamus, et usque ad inferorum portas detestamur: nec id solum, sed etiam, si forte erumpant uspiam, et sese prodant, eos legitimis et civilibus suppliciis severe et serio coercemus.

[Cap. ii. Div. 1.] Fatemur quidem novas quasdam et antea non auditas sectas, Anabaptistas, Libertinos, Mennonios, Zuenkfeldianos, statim ad exortum evangelii extitisse. Verum agimus Deo nostro gratias, satis jam orbis terrarum videt, nos nec peperisse, nec docuisse, nec aluisse ista monstra. Lege sodes, quisquis es, libros nostros: prostant ubique venales. Quid unquam scriptum est a quoquam nostrorum hominum, quod posset aperte istorum favere insaniæ? Imo nulla hodie regio ita libera est ab istis pestibus, atque illæ sunt, in quibus libere et publice docetur evangelium. Quod si rem ipsam attente et recte putare velint, magnum hoc argumentum est, esse hanc evangelii veritatem, quam nos docemus. Nam nec lolium facile sine frumento nasci solet, nec palea sine grano. Statim ab apostolorum ipsorum temporibus, cum primum propagaretur evangelium, quis nescit quot hæreses una exortæ fuerint? Quis unquam antea audierat Simonem, Menandrum, Saturninum, Basilidem, Carpocratem, Cerinthum[5], Ebionem, Valentinum, Secundum, Marcosium, Colorbasium, Heracleonem, Lucianum[6], Severum? Et quid istos commemoramus? Epiphanius numerat octoginta, Augustinus plures etiam distinctas hæreses, quæ una creverint cum evangelio. Quid ergo? An evangelium, quod una cum illo hæreses nascerentur, non erat evangelium? aut Christus ea causa non erat Christus?

[1 1584 inserts *illud quod videtur in sacramentis manere eadem quæ fuerant.*]

[2 1584 omits *vini panis substantiam et naturam.*]

[3 Dicimus, 1584.]

[4 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *veterum.*]

[5 Corinthum, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

[6 Lucianus, 1562.]

Neque tamen apud nos, uti diximus, pullulat ista seges, qui publice et libere docemus evangelium. Apud adversarios nostros[7], in cæcitate ac tenebris istæ pestes exordiuntur, et incrementa ac vires capiunt, ubi veritas tyrannide sævitiaque opprimitur, nec nisi in angulis et occultis congressionibus[8] audiri potest. Faciant sane[9] periculum: dent cursum liberum evangelio: luceat veritas Jesu Christi, et radios in omnes partes porrigat: statim videbunt, ut nocturnam caliginem ad aspectum solis, ita istas umbras ad lucem evangelii protinus evanuisse. Nam nos quidem omnes illas hæreses, quas isti nos alere et fovere calumniantur, illis interim sedentibus atque aliud agentibus, quotidie repellimus et propulsamus. [Pars III.]

Quod autem dicunt nos in varias sectas abiisse, et velle alios Lutheranos, alios Zuinglianos appellari, neque adhuc potuisse satis inter nos ipsos de summa doctrinæ convenire; quid illi dixissent, si primis illis temporibus apostolorum et sanctorum patrum extitissent? cum alius diceret, "Ego sum Pauli; alius, Ego sum Cephæ; alius, Ego sum Apollo;" cum Paulus Petrum reprehenderet; cum simultatis causa Barnabas a Paulo discederet; cum, ut auctor est Origenes, Christiani in tot jam factiones distracti essent, ut nomen tantum Christianorum commune, aliud autem præterea nihil Christianorum simile retinerent, utque Socrates ait, dissensionum et sectarum causa in theatris a populo publice riderentur; cumque, ut ait imperator Constantinus, tot essent dissensiones et rixæ in ecclesia, ut ea calamitas videri possit omnem aliam superiorem calamitatem superasse; cum Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Ruffinus, Hieronymus, omnes Christiani, omnes patres, omnes catholici, acerbissimis atque etiam implacabilibus inter se contentionibus conflictarentur; cum, ut Nazianzenus ait, ejusdem corporis membra inter se consumerentur; cum oriens ab occidente de fermentato, et de paschate, non ita magnis de rebus, scinderetur; cum in omnibus conciliis nova subinde symbola et nova decreta cuderentur? Quid isti tum dixissent? Ad quos se potissimum applicuissent? Quos fugissent? Cui evangelio credidissent? Quos pro hæreticis, quos pro catholicis habuissent? Nunc duo tantum nomina, Lutherus et Zuinglius, quas istis tragœdias excitant! Ut quoniam illi duo de re aliqua nondum consentiunt, idcirco utrumque errasse, neutrum habuisse evangelium, neutrum vere ac recte docuisse arbitremur! [Cap. iii. Div. 1.] [Cap. iv. Div. 1.]

Verum, O Deus bone, quinam isti tandem sunt, qui dissensiones in nobis reprehendunt? An vero omnes isti inter se consentiunt? An singuli satis habent constitutum quid sequantur? An inter illos nullæ unquam dissensiones, nullæ lites extiterunt? Cur ergo Scotistæ et Thomistæ de merito congrui et condigni, de peccato originis in beata virgine, de voto solenni et simplici, non melius inter se conveniunt? Cur canonistæ auricularem confessionem de jure humano et positivo esse aiunt, scholastici contra, de jure divino? Cur Albertus Pighius a Cajetano, Thomas a Lombardo, Scotus a Thoma, Occamus a Scoto, Alliensis ab Occamo, Nominales a Realibus dissentiunt? Utque taceam tot dissensiones fraterculorum et monachorum, quod alii in piscibus, alii in oleribus, alii in calceis, alii in crepidis, alii in linea veste, alii in lanea sanctitatem constituunt; alii albati, alii pullati, alii latius, alii angustius rasi, alii soleati, alii nudipedes, alii cincti, alii discincti ambulant; meminisse debent esse aliquos ex suis qui dicant Christi corpus adesse in cœna naturaliter; contra ex iisdem illis suis esse alios qui negent; esse alios qui dicant corpus Christi in sacra communione dentibus nostris lacerari et atteri; rursus esse alios qui negent; esse alios qui scribant corpus Christi in eucharistia esse quantum, esse alios contra qui negent; esse alios qui Christum divina quadam potentia, alios qui benedicendo, alios qui quinque conceptis verbis, alios qui eadem illa quinque verba repetendo dicant consecrasse; esse alios qui in illis quinque verbis, "hoc" pronomine demonstrativo, putent panem triticeum; alios qui malint vagum quoddam individuum indicari; esse alios qui dicant canes et mures posse vere et reipsa comedere corpus Christi; esse alios qui id constanter pernegent; esse alios qui dicant accidentia ipsa panis vinique nutrire posse; esse alios qui dicant redire substantiam. Quid plura? Prolixum et permolestum esset omnia numerare. Ita universa forma horum re- [Cap. v. Div. 1.] Steph. Gard. in Soph. Diab. Rich. Faber. Recantat. Beren. Schol. et Glos. Guimundus. De consec. Dist. 2. Ego Beren. Thomas. Gardinerus. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Spec. in Glos.

[7 1584 omits *nostros*.] [8 Congressibus, 1584.] [9 1584 omits *sane*.]

[Pars III.] ligionis et doctrinæ adhuc apud illos ipsos, a quibus nata et profecta est, prorsus incerta et controversa est. Vix enim unquam inter se conveniunt, nisi forte, ut olim Pharisæi et Sadducæi, aut Herodes et Pilatus, contra Christum.

[Cap. vi. Div. 1.] Eant ergo sane, et pacem potius inter suos domi sanciant. Unitas quidem et consensio maxime convenit religioni. Non tamen est ea certa et propria nota ecclesiæ Dei. Summa enim erat consensio inter eos qui adorabant aureum vitulum, et inter eos qui conjunctis vocibus in Servatorem nostrum Jesum Christum clamabant, "Crucifige." Neque quia Corinthii dissensionibus inter se laborabant, aut quia Paulus a Petro, aut Barnabas a Paulo, aut Christiani statim sub ipsis initiis evangelii aliqua de re a se mutuo dissidebant, idcirco nulla erat inter eos ecclesia Dei. Illi quidem, quos isti contumeliæ causa appellant Zuinglianos et Lutheranos, re autem vera sunt utrique Christiani, et inter sese amici, ac fratres: non de principiis aut fundamentis religionis nostræ, non de Deo, non de Christo, non de Sancto Spiritu, non de ratione justificationis, non de æterna vita; tantum de una, nec ea ita gravi aut magna, quæstione inter se dissentiunt. Nec desperamus, vel potius non dubitamus, brevi fore concordiam; et si qui sunt, qui aliter sentiant quam par est, positis aliquando affectionibus et nominibus, Deum id illis esse patefacturum, ut, re melius animadversa atque explorata, quod olim in Chalcedonensi concilio factum est, omnes dissensionum causæ et fibræ ab ipsis radicibus exstirpentur, et ἀμνηστίᾳ sepeliantur sempiterna. Amen.

[Cap. vii. Div. 1 & 2.] Gravissimum vero est, quod nos dicunt esse homines impios, et omnem religionis curam abjecisse; quanquam non debet id multum nos movere, quod illi ipsi, a quibus objicitur, sciunt contumeliosum et falsum esse. Nam Justinus Martyr auctor est, cum primum evangelium cœptum esset publicari, et Christi nomen patefieri, Christianos omnes dictos fuisse ἀθέους. Cumque Polycarpus staret pro judicio, populus his vocibus incitavit proconsulem ad cædem et internecionem eorum omnium qui evangelium profiterentur, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, hoc est, Tolle de medio istos homines impios, qui Deum non habent: non quod Christiani Deum revera non haberent, sed quod saxa et stipites, quæ tum pro diis colebantur, non adorarent. Verum orbis terrarum satis jam videt quid nos nostrique ab istis, religionis et unius Dei nostri causa, perpessi simus. In carceres, in aquas, in ignes nos abjecerunt, et in nostro sanguine volutati sunt; non quod aut adulteri essemus, aut latrones, aut homicidæ; sed tantum quod agnosceremus evangelium Jesu Christi, et speraremus in Deum vivum, quodque nimium, O Deus bone! juste vereque quereremur, traditionum inanissimarum causa violari ab istis legem Dei, et adversarios nostros, qui scientes et prudentes Dei jussa ita obstinate contemnerent, esse hostes evangelii et inimicos crucis Christi.

Euseb. Lib. iv.

Verum isti, quum viderent doctrinam nostram non posse recte accusari, maluerunt in mores nostros invehere; nos omnia recte facta damnare, ad licentiam et libidinem fores aperire, et populum ab omni studio virtutis abducere. Et certe ea est, semperque fuit hominum omnium, etiam piorum et christianorum, vita, ut semper etiam in optimis et castissimis moribus tamen aliquid posses desiderare; eaque propensio omnium ad malum, eaque omnium proclivitas ad suspicandum, ut quæ nec facta nec cogitata unquam fuerint, audiri tamen et credi possint. Utque in candidissima veste facile exigua notatur labes, ita in vita candidissima facile levissima nota turpitudinis deprehenditur. Neque nos aut eos omnes, qui amplexi sunt hodie doctrinam evangelii, angelos esse arbitramur, et prorsus sine macula ulla rugaque vivere; aut istos vel ita cæcos, ut si quid in nobis notari queat, non possint id vel per tenuissimam rimam animadvertere; vel ita candidos, ut quicquam velint in meliorem partem interpretari; vel ita ingenuos, ut oculos suos velint in se reflectere, et mores nostros de suis moribus æstimare. Quod si rem ipsam ab initiis velimus repetere, scimus temporibus ipsis apostolorum fuisse homines christianos, propter quos nomen Domini blasphemaretur, et male audiret inter gentes.

De Lapsis.

Queritur apud Sozomenum imperator Constantius, multos, postquam ad christianam religionem accessissent, evasisse deteriores. Et Cyprianus lugubri oratione describit corruptelam sui temporis. "Disciplinam," inquit, "quam apostoli tradiderant, otium jam et pax longa corruperat. Studebant augendo patrimonio singuli, et obliti quid credentes, aut sub apostolis ante fecissent, aut semper facere deberent, insatiabili cupiditatis ardore ampliandis facultatibus incubabant. Non in sacer-

dotibus religio devota, non in ministris fides integra, non in operibus misericordia, non in moribus disciplina. Corrupta barba in viris, in fœminis forma fucata." Et ante illum Tertullianus, "O miseros," inquit, "nos, qui Christiani dicimur hoc tempore! Gentes agimus sub nomine Christi." [Pars III.]

Postremo, ne omnes commemoremus, Gregorius Nazianzenus de miserabili statu suorum temporum ita loquitur: "Vitiorum," inquit, "nostrorum causa, odio jam laboramus inter gentes. Spectaculum etiam jam facti sumus, non solum angelis et hominibus, sed etiam omnibus impiis." Hoc loco erat ecclesia Dei, cum primum lucere cœpisset evangelium, cum nondum rabies tyrannorum refrixisset, aut gladius[1] a Christianorum hominum cervicibus ablatus esset. Scilicet, non est novum homines esse homines, etiamsi appellentur Christiani.

Sed isti, cum ita odiose nos accusant, nihilne interim de se cogitant? An illi, quibus tam procul spectare, et quid in Germania, quidque in Anglia agatur videre otium est, aut obliti sunt, aut videre non possunt, quid agatur Romæ? An nos ab illis accusamur, de quorum vita nemo potest satis honeste et verecunde commemorare? [Pars IV.] [Cap. i. Div. I.]

Nos quidem non summus id nobis hoc tempore, ut ea, quæ una cum ipsis sepulta esse oportebat, in lucem et in conspectum proferamus. Non est id religionis, non est verecundiæ, non est pudoris nostri. Ille tamen, qui se Christi vicarium et ecclesiæ caput dici jubet, qui audit ista Romæ fieri, qui videt, qui patitur, (nihil enim aliud addimus,) qualia ea sint facile potest cum animo suo cogitare. Redeat enim illi[2] sane in memoriam: cogitet canonistas illos suos esse, qui populum docuerunt simplicem fornicationem non esse peccatum; quasi illam doctrinam ex Micione comico didicissent: "Non est peccatum, mihi crede, adolescentulum scortari." Cogitet suos illos esse, qui decreverunt sacerdotem fornicationis causa non esse summovendum. Meminerit cardinalem Campegium, Albertum Pighium, aliosque complures suos docuisse sacerdotem illum multo sanctius et castius vivere, qui alat concubinam, quam qui uxorem habeat in matrimonio. Nondum ille, spero, oblitus est, multa esse Romæ publicarum meretricum millia, et se ex illis in singulos annos, vectigalis nomine, colligere ad triginta millia ducatorum. Oblivisci non potest se Romæ lenocinium publice exercere, et de fœdissima mercede fœde ac nequiter deliciari. An omnia tum Romæ satis aut salva aut sancta erant, cum Johanna fœmina integræ ætatis magis quam vitæ esset papa, et sese[4] gereret pro capite ecclesiæ; et cum se biennium totum in illa sancta sede aliorum libidini exposuisset, postremo in lustranda civitate, inspectantibus cardinalibus et episcopis, palam pareret in publico?

Johan. de Magist. de Temperantia[3]. 3 Quæst. 7. Lat. Extr. de Bigam. Quia circa.

Statua ejusdem fœminæ parturientis adhuc Romæ est.

Sed quid opus erat concubinas et lenones commemorare? vulgare enim jam illud Romæ et publicum, et non inutile peccatum est. Meretrices enim ibi jam sedent, non ut olim extra civitatem, obnupto et obvoluto capite, sed in palatiis habitant, per forum vagantur aperta fronte, quasi id non tantum liceat, sed etiam laudi esse debeat. Quid plura? Illorum jam libidines terrarum orbi sunt satis notæ. D. Bernardus, de pontificis familia, ipsoque adeo pontifice, libere et vere scribit: "Aula," inquit, "tua bonos recipit, non facit: mali ibi proficiunt; boni deficiunt." Et quicunque ille fuit, qui scripsit Opusculum Tripartitum, quod adjunctum est ad concilium Lateranense, "Tantus," inquit, "hodie est luxus, non tantum in clericis et sacerdotibus, sed etiam in prælatis et episcopis, ut horribile sit auditu." [Cap. ii. Div. I.]

Gen. xxxviii. In Concil. Delect. Card. Tom. III.

De Considerationе ad Eugenium.

Atqui ista non tantum usitata sunt, et ea causa consuetudinis et temporis gratia approbata, ut cetera sunt istorum fere omnia, sed etiam antiqua jam et putida. Quis enim non audivit quid Petrus Aloisius, Pauli tertii filius, designarit in Cosmum Cherium episcopum Fanensem? quid Johannes Casus[5] archiepiscopus Beneventanus, legatus pontificis apud Venetos, scripserit de horrendo scelere; et, quod ne fando quidem audiri debeat, id verbis spurcissimis et scelerata eloquentia commendarit? Quis non audivit N.[6] Diazium Hispanum, cum ea gratia Roma missus fuisset in Germaniam, innocentissimum et sanctissimum virum Joannem

[1 Gladios, 1599.]
[2 Ille, 1584.]
[3 1581, 1591, 1599 omit this reference.]
[4 Se, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[5 Casa, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[6 Alphonsum, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

[Pars IV.] Diazium fratrem suum, tantum quod amplexus esset evangelium Jesu Christi, et Romam redire nollet, nefarie atque impie interfecisse?

Sed ista, inquient, in republica optime constituta, etiam invitis magistratibus, possunt interdum accidere; et bonis legibus vindicantur.

Esto sane. Sed quibus bonis legibus animadversum est in istas pestes? Petrus Aloisius, cum ea flagitia, quæ diximus, designasset, semper fuit in sinu atque in deliciis apud patrem suum Paulum tertium. Diazius, interfecto fratre suo, pontificis ope ereptus est, ne in eum animadverteretur bonis legibus. Joannes Casus[1] archiepiscopus Beneventanus adhuc vivit, imo etiam Romæ, et in sanctissimi oculis et conspectu vivit. Occiderunt fratrum nostrorum infinitos numeros, tantum quod vere ac pure crederent in Jesum Christum. At ex illo tanto numero meretricum, scortatorum, adulterorum, quem unquam, non dico, occiderunt, sed aut excommunicaverunt, aut omnino attigerunt? An vero libidines, adulteria, lenocinia, scortationes, parricidia, incestus, et alia nequiora Romæ peccata non sunt? Aut si sunt in urbe Roma, in arce sanctitatis, a vicario Christi, a successore Petri, a sanctissimo patre, ita facile et leniter[2], quasi peccata non sint, ferri possunt?

[Cap. iii. Div. 1 & 2.]

O sancti scribæ et Pharisæi, quibus ista sanctitas nota non fuit! O sanctitatem et fidem catholicam! Non ista Petrus Romæ docuit: Paulus non ita Romæ vixit. Non illi lenocinium publice exercuerunt: non illi vectigal et censum a meretricibus exegerunt: non illi adulteros et parricidas palam et impune tolerarunt: non eos in sinum, non in concilium, non in familiam, non in christianorum hominum cœtum receperunt. Non debebant isti tantopere exaggerare vitam nostram. Consultius multo fuit, ut prius vel approbarent hominibus, vel certe occultius aliquanto tegerent vitam suam.

Nam nos quidem utimur priscis et avitis legibus, et, quantum his moribus et temporibus in tanta corruptela rerum omnium potest fieri, disciplinam ecclesiasticam diligenter et serio administramus. Prostibula quidem meretricum et concubinarum, aut scortatorum greges non habemus; nec adulteria matrimoniis anteponimus; nec lenocinium exercemus; nec de fornicibus stipendia colligimus; nec incesta, et flagitiosas libidines, nec Aloisios, nec Casos[3], nec Diazios parricidas impune ferimus. Nam, si ista nobis placuissent, nihil opus erat ut ab istorum societate, ubi ea vigent et habentur in pretio, discederemus, et ea causa in odia hominum et in certissima pericula incurreremus. Habuit Paulus quartus ante non ita multos menses Romæ in carcere aliquot fratres Augustinianos, et complures episcopos, et magnum numerum aliorum piorum hominum, religionis causa. Habuit tormenta: exercuit in illos quæstiones: nihil reliquit intentatum. Ad extremum ex illis omnibus quot potuit mœchos, quot scortatores, quot adulteros, quot incestos invenire? Sit Deo nostro gratia: etsi illi non sumus, quos esse oportebat, quosque profitemur, tamen quicunque sumus, si cum istis conferamur, vel vita nostra atque innocentia facile has calumnias refutabit. Nos enim non tantum libris et concionibus, sed etiam exemplis et moribus populum ad omne genus virtutis et recte factorum cohortamur. Evangelium docemus non esse ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ; utque Tertullianus ait, "christianum hominem non loqui magnifice oportere, sed magnifice vivere; nec auditores, sed factores legis justificari apud Deum."

[Cap. iii. Div. 3.]

In Apolog. xlv. Rom. ii 4.

Ad hæc omnia hoc etiam solent addere, idque omni conviciorum genere amplificare, nos esse homines turbulentos, regibus sceptra de manibus eripere, populum armare, tribunalia evertere, leges rescindere, possessiones dissipare, regna ad popularem statum revocare, sursum deorsum omnia confundere, breviter, in republica nihil integrum esse velle. O quoties his verbis inflammaverunt animos principum, ut illi in herba extinguerent lucem evangelii, priusque illud odisse inciperent, quam nosse possent; utque magistratus, quoties aliquem videret nostrum, toties se putaret hostem videre suum!

[Cap. iv. Div. 1.]

Tertul. in Apolog. i. ii. et iii.

Molestum quidem nobis esset ita odiose accusari gravissimo crimine majestatis, nisi sciremus Christum ipsum aliquando, et apostolos, et infinitos alios homines pios et christianos, vocatos fuisse in invidiam, eodem fere cri-

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[1 Casa, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[2 Leviter, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[3 Casas, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[4 1581, 1591, 1599 omit this reference.]

mine. Nam Christus quidem, quamvis docuisset dandum esse Cæsari quod esset Cæsaris, tamen accusatus est seditionis, quod res novas moliri et regnum appetere diceretur: itaque occlamatum est pro tribunalibus publice adversus eum: "Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Cæsaris." Et apostoli, quamvis semper et constanter docuissent "obtemperandum esse magistratibus, omnem animam superioribus potestatibus esse subditam; idque non tantum propter iram et vindictam, sed etiam propter conscientiam;" tamen dicti sunt commovere populum, et multitudinem ad rebellionem incitare. Amanus, hoc maxime pacto, genus et nomen Judæorum adduxit in odium apud regem Assuerum, quod illos diceret esse populum rebellem et contumacem, et principum edicta et jussa[6] contemnere. Impius rex Achabbus[7] Eliæ prophetæ Dei, "Tu," inquit, "conturbas Israel." Amasias, sacerdos Bethel, apud regem Hieroboam accusat Amos prophetam conspirationis: "Ecce," inquit, "Amos conjurationem fecit contra te in medio domus[8] Israel." Breviter, Tertullianus ait adversus omnes Christianos hanc suo tempore accusationem fuisse publicam; esse illos proditores, esse perduelles, esse hostes humani generis.

[Pars IV.] Rom. xiii.5 Hester. 3 Reg. xviii. Amos vii. In Apolog. cap. xxxvii.

Quare si nunc quoque veritas male audiat, et, eadem cum sit, iisdem nunc contumeliis afficiatur, quibus affecta est olim; etsi[9] id molestum et ingratum est, novum tamen aut insolens videri non potest.

Facile istis fuit ante annos quadraginta ista maledicta et alia graviora in nos confingere, cum in mediis illis tenebris exoriri primum cœpisset et lucere radius aliquis ignotæ tum et inauditæ veritatis; cum Martinus Lutherus, et Huldericus[10] Zuinglius, præstantissimi viri, et ad illustrandum orbem terrarum a Deo dati, primum accessissent ad evangelium; cum et res adhuc nova esset, et eventus incertus, et animi hominum suspensi atque attoniti, et aures apertæ ad calumnias, et nullum in nos tam grave flagitium fingi posset, quod non propter rei ipsius novitatem atque insolentiam facile a populo crederetur. Ita enim veteres hostes evangelii, Symmachus, Celsus, Julianus, Porphyrius, olim aggressi sunt accusare omnes Christianos seditionis et majestatis, antequam aut princeps aut populus, quinam illi Christiani essent, aut quid profiterentur, aut quid crederent, aut quid vellent, scire possent. Nunc vero, postquam etiam hostes nostri vident, et negare non possunt, nos semper omnibus dictis nostris scriptisque diligenter admonuisse populum officii sui, ut principibus suis et magistratibus, quamvis impiis, obtemperarent, idque et usus ipse et experientia satis docet, et omnium hominum, quicunque atque ubicunque sunt, oculi vident et contestantur; putidum erat ista objicere, et, cum nova et recentia crimina nulla essent, obsoletis tantum mendaciis nobis invidiam facere voluisse.

[Cap. iv. Div. 2.] [Cap. v. Div. 1.]

Agimus enim Deo nostro, cujus hæc solius causa est, gratias, in omnibus regnis, ditionibus, rebuspublicis, quæ ad evangelium accesserunt, nullum unquam adhuc hujusmodi exemplum extitisse. Nullum enim nos regnum evertimus: nullius ditionem aut jura minuimus: rempublicam nullam turbavimus. Manent adhuc suo loco et avita dignitate reges Angliæ nostræ, Daniæ, Suetiæ, duces Saxoniæ, comites Palatini, marchiones Brandeburgici, lantgravii Hessiæ[11], respublicæ Helvetiorum et Rhætorum, et liberæ civitates, Argentina, Basilea, Francofordia, Ulma, Augusta, Norinberga, omnes eodem jure eodemque statu quo fuerunt antea, vel potius, quia propter evangelium populum habent obsequentiorem, multo meliore. Eant sane in illa loca, ubi nunc Dei beneficio auditur evangelium. Ubi plus majestatis? Ubi minus fastus et tyrannidis? Ubi princeps magis colitur? Ubi populus minus tumultuatur? Ubi unquam fuit publica res, ubi ecclesia tranquillior?

At rustici, inquies, a principio hujus doctrinæ passim cœperunt furere et tumultuari per Germaniam. Esto. At in illos promulgator hujus doctrinæ Martinus[12] Lutherus vehementissime atque acerrime multa scripsit, eosque ad pacem et ad obedientiam revocavit.

[5 This is inserted from 1584.]
[6 1584 omits *et jussa.*]
[7 Achab, 1584.]
[8 1584 omits *domus.*]
[9 Et, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[10 1584 omits *Huldericus.*]
[11 Hassiæ, 1584.]
[12 1584 omits *Martinus.*]

[Pars IV.] Quod autem objici solet interdum ab hominibus imperitis rerum, de mutato statu Helvetiorum, et interfecto duce Austriæ Leopoldo, et patria in libertatem vindicata, factum est id, uti ex omnibus historiis satis constat, ante annos ducentos sexaginta, sub Bonifacio octavo, cum maxime vigeret potestas pontificum, ducentos circiter annos antequam Huldericus Zuinglius aut docere[1] inciperet evangelium, aut omnino natus esset. Ex eo vero tempore semper illi omnia pacata et tranquilla habuerunt, non tantum ab hoste externo, sed etiam a tumultu intestino.

[Cap. v. Div. 2.]

Quod si peccatum fuit patriam suam ab externa dominatione, præsertim cum insolenter et tyrannice opprimerentur, liberare; tamen vel nos alienis, vel illos avitis criminibus onerare, et iniquum et absurdum est.

[Cap. vi. Div. 1.] Sed O Deum immortalem! an Romanus episcopus accusabit nos perduellionis? An ille docebit populum obtemperare atque obsequi magistratibus? Aut omnino rationem majestatis habet ullam? Cur ergo nunc ille, quod nullus veterum episcoporum Romanorum unquam fecit, quasi omnes reges et principes, quicunque atque ubicunque sint, velit esse servos suos, patitur se a suis parasitis Dominum dominantium appellari? Cur ille se jactat esse regem regum, et habere jus regium[2] in subditos?

August. Steuch. Anton. de Rosel.

Cur omnes imperatores et monarchas jurejurando adigit in verba sua? Cur majestatem imperatoriam septuagies septies se inferiorem esse gloriatur; idque ea maxime causa, quod Deus duo lumina in cœlo fecerit, quodque cœlum et terra non in duobus principiis, sed in uno principio creata fuerint? Cur ille ejusque sectatores, Anabaptistarum et Libertinorum more, quo licentius et securius grassarentur, jugum excusserunt, et se ab omni civili potestate exemerunt?

De Major. et Obed. Solit.

De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam.

Cur ille legatos suos, hoc est, callidissimos exploratores, habet tanquam in insidiis, in aulis, in conciliis, in cubiculis regum omnium? Cur ille, ubi visum est, principes christianos inter se committit, et pro sua libidine turbat seditionibus orbem terrarum? Cur proscribit, et pro ethnico et pagano haberi vult, si quis princeps christianus ab imperio suo discesserit; et indulgentias ita liberaliter pollicetur, si quis quacunque ratione interficiat hostem suum? An ille conservat imperia et regna, aut omnino consultum cupit otio publico? Ignoscere nobis debes, pie lector, si ista videmur acrius et vehementius agere quam deceat homines theologos. Tanta enim est rei indignitas, tantaque in pontifice tamque impotens libido dominandi, ut aliis verbis aut tranquillius proponi non possit. Ille enim in publico concilio ausus est dicere, omne jus regum omnium a se pendere. Ille ambitionis et regnandi causa distraxit Romanum imperium, et commovit ac laceravit orbem christianum. Ille Romanos atque Italos, seque adeo ipsum jurejurando, quo imperatori Græco obstringebatur, perfide liberavit; et subditos ad defectionem solicitavit; et Carolum Martellum[3] e Gallia in Italiam evocavit, et eum novo more imperatorem fecit. Ille Gallorum regem Chilpericum, non malum principem, tantum quod ipsi non placeret, de regno dejecit, et in ejus locum Pipinum surrogavit. Ille ejecto, si id efficere potuisset, Philippo rege[4], decrevit atque adjudicavit regnum Galliæ Alberto regi Romanorum. Ille florentissimæ civitatis et reipublicæ Florentiæ, patriæ suæ, opes fregit, eamque e libero et tranquillo statu unius libidini in manum tradidit. Ille cohortatione sua effecit, ut tota Sabaudia hinc ab imperatore Carolo quinto, inde a Gallorum rege Francisco, misere discerperetur, et infelici duci vix una civitas quo se reciperet relinqueretur.

Clemens V. in Concil. Viennensi.

Leo Papa.

Zacharias Papa.

Clemens Papa VII.

Idem Clemens.

[Cap. vi. Div. 4.] Tædet exemplorum, et molestum esset omnia Romanorum pontificum egregie facta commemorare. Quarum, obsecro, partium erant illi, qui Henricum imperatorem[5] veneno sustulerunt in eucharistia? qui Victorem papam in sacro calice? qui Joannem nostrum regem Angliæ in mensario poculo? Quicunque illi tandem, et quarumcunque partium fuerint, Lutherani certe aut Zuingliani non fuerunt. Quis hodie summos reges et monarchas admittit ad oscula beatorum pedum? Quis imperatorem jubet sibi astare ad frænum, et Gallorum regem ad ferrum

[Cap. vii. Div. 2.]
[Cap. vii. Div. 3.]

[1 Doceret, 1562.]
[2 Regum, 1591, 1599.]
[3 Carolum Magnum Martellum, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[4 Philippo Pulchro rege, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[5 Henricum septimum imperatorem, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

illud pensile quo in equum ascenditur? Quis Franciscum Dandalum, ducem Venetiarum, regem Cretæ ac Cypri, catenis vinctum abjecit sub mensam suam, ut ossa liguriret inter canes? Quis imperatori Henrico sexto Romæ diadema non manu sed pede imposuit; et eodem pede rursus dejecit, atque etiam addidit habere se potestatem et creandi imperatores et summovendi? Quis Henricum filium armavit in imperatorem Henricum quartum patrem[6] suum; effecitque ut pater a filio suo caperetur, et detonsus atque ignominiose habitus conjiceretur in monasterium, et inedia ac mœrore contabesceret? Quis cervices imperatoris Frederici subjecit fœdum in modum pedibus suis; et, quasi id non esset satis, addidit etiam insuper ex Psalmis Davidis, "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem;" quale exemplum spretæ et contemptæ majestatis nunquam antea ulla memoria auditum fuerat, nisi forte vel in Tamerlane Scytha, homine fero et barbaro, vel in Sapore rege Persarum? [Pars IV.] [Cap. vii. Div. 4.] Sabellicus. [Cap. vii. Div. 5. Cœlestinus Papa. [Cap. vii. Div. 6.] Hildebrandus Papa. [Cap. vii. Div. 1.] Innocentius III[7].

Omnes isti fuerunt papæ, omnes successores Petri, omnes sanctissimi, quorum singulas voces singula nobis oporteat esse evangelia.

Si nos rei sumus majestatis, qui principes nostros colimus, qui illis omnia, quantum quidem per verbum Dei fas est, deferimus, qui pro illis precamur; quid ergo isti sunt, qui non tantum hæc fecerunt omnia quæ diximus, sed etiam ea quasi optime facta comprobarunt? An vero illi aut ad hunc modum docent populum revereri magistratum; aut satis verecunde possunt nos, tanquam homines seditiosos, et perturbatores pacis publicæ, et majestatis contemptores accusare? Nam nos quidem nec jugum excutimus, nec regna movemus, nec reges aut facimus aut dejicimus, nec imperia transferimus, nec regibus nostris venena propinamus, nec illis pedes osculandos porrigimus, nec pedibus nostris illorum cervicibus insultamus. Hæc potius est professio, hæc est doctrina nostra; omnem animam, quæcunque tandem ea sit, sive sit monachus, sive evangelista, sive propheta, sive apostolus, oportere regibus et magistratibus esse subditam; et pontificem adeo ipsum, nisi evangelistis, nisi prophetis, nisi apostolis major videri velit, quod veteres episcopi Romani melioribus temporibus semper fecerunt, oportere imperatorem dominum suum et agnoscere et appellare. Nos publice docemus ita obtemperandum esse principibus, tanquam hominibus a Deo missis; quique illis resistit, illum Dei ordinationi resistere. Hæc sunt instituta nostra: hæc in libris, hæc in concionibus nostris, hæc in moribus et modestia populi nostri elucescunt. [Cap. viii. Div. 2 & 3.] Chrysost. xiii. ad Rom. Gregor. sæpe in Epist.

Illud vero, quod nos dicunt discessisse ab unitate ecclesiæ catholicæ, non tantum est odiosum; sed etiam, etsi verum non est, tamen speciem aliquam et similitudinem habet veri. Apud populum vero et imperitam multitudinem, non tantum vera et certa fidem faciunt, sed etiam si quæ sunt, quæ videri possint verisimilia. Itaque videmus vafros homines et callidos, quibus vera non suppeterent, semper verisimilibus pugnavisse; ut qui rem ipsam penitus intueri non possent, specie saltem aliqua et probabilitate caperentur. Olim quod veteres Christiani, patres nostri, cum preces Deo adhiberent, ad orientem solem converterentur, erant qui dicerent eos solem venerari et habere pro Deo. Cumque illi dicerent, se, quod ad æternam et immortalem vitam attinet, non aliunde[9] vivere, quam de carne et sanguine ejus Agni, qui non haberet labem, hoc est, Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi; invidi et inimici crucis Christi, quibus id tantum erat curæ, ut religio christiana quacunque ratione male audiret, persuaserunt populo, esse eos homines impios, mactare humanas hostias, et sanguinem humanum bibere. Cumque illi dicerent, apud Deum nec marem esse nec fœminam, nec omnino, quod ad justitiam adipiscendam attinet, distinctionem esse ullam personarum, seque omnes inter se sorores fratresque salutarent; non deerant qui calumniarentur, Christianos nullum habere inter se discrimen aut ætatis aut generis, sed omnes bestiarum ritu promiscue inter se concumbere. Et cum precationis et evangelii audiendi causa sæpe inter se in crypta et abdita quædam loca convenirent, quod idem interdum ab hominibus conjuratis soleret fieri, rumores publice spargebantur, eos conspirare inter se, et habere consilia vel de occidendis magistratibus, vel de evertenda republica. Quodque ad agitanda sacra mysteria de instituto Christi adhiberent panem et vinum, putabantur a multis non [Cap. ix. Div. 1 et 2.] Tertul. in Apolog. cap. xvi.[8] Tertul. in Apolog. cap. vii. viii. ix. Idem, cap. xxxix. Augustinus.

[6 Patrum, 1584.]
[7 Alexander III. 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[8 1584 omits this reference.]
[9 Alicunde, 1591, 1599.]

[Pars IV.] Christum colere, sed Bacchum et Cererem; quod illa numina ab ethnicis hominibus profana superstitione, simili ritu, pane et vino colerentur.

Credebantur ista a multis; non quod vera essent, quid enim esse posset minus? sed quod essent verisimilia, et specie aliqua veri possent fallere.

Ita isti nos calumniantur esse hæreticos, ab ecclesia et Christi communione discessisse; non quod ista vera esse credant, (neque enim id illis curæ est,) sed quod ea hominibus imperitis possint aliqua forte ratione videri vera. Nos enim discessimus, non ut hæretici solent, ab ecclesia Christi, sed, quod omnes boni debent, a malorum hominum et hypocritarum contagione. Hic tamen isti mirifice triumphant; illam esse ecclesiam, illam esse sponsam Christi, illam esse columnam veritatis, illam esse arcam Noe, extra quam nulla salus sperari possit; nos vero discessionem fecisse, Christi tunicam lacerasse, a corpore Christi avulsos esse, et a fide catholica defecisse. Cumque nihil relinquant indictum quod in nos, quamvis falso et calumniose, dici possit, hoc tamen unum non possunt dicere, nos vel a verbo Dei, vel ab apostolis Christi, vel a primitiva ecclesia descivisse.

Atqui nos Christi et apostolorum et sanctorum patrum primitivam ecclesiam semper judicavimus esse catholicam; nec eam dubitamus arcam Noe, sponsam Christi, columnam et firmamentum veritatis appellare, aut in ea omnem salutis nostræ rationem collocare.

Odiosum quidem est a societate, cui assueveris, discedere; maxime vero illorum hominum, qui, quamvis non sint, tamen videantur saltem atque appellentur Christiani. Et certe nos istorum ecclesiam, qualiscunque tandem ea nunc est, vel nominis ipsius causa, vel quod in ea evangelium Jesu Christi aliquando vere ac pure illustratum fuerit, non ita contemnimus; nec ab ea nisi necessario et perinviti discessionem fecissemus. Sed quid si in ecclesia Dei idolum excitetur, et desolatio illa quam Christus futuram prædixit stet palam in loco sancto[1]? Quid si arcam Noe prædo aliquis aut pirata occupet? Certe isti, quoties ecclesiam nobis prædicant, se ipsos solos eam faciunt, et omnes illos titulos sibi ipsis adscribunt; atque ita triumphant, ut olim illi qui clamabant, "Templum Domini, templum Domini;" aut ut Pharisæi et scribæ, cum jactarent se esse filios Abrahami.

[Cap. ix. Div. 3.]

Joh. viii.

Ita inani splendore imponunt simplicibus, nosque nomine ipso ecclesiæ quærunt obruere; ut si latro, occupata domo aliqua aliena, et vel vi exturbato vel interfecto domino, eam postea adscribat sibi, et herilem filium de possessione dejiciat; aut si antichristus, postquam occupabit templum Dei, dicat postea illud jam esse suum, et nihil ad Christum pertinere. Nam isti quidem, cum in ecclesia Dei nihil ecclesiæ simile reliquerint, ecclesiæ tamen patroni et propugnatores videri volunt; prorsus ut Gracchus olim defendebat ærarium, cum largitionibus faciendis et insanis sumptibus ærarium funditus effudisset. Nihil autem unquam tam impium aut absurdum fuit, quin ecclesiæ nomine facile tegi et defendi posset. Faciunt enim etiam vespæ favos; et impii cœtus habent similes ecclesiæ Dei.

At non quicunque dicuntur populus Dei sunt statim populus Dei; nec quicunque sunt ex patre Israele sunt omnes Israelitæ. Hæretici Ariani se solos jactabant esse catholicos; ceteros omnes modo Ambrosianos, modo Athanasianos, modo Joannitas appellabant. Nestorius, ut ait Theodoretus, cum esset hæreticus, tamen tegebat[2] se τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι, hoc est, specie quadam ac velo orthodoxæ fidei. Ebion, quamvis sentiret cum Samaritanis, tamen, ut Epiphanius ait, appellari volebat Christianus. Mahometani hodie, quamvis eos ex omnibus historiis satis constet, idque ipsi negare non possint, ab Agara ancilla ducere originem, tamen quasi oriundi sint a Sara, muliere libera et uxore Abrahami, nominis ipsius et stirpis causa, malunt appellari Saraceni.

August. Epist. 48. ad Vincent.

Ita pseudoprophetæ omnium temporum, qui sese prophetis Dei, qui Esaiæ, qui Hieremiæ, qui Christo, qui apostolis opponebant, nihil unquam æque crepabant atque nomen ecclesiæ. Neque eos alia de causa ita acerbe lacerabant, aut perfugas et apostatas appellabant, quam quod a sua societate discessissent, et instituta majorum non observarent. Quod si nos hominum tantum illorum, a quibus tum ecclesia regebatur, judicium sequi, aliud autem nihil, nec Deum,

[1 Sancti, 1581, 1591, 1599.] [2 Regebat, 1591.]

nec ejus verbum spectare volumus; negari prorsus non potest apostolos, quod [Pars IV.]
a pontificibus et sacerdotibus, hoc est, ab ecclesia catholica defecissent, et, illis invitis et reclamantibus, multa in religione innovassent, recte fuisse ab illis et secundum leges condemnatos. Itaque, ut Antæum aiunt olim ab Hercule tollendum fuisse a terra matre, antequam ab eo posset vinci, ita adversarii nostri ab ista matre sua, hoc est, ab ista inani specie atque umbra ecclesiæ quam præ se gerunt, levandi sunt; alioqui non possunt cedere verbo Dei. Itaque Hieremias, "Nolite," inquit, "tantopere jactare esse apud vos templum Domini: vana ea fiducia est;" sunt enim ista, inquit, "verba mendacii." Et angelus in Apocalypsi: "Dicunt," inquit, "se Judæos esse, at sunt synagoga Satanæ." Et Christus, cum Pharisæi jactarent genus et sanguinem Abrahami: "Vos," inquit, "ex diabolo patre estis; Abrahamum enim patrem non refertis." Ac si illis ita diceret: Non estis id quod tantopere dici vultis: imponitis populo inanibus titulis, et ad evertendam ecclesiam abutimini nomine ecclesiæ. Quare hoc istos primum liquido et vere probasse oportuit, ecclesiam Romanam esse veram et orthodoxam ecclesiam Dei; eamque, ut hodie ab ipsis administratur, cum primitiva Christi apostolorum et sanctorum patrum ecclesia, quam non dubitamus fuisse catholicam, convenire. Nos quidem, si inscitiam, si errorem, si superstitionem, si cultum idolorum, si hominum inventa, eaque sæpe pugnantia cum sacris scripturis, judicassemus aut placere Deo, aut ad æternam salutem esse satis; aut si statuere potuissemus verbum Dei ad aliquot tantum annos fuisse scriptum, postea oportuisse abrogari; aut omnino dicta et jussa Dei subjicienda esse voluntati humanæ, ut quicquid ille dicat aut jubeat, nisi Romanus episcopus idem velit et jubeat, pro irrito et indicto habendum sit; si hæc in animum nostrum inducere potuissemus credere, fatemur nihil fuisse causæ cur istorum societatem relinqueremus. Quod autem nunc fecimus, ut discederemus ab illa ecclesia, cujus errores testati ac manifesti essent, quæque jam aperte discessisset a verbo Dei; neque tam ab ea, quam ab ejus erroribus; idque non turbulente aut improbe, sed tranquille ac modeste faceremus; nihil aut a Christo aut ab apostolis fecimus alienum. Neque enim ea est ecclesia Dei, quæ infuscari labe aliqua non possit, aut non interdum egeat instauratione: alioqui quid tot coitionibus et conciliis opus est; sine quibus, ut ait Ægidius, stare fides christiana non potest? "Quoties enim," inquit, "concilia intermittuntur, toties ecclesia a Christo derelinquitur." Aut si nihil periculi est ne quid ecclesia detrimenti accipiat, quid opus est, ut nunc quidem est apud istos, inanibus nominibus episcoporum? Cur enim illi pastores appellantur, si oves nullæ sunt quæ possint errare? Cur vigiles, si civitas nulla est quæ possit prodi? Cur columnæ, si nihil est quod possit ruere? Statim ab initio rerum ecclesia Dei cœpta est propagari, eaque instructa cœlesti verbo, quod Deus ipse fuderat ab ore suo, instructa sacris cæremoniis, instructa Spiritu Dei, instructa patriarchis et prophetis; atque ita continuata est ad ea usque tempora, cum Christus sese ostenderet in carne.

[Cap. ix. Div. 4.] [Cap. x. Div. 1.] [Cap. x. Div. 2.] [Cap. xi. Div. 1.] [Cap. xii. Div. 1 et 2.]

Joh. viii.

In Later. Conc. sub Julio.

Sed, O Deum immortalem! quoties ea interim et quam horribiliter obscurata atque imminuta est! Ubi enim ea tum fuit, cum omnis caro contaminasset viam suam super terram? Ubi ea fuit, cum ex omni mortalium numero octo tantum essent homines, et ne illi quidem omnes casti ac pii, quos Deus a communi clade atque interitu vellet esse superstites; cum Elias propheta ita lugubriter et acerbe quereretur, se solum ex omni terrarum orbe relictum esse, qui Deum vere et rite coleret; cumque Esaias diceret, "Argentum" populi Dei, hoc est, ecclesiæ, "factum esse scoriam;" et "civitatem eam, quæ aliquando fidelis fuerat, factam esse meretricem;" et in ea "a capite usque ad calcem," in toto corpore, "nihil esse integrum;" aut cum Christus diceret, "domum Dei" a Pharisæis et sacerdotibus "factam esse speluncam latronum?" Scilicet ecclesia, ut ager frumentarius, nisi exaretur, nisi subigatur, nisi colatur, nisi curetur, pro tritico carduos et lolium et urticas proferet. Itaque Deus subinde misit prophetas et apostolos, postremo etiam Christum suum, qui populum in viam reducerent, et ecclesiam vacillantem in integrum instaurarent. Neve quis dicat hæc in lege tantum in umbra atque in infantia contigisse, cum figuris et cæremoniis veritas tegeretur, cum nihil adhuc ad perfectum adductum esset, cum lex non in cordibus hominum, sed in lapidibus incideretur (etsi ridiculum est

3 Reg. xix.

Esai. i.

Matt. xxi.

[Cap. xiii. Div. 1.]

[Pars IV.] illud quoque); idem enim omnino erat etiam tum Deus, idem Spiritus, idem Christus, eadem fides, eadem doctrina, eadem spes, eadem hæreditas, idem fœdus, eadem vis verbi Dei; et Eusebius ait, omnes fideles usque ab Adamo re quidem ipsa Christianos fuisse (quamvis non ita dicerentur); ne quis, inquam, ita dicat, Paulus apostolus jam tum in evangelio, in perfectione, in luce, similes errores et lapsus deprehendit; ut ad Galatas, quos jam antea instituerat, necesse habuerit ita scribere: "Vereor ne inter vos frustra laboraverim, et vos frustra audiveritis evangelium." "Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec Christus formetur in vobis." Nam de Corinthiorum ecclesia, quam illa fœde fuerit inquinata, nihil est necesse dicere. Jam vero, an Galatarum et Corinthiorum ecclesiæ labi potuerunt, sola Romana ecclesia errare et labi non potest? Certe Christus tanto ante prædixit de ecclesia sua, fore aliquando tempus cum desolatio staret in loco sancto. Et Paulus antichristum ait aliquando positurum esse tabernaculum suum in templo Dei; et futurum ut homines sanam doctrinam non sustinerent, sed in ipsa ecclesia ad fabulas converterentur. Et Petrus futuros ait in ecclesia Christi magistros mendaciorum. Et Daniel propheta, de ultimis temporibus antichristi, "Veritas," inquit, "eo tempore prosternetur et conculcabitur in terra." Et Christus tantam ait fore calamitatem et confusionem rerum, ut etiam electi, si possit fieri, abducendi sint in errorem. Atque ista omnia futura non apud paganos aut Turcas, sed in loco sancto, in templo Dei, in ecclesia, in cœtu ac societate illorum, qui professuri sint nomen Christi.

Lib. i. cap. iv.

[Cap. xlii. Div. 2.] Matt. xxiv.

2 Thess. ii.

2 Tim. iv.

2 Pet. ii.

Dan. viii.

Matt. xxiv.

[Cap. xiv. Div. 1 et 2.] Et, quamvis ista vel sola possint homini prudenti esse satis, ne temere patiatur imponi sibi nomine ecclesiæ, ut ne quid in eam ex verbo Dei velit inquirere; tamen multi etiam sæpe patres, viri docti et pii, vehementer questi sunt hæc omnia suis temporibus accidisse. Deus enim in media illa caligine tamen voluit esse aliquos, qui, etsi non lucem ita conspicuam et illustrem darent, tamen quasi scintillam aliquam, quam homines in tenebris notare possent, accenderent.

Contra Auxentium. Certe Hilarius, cum res adhuc incorruptæ quodammodo essent et integræ, tamen, "Male," inquit, "vos parietum amor cepit: male ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini: male sub iis pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in iis antichristum esse sessurum? Montes mihi, et sylvæ, et lacus, et carceres, et voragines sunt tutiores; in illis enim prophetæ, aut manentes aut demersi, Dei Spiritu prophetabant."

Gregorius, quasi videret atque animo prospiceret ruinam rerum, ad Joannem episcopum Constantinopolitanum, qui primus omnium se novo nomine salutari jusserat universalem episcopum totius ecclesiæ Christi, ita scripsit: "Si ecclesia pendebit ab uno, tota corruet." Et quis est qui non hoc jam olim factum viderit? Jam olim episcopus Romanus ecclesiam totam a se uno pendere voluit; quare mirum non est si ea jam olim tota corruerit. Bernardus abbas, ante annos quadringentos, "Nihil," inquit, "jam integrum est in clero: superest ut reveletur homo peccati." Idem in conversione D. Pauli: "Videtur," inquit, "jam cessasse persecutio: imo jam incipit persecutio ab illis qui in ecclesia primas obtinent. Amici tui et proximi tui adversus te appropinquarunt et steterunt: a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis non est ulla sanitas. Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus judicibus, vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum. Non possumus jam dicere, Ut est populus, sic est sacerdos; quoniam non ita est populus ut sacerdos. Heu, heu, Domine Deus! ipsi sunt in persecutione tua primi, qui videntur in ecclesia tua primatum diligere, et gerere principatum." Idem in Cantica: "Omnes amici, omnes inimici; omnes necessarii, omnes adversarii; servi Christi, serviunt antichristo. Ecce in pace mea amaritudo mea est amarissima." Rogerus Bacon, magni nominis vir, cum acri oratione perstrinxisset miserabilem statum sui temporis: "Isti," inquit, "tot errores antichristum requirunt."

In Regist. Epist. ad Maur. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

[Cap. xiv. Div. 3.]

Serm. 33.

[Cap. xv. Div. 1.]

In libello de Idiomate linguarum.

Gerson queritur suo tempore omnem vim sacræ theologiæ ad ambitiosum certamen ingeniorum et meram sophisticam fuisse revocatam.

Fratres Lugdunenses, homines, quod quidem ad vitæ rationem attinet, non mali, Romanam ecclesiam, a qua tum una oracula omnia petebantur, fidenter solebant affirmare esse meretricem illam Babylonicam, de qua tam perspicuæ extent prædictiones in Apocalypsi, et cœtum inferorum.

[Cap. xv. Div. 2.] Scio horum hominum auctoritatem apud istos levem esse. Quid ergo, si illos testes advoco, qui solent ab ipsis adorari?

Quid si dico Adrianum episcopum Romanum ingenue confessum esse omnia ista mala a pontificio culmine cœpisse ruere? [Pars IV.] Platina.

Pighius in eo fatetur erratum esse, quod in missam, quam alioqui videri vult sacrosanctam, abusus complures invecti sint; Gerson, quod multitudine levissimarum cæremoniarum vis omnis Spiritus Sancti, quam in nobis vigere oportuit, et vera pietas sit extincta; Græcia tota atque Asia, quod pontifices Romani purgatoriorum[1] suorum et indulgentiarum nundinis et vim hominum conscientiis attulerint, et illorum loculos expilaverint. [Cap. xv. Div. 3.]

De tyrannide vero episcoporum Romanorum et fastu Persico, ut alios taceamus, quos illi, quod vitia sua libere et ingenue reprehendant, hostium fortasse suorum loco numerabunt, illi ipsi, qui Romæ in urbe sancta in oculis sanctissimi patris egerunt vitam, et omnia ejus intima videre potuerunt, et nunquam a catholica fide discesserunt, Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Franciscus Petrarcha, Hieronymus Savonarola, abbas Joachimus, Baptista Mantuanus, et, ante istos omnes, Bernardus abbas, sæpe multumque conquesti sunt; ipsumque interdum pontificem, verene an falso nihil dicimus, certe non obscure significabant esse antichristum. [Cap. xvi. Div. 1.]

Neque vero est, quod quisquam objiciat fuisse illos Lutheri discipulos, aut Zuinglii. Extiterunt enim non tantum annis, sed etiam seculis aliquot, antequam illorum nomina audirentur. Videbant illi etiam tum errores irrepsisse in ecclesiam, eosque cupiebant emendatos. Et quid mirum si ecclesia erroribus abducta fuerit; illo præsertim tempore, cum nec episcopus Romanus, qui summæ rerum solus præerat, nec alius fere quisquam, aut officium suum faceret, aut omnino officium suum intelligeret? Vix enim est credibile, illis otiosis et dormientibus, diabolum toto illo[2] tempore aut dormivisse perpetuo, aut fuisse otiosum. Quid enim illi interim fecerint[3], quaque fide curaverint domum Dei, ut nos taceamus, audiant saltem Bernardum suum: "Episcopi," inquit, "quibus nunc commissa est ecclesia Dei, non doctores sunt, sed seductores; non pastores, sed impostores; non prælati, sed Pilati." [Cap. xvii. Div. 1.] Ad Eugenium.

Hæc Bernardus de pontifice, qui se summum appellabat, deque episcopis qui tum sedebant ad gubernaculum. Non erat ille Lutheranus, non erat hæreticus, ab ecclesia non discesserat; tamen episcopos illos, qui tum erant, non dubitavit seductores, impostores, Pilatos appellare. Jam vero cum populus palam seduceretur, et oculis hominum christianorum imponeretur, et Pilatus sederet pro tribunalibus, et Christum Christique membra ferro flammæque adjudicaret, O Deus bone, quo tum loco erat ecclesia Christi! Ex tot autem tamque crassis erroribus quem unquam isti errorem repurgaverunt? aut quem omnino errorem agnoscere et confiteri voluerunt?

Sed, quoniam isti suam esse affirmant universam possessionem ecclesiæ catholicæ, et nos, quod cum ipsis non sentiamus, appellant hæreticos, vide sane, ecclesia ista quam tandem habeat notam aut significationem ecclesiæ Dei. Neque vero Dei ecclesiam, si eam velis serio et diligenter quærere, est adeo difficile deprehendere. Est enim excelso et illustri loco, in vertice montis posita, ædificata videlicet in fundamentis apostolorum et prophetarum. "Ibi (inquit Augustinus) quæramus ecclesiam: ibi decernamus causam nostram." Utque alibi idem ait: "Ecclesia ex sacris et canonicis scripturis ostendenda est; quæque ex illis ostendi non potest non est ecclesia." [Cap. xviii. Div. 1.] De Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. Cap. iv.

Nescio tamen quo pacto, reverentiane, an conscientia, an desperatione victoriæ, ut latro crucem, ita isti semper horrent et fugiunt verbum Dei. Neque id sane mirum. Ut enim cantharum aiunt in opobalsamo, odoratissimo alioqui unguento, facillime extingui atque emori; ita illi causam suam in verbo Dei, tanquam in veneno, extingui vident et suffocari.

Itaque sacrosanctas scripturas, quas Servator noster Jesus Christus non tantum in omni sermone usurpavit, sed etiam ad extremum sanguine suo consignavit, quo populum ab illis, tanquam a re periculosa et noxia, minore negotio abigant, solent literam frigidam, incertam, inutilem, mutam, occidentem, mortuam appellare; quod nobis quidem perinde videtur esse ac si eas omnino nullas esse dicerent. Sed addunt etiam simile quoddam non aptis- Pigh. in Hier.

[1 Purgatorium, 1584.] [2 Ille, 1584.] [3 Fuerint, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

[Pars IV.] simum; eas esse quodammodo nasum cereum, posse fingi flectique in omnes
[Cap. xix. et Div. 1.] modos, et omnium instituto inservire. An pontifex ista a suis dici nescit? aut tales se habere patronos non intelligit?

Audiat ergo quam sancte quamque pie de hac re scribat Hosius quidam, Polonus, ut ipse de se testatur, episcopus, certe homo disertus, et non indoctus, et acerrimus ac fortissimus propugnator ejus causæ. Mirabitur, opinor, hominem pium de illis vocibus, quas sciret profectas ab ore Dei, vel tam impie sentire potuisse, vel tam contumeliose scribere; ita præsertim, ut eam sententiam non suam unius propriam videri vellet, sed istorum communem omnium.

Hosius de expresso verbo Dei[1].

"Nos," inquit, "ipsas scripturas, quarum tot jam non diversas modo, sed etiam contrarias interpretationes afferri[2] videmus, facessere jubebimus; et Deum loquentem potius audiemus, quam ut ad egena ista elementa nos convertamus, et in illis salutem nostram constituamus. Non oportet legis et scripturæ peritum esse, sed a Deo doctum[3]. Vanus est labor qui scripturis impenditur. Scriptura enim creatura est, et egenum quoddam elementum." Hæc Hosius. Eodem prorsus spiritu atque animo, quo olim Montanus aut Marcion, quos aiunt solitos esse dicere, cum sacras scripturas contemptim repudiarent, se multo et plura et meliora scire, quam aut Christus unquam scivisset aut apostoli. Quid ergo hic dicam? O columina[4] religionis! O præsides ecclesiæ Christi! An hæc ea reverentia vestra est quam adhibetis verbo Dei? An nos sacras scripturas, quas D. Paulus ait divinitus afflatas esse, quas Deus tot miraculis illustrarit, in quibus Christi ipsius certissima vestigia impressa sint, quas omnes sancti patres, quas apostoli, quas angeli, quas Christus ipse Filius Dei, cum opus esset, pro testimonio citarit; an eas vos, quasi indignæ sint quæ a vobis audiantur, facessere jubebitis? hoc est, Deo ipsi, qui vobis in scripturis clarissime loquitur, silentium imponetis? aut illud verbum, quo uno, ut Paulus ait, reconciliamur Deo, quodque propheta David ait sanctum et castum esse, et in omne tempus esse duraturum, egenum tantum et mortuum elementum appellabitis? Aut in eo, quod Christus nos diligenter scrutari, quodque in oculis assidue habere jussit, omnem nostram operam dicetis frustra collocari? Et Christum, apostolosque, cum hortarentur populum ad sacras literas, ut ex illis abundarent in omni sapientia et scientia, voluisse hominibus fucum facere? Non est mirum, si isti nos nostraque omnia contemnant, qui Deum ipsum ejusque oracula ita parvi faciant. Insulsum tamen erat, ut nos læderent, injuriam eos tam gravem facere verbo Dei.

[Cap. xxi. Div. 1.] Tamen quasi hoc parum esset, comburunt etiam sacrosanctas scripturas, ut olim impius rex Aza, aut Antiochus, aut Maximinus; easque solent[5] hæreticorum libros appellare; omninoque id videntur velle facere, quod[6] olim Herodes, obtinendæ potentiæ suæ causa, in Judæa fecit. Is enim, cum esset Idumæus, alienus a stirpe et sanguine Judæorum, haberi tamen cuperet pro Judæo, quo magis regnum illorum, quod ab Augusto Cæsare impetraverat, sibi posterisque suis confirmaret, omnes genealogias, quæ apud illos in archivis ab Abrahamo usque diligenter fuerant asservatæ, et ex quibus facile nullo errore deprehendi posset e quo quisque genere oriundus esset, jussit incendi et aboleri; videlicet, ne quid superesset in posterum, quo ipse notari posset alieni sanguinis. Ita prorsus isti, cum omnia sua, quasi ab apostolis aut a Christo tradita, velint haberi in pretio, ne quid uspiam supersit, quod hujusmodi[7] somnia et mendacia possit coarguere, aut incendunt aut populo intervertunt sacras scripturas.

Eusebius.

[Cap. xxi. Div. 2 & 3.] In opere imperfecto. Recte sane et valde in istos apposite scribit Chrysostomus: "Hæretici," inquit, "claudunt januas veritati: sciunt enim, si illæ pateant, ecclesiam non fore suam." Et Theophylactus: "Verbum," inquit, "Dei est lucerna, ad quam fur deprehenditur." Et Tertullianus: "Sacra," inquit, "scriptura hæreticorum fraudes et furta convincit." Cur enim celant, cur supprimunt evangelium, quod Christus de tecto sonare[8] voluit? Cur illud lumen abdunt sub modium, quod stare opor-

[Cap. xxi. Div. 4.]

[1 1581, 1591, 1599 have in the margin, *Hæc Hosius in lib. de expresso verbo Dei, sed astute, et sub alterius persona: quamvis et ipse alias eadem, in eodem etiam libro, disertis verbis affirmet.*]

[2 Efferri, 1584.]

[3 Ductum, 1591.]

[4 Columnia, 1581, culmina, 1584, calumnia, 1591, 1599.]

[5 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *solent*.]

[6 Qui, 1584.]

[7 Hujuscemodi, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

[8 Sonari, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

tuit in candelabro? Cur multitudinis imperitæ cæcitati atque inscitiæ[9] magis [Pars IV.]
quam causæ bonitati confidunt? An putant artes jam suas non videri? aut se [Cap. xxi. Div. 5 & 6.]
nunc, quasi Gygis annulum habeant, posse ambulare inconspicuos? Satis jam [Cap. xxi. Div. 7.]
omnes satis vident, quid sit in illo scrinio pectoris pontificii; vel hoc ipsum
argumento esse potest, non recte ab illis, non vere agi. Suspecta merito videri [Cap. xxi. Div. 8.]
debet ea causa, quæ examen et lucem fugitat. Nam qui male facit, ut Christus
ait, quærit tenebras et odit lucem. Animus bene sibi conscius ultro venit in
conspectum, ut opera quæ a Deo profecta sunt videri possint. Illi autem non
usque adeo cæci sunt, quin ut hoc satis videant, si scripturæ semel obtineant,
actum esse statim de regno suo; utque olim aiunt idola dæmonum, a quibus
omnia tum oracula petebantur, repente obmutuisse ad aspectum Christi, cum
ille venisset in terras, ita nunc omnes artes suas ad aspectum evangelii statim
esse ruituras. Antichristus enim non abjicitur, nisi claritate adventus Christi. 2 Thess. ii.

Nos quidem non, ut isti solent, ad flammas confugimus, sed ad scripturas; [Cap. xxii. Div. 1.]
nec illos ferro obsidemus, sed verbo Dei. Ex illo, ut Tertullianus ait, "fidem
alimus: ex illo spem erigimus: ex illo fiduciam firmamus." Scimus enim evan- [Cap. xxii. Div. 2.]
gelium Jesu Christi esse vim Dei ad salutem, et in illo esse æternam vitam; Rom. i.[10]
utque Paulus monet, ne angelum quidem Dei de cœlo venientem audimus, si nos Gal. i.[10]
ab aliqua parte hujus doctrinæ conetur avellere. Imo, ut vir sanctissimus
Justinus Martyr de se loquitur: "Ne Deo quidem ipsi fidem haberemus, si aliud
nos doceret evangelium." Nam quod isti sacras scripturas, quasi mutas et in- [Cap. xxii. Div. 3.]
utiles, missas faciunt, et ad Deum potius ipsum in ecclesia et in conciliis lo-
quentem, hoc est, ad[11] suos ipsorum sensus et sententias provocant; est ea ratio
inveniendæ veritatis et admodum incerta, et valde periculosa, et quodammodo
fanatica, et a sanctis patribus non approbata. Chrysostomus quidem ait multos [Cap. xxii. Div. 4.]
esse sæpe qui jactent Spiritum Sanctum: at enim qui loquuntur de suo falso
se illum habere gloriantur. "Quemadmodum enim," inquit, "Christus negabat
se loqui a seipso, cum loqueretur ex lege et e prophetis; ita nunc, si quid præter
evangelium nomine Sancti Spiritus nobis obtrudatur, non est credendum. Ut
enim Christus est impletio legis et prophetarum, ita Spiritus est impletio
evangelii." Hæc Chrysostomus.

Isti vero, quamvis non habeant sacras literas, habent tamen fortasse doctores [Pars V.]
veteres et sanctos patres. Id enim semper magnifice jactaverunt, omnem an- [Cap. i. Div. 1.]
tiquitatem et perpetuum omnium temporum consensum a se facere; nostra vero
omnia nova esse et recentia, ante paucos istos annos proximos[12] nunquam audita.

Certe in religionem Dei nihil gravius dici potest, quam si ea accusetur
novitatis. Ut enim in Deo ipso, ita in ejus cultu nihil oportet esse novum.
Nescimus tamen quo pacto ab initio rerum ita vidimus semper fieri, ut quo-
tiescunque Deus quasi accenderet et hominibus patefaceret veritatem suam,
quamvis ea non tantum antiquissima, sed etiam æterna esset, tamen ab impiis
hominibus et hostibus recens et nova diceretur. Impius et sanguinarius vir
Aman, ut Judæos in odium adduceret, sic eos apud regem Assuerum accusavit;
"Habes hic," inquit, "rex, populum novis quibusdam utentem legibus, ad omnes Esth. iii.[10]
autem tuas leges contumacem et rebellem." Paulus etiam Athenis, cum primum
tradere cœpisset atque indicare evangelium, dictus est novorum deorum, hoc Act. xvii.[10]
est, novæ religionis annunciator. Et, "an non possumus," inquiunt, "ex te scire
quæ sit ista nova doctrina?" Et Celsus, cum ex professo scriberet adversus
Christum, ut ejus evangelium novitatis nomine per contemptum eluderet: "An,"
inquit, "post tot secula nunc tandem subiit Deum tam sera recordatio?"
Eusebius etiam auctor est, christianam religionem ab initio contumeliæ causa
dictam fuisse νέαν καὶ ξένην, hoc est, peregrinam et novam. Ita isti nostra omnia
ut peregrina et nova condemnant; sua autem omnia, quæcunque ea sunt, laudari
volunt ut antiquissima. Ut hodie magi et malefici, quibus cum diis inferis res [Cap. i. Div. 2.]
est, dicere solent se habere libros suos, atque omnia sacra et recondita mysteria
ab Athanasio, a Cypriano, a Moyse, ab Abelo, ab Adamo, atque etiam ab

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[9 Cæcitate et atque inscitia, 1562, 1584.]
[10 These references are inserted from 1584.]
[11 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *ad*.]
[12 1584 omits *proximos*.]

[Pars V.] archangelo Raphaele, quo ars illa excelsior et divinior judicetur, quæ ab hujusmodi patronis et inventoribus profecta sit; ita isti, quo illa sua religio, quam ipsi sibi idque non ita pridem pepererunt, vel stultis hominibus, vel parum quid agant quidque agatur cogitantibus, facilius et magis commendetur, eam solent dicere ad se ab Augustino, a[1] Hieronymo, a Chrysostomo, ab Ambrosio, ab apostolis, a Christo ipso pervenisse. Satis enim sciunt nihil istis nominibus popularius esse, aut in vulgus gratius. Verum quid si ea quæ isti nova videri volunt inveniantur esse antiquissima? Rursus quid si ea fere omnia quæ isti antiquitatis nomine tantopere prædicant, ubi ea probe ac diligenter excussa fuerint, ad extremum inveniantur recentia et nova?

[Cap. i. Div. 3.]

Profecto Judæorum leges et cæremoniæ, quamvis eas Amanus accusaret novitatis, non poterant hominum cuiquam vere et recte cogitanti videri novæ. Erant enim antiquissimis tabulis consignatæ. Et Christus, quamvis eum multi putarent ab Abrahamo et priscis patribus discessisse, et novam quandam religionem suo nomine invexisse, tamen vere[2] respondit: "Si crederetis Mosi, crederetis mihi quoque." Nam doctrina mea non est ita nova. "Moses enim," antiquissimus auctor, cui vos omnia tribuitis[4], "de me locutus est." Et D. Paulus, evangelium Jesu Christi, etsi a multis novum esse judicetur, tamen habet, inquit, antiquissimum testimonium legis et prophetarum. Nostra vero doctrina, quam rectius possumus[5] Christi catholicam doctrinam appellare, ita non est nova, ut eam nobis antiquus dierum Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi monumentis vetustissimis in evangelio et in prophetarum atque apostolorum libris commendarit; eaque nunc nova nemini videri possit, nisi si cui aut prophetarum fides, aut evangelium, aut Christus ipse videatur novus. Istorum vero religio, si ita antiqua et vetus est, uti eam ipsi videri volunt; cur eam[6] ab exemplis primitivæ ecclesiæ ex antiquis patribus et conciliis veteribus non probant? Cur tam vetus causa tamdiu deserta jacet sine patrono? Ferrum quidem et flammam semper habuerunt ad manum: de conciliis vero antiquis et patribus magnum silentium. Atqui absurdum erat ab istis ita cruentis et feris rationibus incipere, si potuissent alia argumenta leviora et mitiora invenire[7]. Quod si illi ita prorsus fidunt vetustati et nihil simulant; cur ante non ita multos annos Joannes Clement[8] Anglus aliquot folia vetustissimi patris et Græci episcopi Theodoreti, in quibus ille perspicue ac luculenter docebat naturam panis in eucharistia non aboleri, cum putaret nullum aliud exemplar posse uspiam inveniri, inspectantibus aliquot bonis viris et fide dignis, laceravit et abjecit in focum? Cur negat Albertus Pighius, veterem patrem Augustinum recte sensisse de peccato originis? aut de matrimonio, quod post votum nuncupatum sit initum, quod Augustinus asserit esse matrimonium, nec posse rescindi, illum errare et falsum esse dicit, nec proba uti dialectica? Cur nuper, cum excuderent veterem patrem Origenem in evangelium Joannis, sextum illud caput, ubi illum credibile, vel potius certum est, contra ipsos de eucharistia multa tradidisse, integrum omiserunt; et librum mutilum potius quam integrum, qui errores[9] suos coargueret, dare maluerunt? An hoc est antiquitati confidere, antiquorum patrum scripta lacerare, supprimere, truncare, comburere? Operæ pretium est videre quam pulchre isti cum illis patribus, quos jactare solent esse suos, de religione conveniant. Vetus concilium Eliberinum[10] decrevit, ne quid, quod colitur a populo, pingeretur in templis. Vetus pater Epiphanius ait esse horrendum nefas, et non ferendum flagitium, si quis vel pictam, quamvis Christi ipsius, imaginem excitet in templis Christianorum: isti imaginibus et statuis, quasi sine illis religio nulla sit, omnia templa sua atque omnes angulos compleverunt. Veteres patres Origenes et Chrysostomus hortantur populum ad lectionem sacrarum literarum, ut libros coemant, ut de rebus sacris inter se, uxores cum viris, parentes cum liberis domi disputent: isti scripturas condemnant tanquam mortua elementa, et ab illis quantum maxime possunt arcent populum. Veteres patres Cyprianus, Epiphanius,

Joh. v. 3

[Cap. ii. Div. 1 & 2.]

[Cap. ii. Div. 3.] Dist. 27. Quidam. De Bono Viduit. cap. x. [Cap. ii. Div. 4.] Caus. xxvii. 41. Nuptiarum bonum. In controversiis. Liber hodie circumfertur [Cap. iii. Div. 1 & 2.] mutilus. Cap. 3.

[Cap. iii. Div. 3.]

[Cap. iii. Div. 4.] Origen. in Levit. cap. xvi. Chrysost. in Matt. prim. Hom. 2. [Cap. iii. Div. 4 & 5.] In Joan. Hom. 31.

[1 Ab, 1584.]
[2 1584 omits *vere.*]
[3 This reference is inserted from 1584.]
[4 Tribuistis, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[5 Possimus, 1599.]
[6 Unam, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[7 Inveniri, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[8 Clemens, 1584, 1591, 1599.]
[9 Errore, 1562.]
[10 Elibertinum, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

Hieronymus, si quis forte voverit se velle vivere vitam cœlibem, et postea vivat [Pars V.] impure, nec possit incendia cupiditatum cohibere, satius esse dicunt, ut ducat uxorem, et sese caste gerat in matrimonio; atque illud ipsum matrimonium vetus pater Augustinus ratum et firmum esse judicat, nec oportere revocari: isti eum, qui se voto semel obstrinxerit, quantumvis uratur postea, quantumvis scortetur, quantumvis flagitiose et perdite contaminetur, tamen illum non sinunt uxorem ducere; aut, si forte duxerit, tamen negant illud esse matrimonium, et satius multo ac sanctius esse docent concubinam aut scortum alere quam ita vivere. Augustinus vetus pater querebatur de multitudine inanium cæremoniarum, quibus jam tum videbat hominum animos et conscientias opprimi: isti, quasi aliud nihil Deo curæ sit, ita cæremonias auxerunt in immensum, ut nihil jam pene aliud in illorum templis et sacris relictum sit. Vetus pater Augustinus negat fas esse monachum ignavum in otio degere, et specie ac simulatione sanctitatis ex alieno vivere; et illum qui ita vivat, vetus pater Apollonius ait latroni esse similem: isti monachorum habent, armentane dicam an greges, qui cum prorsus nihil agant, et ne simulent quidem, aut præ se gerant[11] speciem ullam sanctitatis, tamen non tantum vivant sed etiam luxurientur ex alieno. Vetus concilium Romanum decrevit, ne quis intersit sacris quæ dicantur ab illo sacerdote, quem certum sit alere concubinam: isti et concubinas locant mercede sacerdotibus suis, et ad illorum sacrilegia homines invitos per vim adigunt. Veteres canones apostolorum illum episcopum, qui simul et civilem magistratum et ecclesiasticam functionem obire velit, jubent ab officio summoveri: isti utrumque magistratum et obeunt, et obire omnino volunt; vel potius alterum, quem ab illis maxime obiri oportuit, non attingunt; nemo tamen est qui illos jubeat summoveri. Vetus concilium Gangrense jubet, ne quis ita distinguat sacerdotem cœlibem a marito, ut cœlibatus causa alterum putet altero sanctiorem: isti eos ita distinguunt, ut a pio et probo viro, qui uxorem duxerit, omnia sua sacra statim putent profanari. Vetus imperator Justinianus jussit in sacro ministerio omnia clara et quam maxime arguta et expressa voce pronuntiari, ut fructus ex ea re aliquis ad populum redire posset: isti, ne quid populus intelligat, omnia sua non tantum obscura et summissa voce, sed etiam aliena et barbara lingua mussitant. Vetus concilium Carthaginense jubet, ne quid in sacro cœtu legatur præter scripturas canonicas: isti ea legunt in templis suis, quæ ne ipsi quidem dubitant esse mera mendacia et inanes fabulas. Quod si quis ista infirma putat esse ac levia, quod ab imperatoribus et minutis quibusdam episcopis et non ita plenis conciliis decreta fuerint, et papæ magis auctoritate ac nomine delectatur; Julius Papa diserte vetat, ne sacerdos, dum peragit sacra mysteria, panem immergat[13] in calicem: isti, contra decretum Julii Papæ, panem dividunt et immergunt. Clemens papa negat fas esse episcopo gerere utrumque gladium; et si utrumque, inquit, habere vis, et teipsum decipies, et eos qui te audiant[14]. Jam papa gladium utrumque sibi vendicat, et utrumque gerit; quare minus mirum videri debet si illud secutum sit quod Clemens ait, ut ille et seipsum deceperit, et illos qui eum audierint. Leo papa in uno templo unam tantum ait fas esse missam dicere uno die: isti in uno templo quotidie sæpe denas, sæpe vicenas, sæpe tricenas, sæpe etiam plures missas dicunt; ut miser spectator vix scire possit quo se potissimum debeat vertere. Gelasius papa, si quis dividat eucharistiam, et cum alteram partem suscipiat abstineat ab altera, eum ait improbe facere et sacrilegium committere: isti, contra verbum Dei contraque Gelasium papam, alteram tantum partem eucharistiæ populo dari jubent; et in ea re sacerdotes suos alligant sacrilegio.

Epist. 11. Lib. i. Contr. Apost. Hæret. 61. De Virg. Serv. ad Demetriadem. Ad Januar. [Cap. iii. Div. 5.] Div. Opere Monachorum. [Cap. iii. Div. 6.] Can. 3. [Cap. iii. Div. 7.] Can. 80. [Cap. iii. Div. 8.] [Cap. iii. Div. 9.] In Novel. Const. 123. et 146. [Cap. iii. Div. 10.] Tert. Carth. cap. 47. [Cap. iv. Div. 1.] De Consecr. Dist. 2, Cum enim nemo[12]. [Cap. iv. Div. 2.] [Cap. iv. Div. 3.]

Quod si illi hæc omnia usu jam ipso antiquata esse dicent, et mortua, et nihil ad ista tempora pertinere; tamen, ut omnes intelligant quæ fides istis hominibus habenda sit, quaque spe concilia ab illis convocentur, videamus paucis, quam probe curent ea quæ proximis istis annis, recenti adhuc memoria, in publico concilio legitime indicto ipsi sancte observanda esse decreverunt. In concilio proximo Tridentino, vix ante annos quatuordecim, sancitum est communibus suffragiis omnium ordinum, ne cui uni committerentur duo sacerdotia uno tempore. Ubi [Cap. v. Div. 1.]

[11 Ferant, 1584.]
[12 1584 omits this reference.]
[13 Emergat, 1591.]
[14 Audient, 1581, 1584, 1591, 1599.]

[Pars V.] nunc est illa sanctio? An ea quoque tum[1] cito antiquata est et mortua? Nam isti quidem non tantum duo sacerdotia, sed etiam complura sæpe monasteria, et episcopatus modo binos, modo ternos, modo quaternos uni tribuunt; eique non tantum indocto, sed etiam sæpe homini militari. In eodem concilio decretum est, oportere omnes episcopos docere evangelium: isti neque docent, neque in pulpitum unquam ascendunt, neque id putant quicquam ad munus suum pertinere. Quæ ergo est ista pompa vetustatis? Quid de priscorum patrum, quid de conciliorum novorum veterumque nominibus gloriantur? Quid videri volunt niti auctoritate illorum, quos cum visum est pro libidine contemnunt?

[Cap. v. Div. 2.] [Cap. vi. Div. 1.] Sed gestit animus cum pontifice potius ipso agere, et hæc illi coram in os dicere. Dic ergo nobis, pie pontifex, qui omnia antiqua crepas, et omnes tibi uni addictos esse gloriaris; ex omnibus patribus quis unquam te vel summum pontificem, vel universalem episcopum, vel caput ecclesiæ appellavit? Quis tibi traditum esse dixit utrumque gladium? Quis te habere auctoritatem et jus convocandi concilia? Quis universum mundum esse diœcesin tuam? Quis de tua plenitudine episcopos omnes accipere? Quis tibi datam esse omnem potestatem tam in cœlo, quam[2] in terra? Quis te nec a regibus, nec a toto clero, nec ab universo populo posse judicari? Quis reges et imperatores, de jussu et voluntate Christi, a te accipere potestatem? Quis te, ita exquisita et mathematica ratione, septuagies septies majorem esse maximis regibus? Quis tibi potestatem ampliorem tributam esse, quam reliquis patriarchis? Quis te Dominum Deum esse, aut non purum hominem, aut quiddam coagmentatum et concretum ex Deo et homine? Quis te unum fontem esse omnis juris? Quis te imperium habere in purgatorium? Quis te pro tuo arbitrio imperare posse angelis Dei? Quis te esse regem regum et dominum dominantium unquam dixit? Possumus alia quoque eodem modo. Ex omni numero veterum episcoporum et patrum, quis unquam unus te docuit, vel inspectante populo missam privatam dicere, vel eucharistiam supra caput attollere, qua in re omnis nunc religio tua continetur, vel Christi sacramenta truncare, et, contra ejus institutum atque expressa verba, altera parte populum fraudare? Utque semel finem faciamus, ex omnibus patribus quis unus te docuit Christi sanguinem et sanctorum martyrum merita dispensare, et indulgentias tuas atque[3] omnia spatia purgatorii, ceu merces in foro, vendere?

[Cap. vi. Div. 2.] [Cap. vi. Div. 3.] [Cap. vi. Div. 4.] [Cap. vi. Div. 5.] [Cap. vi. Div. 6.] [Cap. vi. Div. 7.] [Cap. vi. Div. 8.] [Cap. vi. Div. 9.] [Cap. vi. Div. 10.] [Cap. vi. Div. 11.] [Cap. vi. Div. 12.] [Cap. vi. Div. 13.] [Cap. vi. Div. 14.] [Cap. vi. Div. 15.] [Cap. vi. Div. 16.] [Cap. vii. Div. 1.] De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam. In Extr. Bonif. VIII. [Cap. viii. Div. 1.] Durandus. Concil. Lat. sub Julio II. Dist. 9. Innoc. De Major. et Obed. Soli. In Extrav. Joan. XXII. c. Cum inter nonnullos. In Glossa finali. In edit. impressa Paris. 1503. Anton. de Rosel.

Soliti sunt isti sæpe reconditam quandam doctrinam suam et multiplices variasque lectiones prædicare. Proferant ergo nunc aliquid si possunt, ut aliquid saltem legisse ac scire videantur. Clamarunt sæpe fortiter in omnibus circulis, omnes partes religionis suæ antiquas esse, et non tantum multitudine, sed etiam consensu et continuatione omnium nationum et temporum approbatas.

Ostendant ergo aliquando antiquitatem istam suam: faciant, ut appareat ista, quæ tantopere prædicant esse tam late propagata. Doceant omnes nationes christianas in suam istam religionem concessisse. Sed fugiunt, ut jam ante diximus, a decretis ipsi suis; eaque quæ ante ita paucos annos ab ipsis in omnem æternitatem sancita erant, tam brevi tempore resciderunt. Quid ergo illis fidendum est in patribus, in veteribus conciliis, in verbis Dei? Non habent, O Deus bone, non habent ea, quæ se habere gloriantur; non antiquitatem, non universalitatem, non locorum, non temporum omnium consensum. Idque ipsi, etsi dissimulatum potius cuperent, tamen non ignorant: imo etiam interdum non obscure confitentur. Itaque veterum conciliorum et patrum sanctiones aiunt ejusmodi esse ut interdum mutari possint; aliis enim temporibus ecclesiæ alia atque alia decreta convenire. Atque ita sese abdunt sub nomine ecclesiæ, et inani fuco miseris mortalibus illudunt. Et mirum est, aut ita cæcos esse homines, ut ista videre non possint; aut, si videant, ita esse patientes, ut ea tam facile tamque æquo animo possint ferre.

[Cap. ix. Div. 1.] Sed cum illa, tanquam nimium jam vetera et obsoleta, juberent esse irrita; alia quædam fortasse meliora atque utiliora reposuerunt. Solent enim dicere, ne Christum quidem ipsum aut apostolos, si reviviscant, melius aut sanctius administrare posse ecclesiam Dei, quam quomodo nunc administratur[4] ab ipsis.

[1 Tam, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[2 Quem, 1599.]
[3 Utque, 1584.]
[4 Administretur, 1584.]

Reposuerunt illi quidem alia, sed, quemadmodum Hieremias ait, "Paleam pro tritico;" eaque, ut ait Esaias, quæ Deus ab illis non requisivit. Obturarunt omnes venas aquæ vivæ, et exsciderunt populo Dei cisternas ruinosas et lutulentas, plenas limo et sordibus, quæ nec habent[5] aquam puram, nec eam poterant continere. Eripuerunt populo sacram communionem, verbum Dei, unde omnis consolatio petenda erat, verum cultum Numinis, rectum usum sacramentorum et precum; dederunt autem nobis de suo, quibus nos interim oblectaremus, sales, aquas, ampullas, sputa, ramusculos, bullas, jubilæa, indulgentias, cruces, suffitus, et infinitum[6] numerum cæremoniarum, et ludos, ut Plautus ait, "ludificabiles." In his illi rebus omnem religionem collocarunt: his rebus docuerunt Deum rite placari posse; his abigi dæmones; his confirmari hominum conscientias. Hæc videlicet sunt pigmenta et myrothecia religionis christianæ. Hæc Deo videnti grata et accepta sunt: hæc oportuit in honorem venire, ut Christi et apostolorum instituta tollerentur. Atque, ut olim rex impius Hieroboam, cum cultum Dei sustulisset, et populum ad aureos vitulos adduxisset, ne forte postea mutarent voluntatem, et a se dilaberentur, et redirent Hierosolymam ad templum Dei, eos longa oratione cohortatus est ad constantiam, "Hi," inquiens, "Israel, sunt dii tui:" hoc pacto Deus vester jussit se a vobis coli; "grave autem vobis et molestum erit iter tam longinquum suscipere, et quotannis ad salutandum et colendum Deum ascendere Hierosolymam;" ita prorsus isti, cum semel traditionum suarum causa irritam fecissent legem Dei, ne populus postea oculos aperiret, et alio dilaberetur, atque aliunde peteret certiorem aliquam rationem salutis suæ, O quoties acclamarunt hunc esse illum cultum, qui Deo placeat, quemque ille a nobis exigat, quoque iratus flecti velit! His rebus ecclesiæ consensum contineri; his rebus omnia peccata expiari, et tranquillari conscientias; qui discesserit ab his, eum sibi nihil spei ad æternam salutem reliquisse! Grave autem ac molestum populo esse, ad Christum, ad apostolos, ad veteres patres respicere, quidque illi velint aut jubeant perpetuo attendere! Hoc videlicet est populum Dei ab infirmis mundi elementis, a fermento scribarum et[7] Pharisæorum, et ab humanis traditionibus abducere. Christi atque apostolorum jussa loco moveri oportuit, ut ista succederent. O justam causam, cur vetus et multis seculis probata doctrina antiquaretur, et in ecclesiam Dei nova forma religionis inveheretur! Tamen quicquid est, clamant isti nihil oportere immutari; his rebus hominum animis satisfieri; Romanam ecclesiam ista decrevisse; eam errare non posse. Sylvester enim Prierias ait ecclesiam Romanam esse normam et regulam veritatis; sacras scripturas ab illa et auctoritatem et fidem accipere. "Doctrina," inquit, "Romanæ ecclesiæ est regula fidei infallibilis, a qua sacra scriptura robur accipit." Et "indulgentiæ," inquit, "auctoritate scripturæ non innotuerunt nobis, sed innotuerunt auctoritate Romanæ ecclesiæ Romanorumque pontificum, quæ major est." Pighius etiam non dubitat dicere, injussu Romanæ ecclesiæ ne clarissimæ quidem scripturæ credendum esse. Prorsus, ut si quis istorum, qui Latine recte ac pure loqui non possit, aliquid tamen in ea lingua pro forensi consuetudine celeriter et[8] expedite balbutiat, omnino dicat ad eum nunc modum aliis etiam omnibus loquendum esse, quo ante multos annos Mammetrectus aut Catholicon locuti sint, quoque adhuc ipsi utantur in foro; sic enim satis intelligi posse quid dicatur, et hominum voluntati satisfieri; ridiculum autem esse, nunc tandem novo dicendi genere turbare orbem terrarum, et Ciceronis aut Cæsaris veterem in dicendo puritatem atque eloquentiam revocare.

[Pars V.] [Cap. ix. Div. 2.] [Cap. x. Div. 1.] [Cap. x. Div. 2.]

Tantum, scilicet, isti debent inscitiæ ac tenebris superiorum temporum. Multa, ut ait quidam, habentur sæpe in pretio, tantum quod dicata aliquando fuerint deorum templis: ita nos videmus multa hodie probari ab istis, et magni fieri, non quod ea tanti esse judicent, sed tantum quod recepta fuerint consuetudine, et quodammodo dicata templo Dei.

Plinius.

At ecclesia, inquiunt, nostra errare non potest. Id, opinor, ita dicunt, ut olim Lacedæmonii solebant dicere, in tota sua republica nullum posse inveniri adulterum, cum revera omnes potius essent adulteri, et incertis nuptiis et uxoribus inter se communibus uterentur; aut ut hodie canonistæ ventris causa solent de papa

[Cap. xi. Div. 1.]

[5 Habet, 1562, 1584.]
[6 Infinitam, 1562, 1584.]
[7 1584 omits *et*.]
[8 1584 repeats *et*.]

[Pars V.] Summa Angelica, dict. Papa. Theod. de Schism[1].

dicere, illum, cum sit dominus omnium beneficiorum, etsi pretio vendat episcopatus, monasteria, sacerdotia, et nihil a se gratis abire sinat; tamen, cum ea omnia dicat esse sua, etiamsi maxime velit, non posse committere simoniam. Quam autem id firmum sit, quamque consentanee[2] rationi dicatur, nos adhuc videre non possumus; nisi forte, ut olim veteres Romani victoriæ, ita isti veritati, postquam ea semel ad illos pervenisset, alas quibus advolaverat detraxerint, ne posset in posterum avolare. Sed quid si illis Hieremias dicat, ut supra commemoravimus, hæc esse verba mendacii? Quid si idem rursus dicat, illos ipsos, quos vinitores esse oportuit, dissipasse ac perdidisse vineam Domini? Quid si Christus dicat, illos, quibus maxime templum oportuit esse curæ, ex templo Domini fecisse speluncam latronum? Quod si errare ecclesia Romana non potest, felicitatem ejus oportet majorem esse quam istorum prudentiam: ea enim est illorum vita, doctrina, diligentia, ut per eos quidem non tantum errare ecclesia, sed etiam funditus interire et extingui possit. Profecto si errare ecclesia ea potest, quæ a verbo Dei, quæ a jussis Christi, quæ ab apostolorum institutis, quæ a primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplis, quæ a veterum patrum et conciliorum sanctionibus, quæ a suis ipsius decretis discesserit, quæ nullis, nec veteribus, nec novis, nec suis, nec alienis, nec humanis, nec divinis legibus teneri velit; certum est ecclesiam Romanam non tantum potuisse errare, sed etiam flagitiose et turpiter erravisse.

[Cap. xi. Div. 2.]

Matt. xxi.[3]

[Cap. xii. Div. 1.]

[Cap. xii. Div. 2.]

At de nostris, inquient, fuistis: nunc autem apostatæ facti estis, et a nobis discessistis. Discessimus quidem ab illis, et ea de re et Deo Optimo Maximo gratias agimus, et nobis magnopere gratulamur. At a primitiva ecclesia, ab apostolis, a Christo non discessimus. Educati quidem sumus apud istos in tenebris et ignoratione Dei, ut Moses in disciplinis et in sinu Ægyptiorum. "De vestris fuimus," inquit Tertullianus, "fateor; nec mirum: fiunt enim," inquit, "non nascuntur Christiani." Sed cur ipsi de suis illis septem montibus, in quibus olim Roma stetit, descenderunt, ut in planitie potius, in campo Martio habitarent? Dicent[4] fortasse, quod jam aquarum ductus, sine quibus non possent commode vivere, in illis montibus defecissent. Dent isti sane eam nobis veniam de aqua æternæ vitæ, quam volunt sibi dari de aqua puteali. Aqua jam apud istos defecerat: "Seniores," ut Hieremias ait, "mittebant parvulos suos ad aquas; at illi, cum nihil invenirent, miseri et siti perditi retulerunt vasa inania." "Egeni," inquit Esaias, "et pauperes quærebant aquas, sed eas nullas uspiam invenerunt. Lingua illorum siti jam aruerat." Isti omnes canales et ductus perfregerant: isti obstruxerant omnes venas, et cœno lutoque oppleverant fontem aquæ vivæ: utque olim Caligula, occlusis omnibus horreis, publicam populo inediam et famem, ita illi, obturatis omnibus fontibus verbi Dei, sitim populo miserabilem induxerant. Illi hominibus famem, ut ait Amos propheta, sitimque attulerant; "non famem panis, non sitim aquæ, sed audiendi verbi Dei." Circumibant miseri quærentes scintillam aliquam divinæ lucis, ad quam exhilararent conscientias; at[5] ea jam prorsus extincta erat: nihil potuerunt invenire. Hæc erat conditio, hæc erat miserabilis forma ecclesiæ Dei. Misere in ea sine evangelio, sine luce, sine consolatione ulla vivebatur.

[Cap. xiii. Div. 1.]

Amos viii.[3]

[Cap. xiii. Div. 2.]
[Cap. xiv. Div. 1.]

Quare, etsi discessio illis nostra molesta est, tamen cogitare debent quam justa fuerit causa discessionis. Nam si dicent, ab ea societate in qua fueris educatus, nullo modo fas esse discedere, facile possunt in nostro capite et prophetas, et apostolos, et Christum ipsum condemnare. Nam cur hoc etiam non queruntur, Lothum e Sodoma, Abrahamum e Chaldæa, Hebræos ex Ægypto, Christum a Judæis, Paulum a Pharisæis discessisse? Nisi enim justa aliqua possit esse causa discessionis, nihil videmus cur non illi quoque possint eodem modo factionis et seditionis accusari.

[Cap. xiv. Div. 2.]

[Cap. xiv. Div. 3.]

Quod si nos damnandi sumus pro hæreticis, qui istorum imperata omnia non facimus; quid illi? qui tandem aut quales videri debent, qui Christi et apostolorum imperata contemnunt? Si nos sumus schismatici, qui discessimus ab istis; quo tandem illos nomine appellabimus, qui a Græcis, a quibus

[1 1584 omits this reference.]
[2 Consentaneo, 1584.]
[3 These references are inserted from 1584.]
[4 Dicant, 1584.]
[5 Ac, 1584.]

fidem acceperunt, ab ecclesia primitiva, a Christo ipso, ab apostolis, tanquam a parentibus discesserunt? Nam Græci quidem, qui hodie profitentur religionem et nomen Christi, etsi multa habeant contaminata, magnam tamen adhuc partem retinent eorum quæ acceperant ab apostolis. Itaque nec privatas habent missas, nec truncata sacramenta, nec purgatoria, nec indulgentias. Pontificios vero titulos et magnifica nomina tanti faciunt, ut quicunque eos imponat sibi, seque vel universalem episcopum vel ecclesiæ totius caput velit appellari, eum illi non dubitent et superbum hominem, et in omnes alios episcopos fratres suos contumeliosum, et hæreticum esse dicere. [Pars V.] [Cap. xv. Div. 1.]

Jam vero cum perspicuum sit, et negari non possit, istos ab illis a quibus evangelium, a quibus fidem, a quibus religionem, a quibus ecclesiam acceperunt, defecisse; quid causæ est, cur nunc ad eosdem, tanquam ad fontes, nolint revocari? Cur, quasi apostoli omnes patresque nihil viderint, ita illorum temporum similitudinem reformidant? An enim isti plus vident, aut ecclesiam Dei pluris faciunt, quam illi qui ista tradiderunt? Nam nos quidem discessimus ab illa ecclesia, in qua nec verbum Dei pure audiri potuit, nec sacramenta administrari, nec Dei nomen, ut oportuit, invocari; quam ipsi fatentur multis in rebus esse vitiosam; in qua nihil erat, quod quenquam posset prudentem hominem et de sua salute cogitantem retinere. Postremo, ab ecclesia ea discessimus, quæ nunc est, non quæ olim fuit; atque ita discessimus, ut Daniel e cavea leonum, ut tres illi pueri ex incendio; nec tam discessimus, quam ab istis diris et devotionibus ejecti sumus. [Cap. xv. Div. 2.] [Cap. xv. Div. 3.] [Cap. xv. Div. 4.]

Accessimus vero ad illam ecclesiam, in qua ne ipsi quidem, si vere atque ex animo loqui volunt, negare possunt omnia caste ac reverenter et, quantum nos maxime assequi potuimus, proxime ad priscorum temporum rationem administrari. Conferant enim ecclesias nostras suasque inter se: videbunt et se turpissime ab apostolis, et nos ab ipsis justissime discessisse. Nos enim cum Christo, apostolis, et sanctis patribus eucharistiam populo damus integram: isti, contra omnes patres, contra omnes apostolos, contra Christum ipsum, cum summo, ut Gelasius ait, sacrilegio, sacramenta dividunt, et alteram partem populo eripiunt. [Cap. xv. Div. 5.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 1.]

Nos cœnam dominicam ad Christi institutionem revocavimus, eamque quam maxime quamque plurimis communem, utque appellatur ita re ipsa communionem esse volumus: isti contra institutum Christi omnia immutarunt, et ex sacra communione privatam fecerunt missam; atque ita nos cœnam præbemus populo, isti inane spectaculum.

Nos cum antiquissimis patribus affirmamus, corpus Christi non comedi nisi ab hominibus piis et fidelibus, et imbutis Spiritu Christi: isti[6] docent ipsissimum corpus Christi re ipsa, utque ipsi loquuntur, realiter, et substantialiter, non tantum ab impiis et infidelibus, sed etiam, quod horrendum dictu est, a muribus et canibus posse comedi.

Nos ita precamur in templis, ut, quemadmodum Paulus monet, populus scire possit quid precemur, et communibus votis respondere, Amen: isti, ut æs tinniens, voces in templis ignotas et peregrinas, sine intelligentia, sine sensu, sine mente fundunt; et omnino id agunt, ne populus quicquam possit intelligere. 1 Cor. xiv.

Et ne omnia discrimina commemoremus (sunt enim prope infinita), nos scripturas sacras convertimus in omnes linguas: isti eas vix exstare patiuntur in ulla lingua. Nos invitamus populum ad legendum et audiendum verbum Dei: isti abigunt. Nos causam ab omnibus cognosci volumus: isti fugiunt judicium. Nos scientia nitimur; isti inscitia. Nos luci fidimus; isti tenebris. Nos colimus, ut par est, voces apostolorum et prophetarum: isti comburunt. Postremo, nos in Dei causa Dei unius judicio stare volumus; isti stare volunt suo. Quod si illi hæc omnia tranquillo animo, et ad audiendum discendumque comparato spectare velint; non tantum probabunt institutum nostrum, qui, relictis erroribus, Christum ejusque apostolos secuti sumus; sed ipsi etiam a se deficient, seque ultro aggregabunt ad partes nostras. [Cap. xvi. Div. 2.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 3.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 4.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 5.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 6. & 7.] [Cap. xvi. Div. 8.]

[6 Ita, 1584.]

[Pars VI.] [Cap. i. Div. 1.] ATQUI sine sacro œcumenico concilio nefas, inquient, fuit ista tentare; ibi enim esse omnem vim ecclesiæ; ibi Christum pollicitum esse sese semper præsto adfuturum. Atqui ipsi mandata Dei et apostolorum decreta violarunt, utque jam diximus, omnia prope, non tantum instituta, sed etiam dogmata primitivæ ecclesiæ dissipaverunt, nihil exspectato sacro concilio.

Verum quod aiunt, nihil cuiquam fas esse innovare sine concilio, quis tandem scripsit nobis istas leges? Aut unde isti hoc edictum habuerunt?

[Cap. i. Div. 2.] Agesilaus. Ridicule quidem fecit ille rex, qui, cum oraculo certus esset de sententia et voluntate summi Jovis, postea rem integram retulit ad Apollinem, ut sciret an idem illi videretur quod patri. Nos autem multo ineptius faceremus, si, cum Deum ipsum nobis in sacrosanctis scripturis aperte loquentem audiamus, ejusque voluntatem et mentem intelligamus, postea, quasi id nihil sit, rem integram referre velimus ad concilium; quod non aliud est quam quærere, an idem hominibus videatur quod Deo, et an homines velint man-
[Cap. i. Div. 3.] data Dei auctoritate sua comprobare. Quid enim? nisi concilium velit et jubeat, verum non erit verum? aut Deus non erit Deus? Si Christus ab initio ita facere voluisset, ut nihil doceret aut diceret invitis episcopis, omnem autem doctrinam suam ad Annam et Caipham retulisset, ubi nunc esset fides christiana? aut quis unquam audisset evangelium? Petrus quidem, quem pontifex sæpius magisque prædicare solet quam Jesum Christum, fidenter restitit sacro concilio; et "satius," inquit, "est obtemperare Deo quam hominibus." Et Paulus, cum semel animo hausisset evangelium, idque non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per solam voluntatem Dei, non deliberavit cum carne et sanguine, nec retulit ad cognatos aut fratres suos, sed statim abiit in Arabiam, ut divina mysteria Deo auctore publicaret.

[Cap. ii. Div. 1.] Nos quidem concilia, et episcoporum doctorumque hominum conventus et colloquia non contemnimus: neque ea quæ fecimus, prorsus sine episcopis aut sine concilio fecimus. Plenis comitiis res acta est, longa deliberatione,
[Cap. iii. Div. 1.] frequenti synodo. De isto vero concilio, quod nunc a Pio pontifice simulatur, in quo homines non appellati, non auditi, non visi, ita facile condemnantur, quid nobis exspectandum aut sperandum sit, non est difficile divinare.

[Cap. iii. Div. 2.] Nazianzenus olim, cum suo tempore videret homines in hujusmodi conventibus ita esse cæcos et obstinatos, ut abducerentur affectibus, et victoriam magis quærerent quam veritatem, diserte pronuntiavit, se nullius concilii unquam exitum vidisse bonum. Quid ille nunc diceret, si hodie viveret, et istorum conatus intelligeret? Nam tum quidem, etsi studebatur partibus, tamen et causæ cognoscebantur, et[1] errores manifesti omnium partium suffragiis communibus tollebantur. Isti vero nec causam disceptari libere volunt, nec, quantumcunque sit errorum, quicquam patiuntur immutari.

Ecclesia non errat[2]. Id enim illi sæpe et sine fronte jactare solent, ecclesiam suam errare non posse, nihil esse in ea vitii, nihil esse nobis concedendum; aut, si quid sit, tamen episcoporum et abbatum esse hoc judicium; illos esse moderatores rerum; illos esse ecclesiam Dei. Aristoteles ait, Spurios non posse facere civitatem: an autem ex istis effici possit ecclesia Dei, ipsi videant. Certe nec legitimi sunt abbates, nec genuini episcopi.

[Cap. iii. Div. 3.] Sed sint sane ecclesia; audiantur in conciliis; soli habeant jus suffragandi. Olim tamen cum ecclesia Dei, si ad istorum quidem ecclesiam conferatur, satis commode regeretur, ut Cyprianus ait, advocabantur ad ecclesiasticarum causarum cognitionem et presbyteri et diaconi et nonnulla etiam pars plebis.

[Cap. iii. Div. 4.] Sed quid si isti abbates et episcopi nihil sciant? Quid si, quid sit religio, quidque de Deo sentiendum sit, non intelligant? Quid si lex perierit
Mic. iii.[3] a sacerdote, et consilium a senioribus? Quid si, ut ait Micheas, "nox illis sit pro visione, et tenebræ pro divinatione?" Quid si, ut Esaias ait, "omnes speculatores civitatis facti sunt cæci?" Quid si sal vim suam et saporem ami-
Matt. v.[3] serit? utque Christus ait, "ad nullum usum sit accommodus, ne ad id quidem ut abjiciatur in sterquilinium?"

[1 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *et*.]
[2 This marginal note is inserted from 1584.]
[3 These references are inserted from 1584.]

Ad papam scilicet omnia deferent, qui errare non potest. At illud primum ineptum est, Spiritum Sanctum a sacro concilio curriculo avolare Romam; ut, si quid dubitet aut hæreat, et[4] sese explicare non possit, ab alio nescio quo spiritu doctiore consilium capiat. Nam, si ita est, quid opus erat tot episcopos tantis impensis, tam longinquis itineribus, Tridentum hoc tempore convocari? Consultius multo erat et satius, certe multo et brevius et commodius, ut ad papam potius omnia rejicerent, et statim ad illius sacri pectoris oraculum devenirent. Deinde etiam iniquum est, causam nostram a tot episcopis et abbatibus ad unius hominis judicium devolvere; ejus præsertim, qui a nobis gravissimis criminibus accusetur, nec adhuc causam suam dixerit, et nos, antequam vocaremur ad judicium, sine judicio condemnarit. An ergo nos ista fingimus? aut ista hodie non est ratio conciliorum? Aut non omnia a sacro concilio ad unum pontificem deferuntur; ut, quasi tot sententiis et subscriptionibus nihil sit actum, ille unus possit addere, mutare, minuere, abrogare, approbare, relaxare, restringere quicquid velit? Quorum ergo hominum sunt hæc verba? cur episcopi et abbates, non ita pridem in proximo concilio Tridentino, ita ad extremum decreverunt, "Salva semper in omnibus sedis apostolicæ auctoritate?" Aut cur Paschalis papa ita insolenter de se scribit? "Quasi," inquit, "Romanæ ecclesiæ legem concilia ulla præfixerint; cum omnia concilia per Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritatem et facta sint, et robur acceperint, et in illorum statutis Romani pontificis patenter[5] excipiatur auctoritas?" Si ista rata esse volunt, cur concilia indicuntur? sin ea jubent esse irrita, cur in istorum libris quasi integra relinquuntur?

[Pars VI.] [Cap. iv. Div. 1.] [Cap. iv. Div. 2.] De Electione et Electi Potestate, cap. Significasti.

Sed sit sane pontifex unus supra omnia concilia, hoc est, sit pars aliqua major quam totum; plus possit, plus sapiat, quam omnes sui; et, vel invito Hieronymo, sit urbis unius auctoritas major quam orbis terrarum. At quid si ille de his rebus nihil viderit, et nec sacras scripturas, nec veteres patres, nec concilia sua unquam legerit? Quid si ille, ut olim papa Liberius, deficiat ad Arianos; aut, ut non ante ita multos annos Joannes papa, de futura vita et animarum immortalitate impie et nefarie sentiat; aut, ut olim papa Zosimus concilium Nicenum, ita ille nunc, potestatis suæ[7] augendæ causa, alia concilia corrumpat, et, quæ ne cogitata quidem unquam fuerint, ea a sanctis patribus deliberata et constituta esse dicat; utque Camotensis ait pontifices solitos esse sæpe facere, vim adhibeat scripturis, ut habeat plenitudinem potestatis? Quid si abjiciat fidem christianam, et efficiatur apostata, quales Lyranus ait multos fuisse papas? Tamenne Spiritus Sanctus statim illi pulsabit pectus, atque etiam nolenti et invito accendet lumen, ne possit errare? Aut ille erit fons omnis juris? et omnis thesaurus sapientiæ atque intelligentiæ in illo, tanquam in scrinio, invenietur? Aut, si ista in illo non sunt, potestne de rebus tantis recte et commode judicare? Aut, si judicare non potest, petit, ut ista ad se unum[8] omnia referantur? Quid si advocati pontificum, abbates, et episcopi, nihil dissimulent, sed aperte se gerant pro hostibus evangelii, et quod vident videre nolint, et vim faciant scripturis, et videntes ac scientes depravent atque adulterent verbum Dei, et ea, quæ perspicue ac proprie dicta sunt de Christo, nec possunt cuiquam mortalium alii convenire, impure atque impie ad papam transferant? Quid si dicant, papam esse omnia, et super omnia; aut illum ea posse omnia, quæ Christus potest; et papæ Christique unum esse tribunal, et unum consistorium? aut illum esse lucem illam, quæ venerit in mundum, quod Christus de se uno pronunciavit, eumque qui male agit, odisse ac fugere illam lucem; aut alios episcopos omnes de ejus accipere plenitudine? Postremo, quid si, non dissimulanter aut obscure, sed perspicue et aperte decernant contra expressum verbum Dei? An quicquid isti[10] dicunt statim erit evangelium? An iste erit exercitus Dei? An ibi Christus præsto crit? An in istorum linguis natabit Spiritus Sanctus? aut illi possunt vere dicere, "Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis?" Petrus quidem a Soto, et ejus astipulator Hosius,

[Cap. v. Div. 1.] Ad Evagrium[6]. [Cap. v. Div. 2.] [Cap. vi. Div. 1.] Host cap. Quanto. Abbas de Elect. cap. Venerabil. Cornel. Episc. in Conc. Trid. Joh. i.[9] Joh. iii.[9] Durandus. [Cap. vi. Div. 2.] [Cap. vi. Div. 3.]

[4 1584 omits *et*.]
[5 Patienter, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[6 1584 omits this reference.]
[7 Sua, 1584.]
[8 Unus, 1584.]
[9 These references are inserted from 1584.]
[10 Illi, 1591, 1599.]

[Pars VI.] nihil dubitant affirmare, concilium illud ipsum, in quo Christus Jesus adjudicatus est morti, habuisse Spiritum propheticum, Spiritum Sanctum, Spiritum veritatis; nec falsum aut vanum fuisse, quod episcopi illi dixerunt: "Nos habemus legem, et secundum legem debet mori:" "Illos judicasse (sic enim scribit Hosius) judicii veritatem; omninoque justum fuisse illud decretum, quo ab illis pronunciatum est, Christum dignum esse qui moreretur." Mirum vero est, non posse istos pro se dicere et propugnare causam suam, nisi una etiam Annæ Caiphæque patrocinentur. Nam qui illud ipsum concilium, in quo Filius Dei ad crucem ignominiosissime condemnatus est, legitimum dicent fuisse ac probum; quod tandem illi concilium decernent esse vitiosum? Tamen qualia sunt istorum concilia fere omnia, necesse illis fuit, ut ista de[1] Caiphæ Annæque concilio pronuntiarent. Verum an isti ecclesiam nobis instaurabunt, iidem ipsi judices iidemque rei? An isti minuent ambitionem fastumque suum? An ipsi seipsos ejicient, aut[2] contra se ferent sententiam, ne episcopi sint indocti, ne ventres pigri, ne cumulent sacerdotia, ne gerant se pro principibus, ne bella gerant? An dilecti pontificum filioli abbates decernent, monachum, qui suo sibi labore victum non quærat, latronem esse? aut fas illi non esse, nec in civitatibus, nec in turba, nec ex alieno vivere? oportere monachum humi cubare, olusculo et ciceribus tueri vitam, incumbere literis, disputare, orare, opus facere, ad ecclesiæ ministerium se parare? Eadem opera Pharisæi et scribæ instaurabunt templum Dei, et ex spelunca latronum restituent nobis domum orationis.

Hos. contr. Brent. Lib. ii.

[Cap. vii. Div. 1.]

Fuerunt ex ipsis aliqui, qui errores in ecclesia complures deprehenderint; Adrianus papa, Æneas Sylvius, Polus cardinalis, Pighius, aliique, uti jam diximus. Habuerunt postea concilium Tridenti, eodem loco quo nunc indicitur. Convenerunt episcopi complures, et abbates, et alii quos oportuit. Erant soli: quicquid ageretur, nemo erat qui obstreperet: nostros enim homines ab omni conventu prorsus excluserant[3]. Sederunt ibi magna exspectatione sex annos. Primis sex mensibus, quasi id magnopere opus esset, multa de sacrosancta Triade, de Patre, de Filio, de Spiritu Sancto, pia quidem, sed non ita illo tempore necessaria, decreverant. Interim tamen ex tot erroribus tam perspicuis, tam confessis, tam manifestis, quem unum errorem correxerunt? A quo genere idololatriæ populum revocarunt? Quam superstitionem sustulerunt? Quam partem tyrannidis et pompæ suæ minuerunt? Quasi vero jam orbis terrarum non videat conspirationem istam esse, non concilium, et istos episcopos, quos nunc sibi pontifex advocavit, prorsus juratos et addictos esse ejus nomini, nec unquam quicquam facturos, nisi quod illi placere, et ad ejus potentiam augendam facere, et illum velle, videant; aut non ibi numerari sententias potius quam appendi; aut non meliorem partem sæpe a majore superari. Itaque scimus multos sæpe bonos viros et catholicos episcopos, cum hujusmodi concilia indicerentur, et aperte factionibus et partibus inserviretur, et scirent se tantum lusuros esse operam, adversariorum animos prorsus esse obfirmatos, nihil posse promoveri, mansisse domi. Athanasius, cum vocatus esset ab imperatore ad concilium Cæsariense, et videret se ad infesta adversariorum suorum odia venturum esse, adesse noluit. Idem postea, cum venisset ad concilium Syrmianum, et ex hostium suorum ferocia atque odio animo rei eventum præsagiret, statim sarcinas collegit, atque abiit. Joannes Chrysostomus, quamvis quaternis literis ab imperatore Constantio[4] vocatus esset ad concilium Arianorum, tamen domi se continuit. Cum Hierosolymorum episcopus, Maximus, sederet in concilio Palæstino, eum senex Paphnutius manu apprehensum eduxit foras: "Non est fas," inquiens, "nobis consultare de iis[5] rebus cum hominibus impiis."

[Cap. vii. Div. 2.]

[Cap. vii. Div. 3.]

Theod. Eccl. Hist. Lib. i. cap. xxviii.

Tripart. Lib. x. cap. xiii. Euseb. Lib. i. cap. xvii.

Ad concilium Syrmianum, a quo se subduxit Athanasius, occidentis episcopi venire noluerunt. Cyrillus ab illorum, qui Patropassiani dicebantur, concilio per literas appellavit. Ad Mediolanense concilium episcopus Treverensis Paulinus, aliique complures, cum viderent conatus et potentiam Auxentii, venire recusarunt. Frustra enim videbant se ituros eo, ubi non ratio sed factio audiretur, et ubi causæ non judicio sed studio disceptarentur[6].

Tripart. Soz. Lib. v. cap. xv.

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[1] *De* is inserted from 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[2] An, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[3] Excluserunt, 1591, 1599.]
[4] Arcadio, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[5] His, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[6] Discreparentur, 1584.]

Atque illi, quantumvis habebant[7] infestos et obstinatos adversarios; tamen, si venissent, audiri saltem in concilio libere potuissent. [Pars VI.]

Nunc autem cum nemo nostrum ne sedere quidem, aut omnino videri in istorum consessu, nedum libere audiri possit; cum pontificum legati, patriarchæ, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates omnes conjurati, omnes eadem culpa constricti, omnes eodem sacramento obstricti, soli sedeant, et soli jus habeant ferendi suffragii; et postremo, quasi ipsi nihil egerint, omnia sua judicia papæ unius voluntati libidinique subjiciant; videlicet, ut ille, quem oportuit potius causam dicere, de seipso pronunciet; cum vetus illa et christiana libertas, quam æquum erat in christianis conciliis esse maximam, prorsus de concilio sublata sit, mirari hodie non debent homines prudentes ac pii, si nos id nunc facimus, quod olim in simili causa a tot patribus et catholicis episcopis factum vident; ut, quoniam audiri in concilio non possumus, et principum legati habentur ludibrio, et nos omnes, quasi res jam antea confecta et constituta sit, ante judicium condemnamur, domi manere malimus, et rem omnem Deo committere, quam eo proficisci, ubi nec locum habituri simus, nec quicquam possimus promovere. Verum nostram injuriam patienter et sedate ferre possumus. Sed cur reges christianos et pios principes excludunt a consessu suo? Cur eos vel ita inciviliter a se vel ita[8] contumeliose dimittunt, ut, quasi homines christiani non sint, aut judicare non possint, nolint eos religionis christianæ causam cognoscere, et ecclesiarum suarum statum intelligere; aut, si auctoritatem suam interponant, et faciant id quod possunt, quod jubentur, quod debent, quodque et Davidem, et Salomonem, et alios bonos principes fecisse scimus, ut[9], ipsis aut dormientibus aut nefarie resistentibus, sacerdotum libidinem coerceant, eosque et ad officium faciendum adigant, et in officio contineant, ut idola evertant, ut superstitiones minuant, ut Dei cultum instaurent, cur statim clamant, illos omnia turbare, in alienum officium irrumpere, et improbe atque immodeste facere? Quæ scriptura principem christianum ab hujusmodi causarum cognitione[10] unquam repulit? Quis præter istos solos unquam ista jura decrevit?

[Cap. viii. Div. 1.]

[Cap. ix. Div. 1. et 2.]

At civiles, inquient, principes rempublicam atque arma tractare didicerunt; religionis mysteria non intelligunt. Quid ergo papa hodie aliud est, quam monarcha aut princeps? Quid cardinales? quos nunc vix alios esse fas est quam principum et regum filios. Quid patriarchæ, quid magna ex parte archiepiscopi, quid episcopi, quid abbates in regno pontificio aliud hodie sunt quam civiles principes, quam duces, quam comites, quocunque incedant, magnifice stipati, sæpe etiam torquati, et catenati?

[Cap. ix. Div. 3.]

Amictum quidem habent illi interdum aliquem, cruces, columnas, galeros, tiaras, pallia; quam pompam veteres episcopi, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Ambrosius, non habebant. Præter ista vero quid docent, quid dicunt, quid faciunt, quid vivunt, quod deceat non tantum episcopum, sed etiam hominem christianum? An tanti est titulum inanem gerere, et, mutata solum veste, appellari episcopum?

Certe illis solis, qui ista nec sciunt, nec scire omnino volunt, nec, nisi quod ad culinam et ventrem attinet, partem ullam religionis teruncii faciunt, permitti rerum omnium summam, illos solos judices fieri, et tanquam cæcos in specula collocari; principem vero christianum, recte sentientem, stare truncum et stipitem, non suffragari, non sententiam dicere, tantum quid illi velint aut jubeant observare, sine auribus, sine oculis, sine animo, sine pectore, quicquid ab istis imponatur sine exceptione recipere, et cæco judicio imperata facere, quantumvis ea blasphema sint atque impia, etiamsi eos jubeant religionem universam extinguere, et Christum ipsum in crucem tollere, et superbum et contumeliosum et iniquum est, et a principibus christianis et prudentibus non ferendum. Quid enim? An Caiphas et Annas ista videre[11] possunt; David et Ezechias non possunt? Et an cardinali, homini militari et sanguinem spiranti, in concilio sedere licet; imperatori aut regi christiano non licet? Nam nos quidem nihil nostris magistratibus tribuimus aliud quam quod illis et ex verbo Dei tributum scimus, et optimarum rerumpublicarum exemplo comprobatum. Præterquam enim

[Cap. x. Div. 1.]

[Cap. xi. Div. 1.]

[Cap. xi. Div. 2.]

[7 Habeant, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[8 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *ita*.]
[9 1599 omits *ut*.]
[10 Cognitionem, 1584.]
[11 Videri, 1562.]

[Pars VI.] quod principi fideli a Deo mandata est cura utriusque tabulæ, ut intelligat ad officium suum non civilem tantum rem, sed etiam sacram et ecclesiasticam pertinere;
[Cap. xi. Div. 3.] præterquam quod Deus sæpe regem ac diserte jubet lucos succidere, idolorum statuas et aras evertere, librum legis sibi describere; quodque illum Esaias ait
[Cap. xi. Div. 4. et 5.] ecclesiæ patronum et nutritium esse oportere; præter, inquam, hæc omnia, ex historiis et optimorum temporum exemplis videmus pios principes procurationem ecclesiarum ab officio suo nunquam putasse alienam.

Moses, civilis magistratus ac ductor populi, omnem religionis et sacrorum
Exod. xxxii. rationem et accepit a Deo, et populo tradidit, et Aaronem episcopum de aureo
[Cap. xi. Div. 6.] Jos. i. vitulo, et de violata religione, vehementer et graviter castigavit. Josue, etsi non aliud erat quam magistratus civilis, tamen, cum primum inauguraretur et præficeretur populo, accepit mandata nominatim de religione deque colendo Deo.

[Cap. xi. Div. 7.] 1 Par. xiii. David rex, cum omnis jam religio ab impio rege Saule prorsus esset dissipata, reduxit arcam Dei, hoc est, religionem restituit; nec tantum adfuit ut admonitor aut hortator operis, sed etiam psalmos et hymnos dedit, et classes disposuit, et pompam instituit, et quodammodo præfuit sacerdotibus.

[Cap. xi. Div. 8.] 2 Par. vi. 3 Reg. viii. Salomon rex ædificavit templum Domino, quod ejus pater David animo tantum destinaverat, et postremo orationem egregiam habuit ad populum de religione et cultu Dei, et Abiatharum episcopum postea summovit, et in ejus locum Sa-
[Cap. xi. Div. 9.] 2 Par. xxix. docum surrogavit. Cumque postea templum Dei fœdum in modum esset sacerdotum vitio et negligentia contaminatum, Ezechias illud rex jussit a ruderibus et sordibus repurgari, accendi lumina, suffitus adoleri, et veteri ritu sacra fieri; æneum etiam serpentem, qui tum a populo impie colebatur, tolli, et in pulverem
[Cap. xi. Div. 10.] 4 Reg. xviii. 2 Par. xvii. redigi. Josaphat rex excelsa et lucos, quibus impediri videbat cultum Dei, et populum a communi templo, quod erat Hierosolymis, ad quod ex omni parte regni quotannis eundum erat, privata superstitione retineri, evertit et sustulit. Josias
[Cap. xi. Div. 11.] 4 Reg. xxiii. 4 Reg. xii. 4 Reg. x. rex diligenter admonuit sacerdotes et episcopos officii sui. Joas rex repressit luxum et insolentiam sacerdotum. Jehu impios prophetas neci dedit. Et ne
[Cap. xii. Div. 1.] plura ex sacris scripturis exempla commemoremus, ac potius a Christo nato quem-
[Cap. xii. Div. 2.] admodum in evangelio ecclesia administrata sit consideremus: olim imperatores christiani indicebant episcoporum concilia; Constantinus, Nicenum; Theodosius primus, Constantinopolitanum; Theodosius secundus, Ephesinum; Marcianus,
[Cap. xii. Div. 3.] Chalcedonense; cumque Ruffinus allegasset synodum, quasi quæ pro se faceret, ejus adversarius Hieronymus, ut eum refutaret, "Doce," inquit, "quis eam imperator jusserit convocari?" Idem in epitaphio Paulæ citat literas imperatorum, qui episcopos Latinos Græcosque Romam accersiri jusserint.

[Cap. xii. Div. 4.] Omnino per annos quingentos[1] imperator solus agebat conventus sacros, et episcoporum concilia celebrabat.

Quo magis nunc miramur importunitatem episcopi Romani, qui quod sciat, integris rebus, fuisse jus imperatoris[2], nunc autem, postquam reges in partem Cæsareæ majestatis devenerunt, esse jus commune omnium principum, id ita temere uni adscribat sibi, et satis esse putet, voluntatem suam de habendo concilio cum principe orbis terrarum viro, tanquam cum famulo suo communicare.

[Cap. xii. Div. 5.] Ut Pius IV. in Bulla sua ad Imper. Ferdinand. Quod si imperatoris Ferdinandi modestia tanta est, fortasse, quod artes pontificias non satis norit, ut hanc injuriam ferre possit; pontifex tamen, pro sua sanctitate, injuriam illi facere et jus sibi alienum arrogare non debebat.

[Cap. xiii. Div. 1.] At convocabat quidem tum, inquiet aliquis, imperator concilia, quod Romanus episcopus nondum ad istam magnitudinem pervenisset; tamen ne tum quidem aut una sedebat cum episcopis in concilio, aut omnino in deliberatione auctoHist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. vii. ritatem suam ullam in partem interponebat. Imo vero, ut Theodoretus ait, imperator Constantinus in concilio Niceno non solum una sedebat, sed etiam episcopos, quemadmodum causa ex apostolicis propheticisque literis cognoscenda
Lib. i. cap. vii. esset, admonebat. "In disputationibus," inquit, "de rebus divinis propositam nobis habemus, quam sequamur, doctrinam Spiritus Sancti. Evangelici enim et apostolici libri et prophetarum oracula satis ostendunt, quid nobis de voluntate
[Cap. xiii. Div. 2.] Socr. Lib. v. cap. x. Dei sit sentiendum." Theodosius imperator, ut ait Socrates, non solum sedit inter episcopos, sed etiam causæ disceptationi præfuit, et hæreticorum scripta laceravit, et catholicorum sententiam comprobavit.

[1 50, 1584.] [2 impp., 1584.]

In Chalcedonensi concilio magistratus civilis Dioscorum, Juvenalem, Thalassium, episcopos, sua sententia pro hæreticis condemnavit, eosque de illo gradu ecclesiæ dejiciendos esse censuit. [Pars VI.] [Cap. xiv. Div. 1.] Act. 1.

In Constantinopolitano concilio tertio civilis magistratus Constantinus non solum sedit inter episcopos, sed etiam subscripsit cum episcopis: "Legimus," inquit, "et subscripsimus." In concilio Arausicano secundo legati principum, viri patricii, non tantum sententiam de religione dixerunt, sed etiam inter episcopos subscripserunt. Sic enim in illo concilio scribitur ad extremum: "Petrus Marcellinus, Felix, Liberius, viri clarissimi, et illustres præfecti prætorii Galliarum, atque patricii, consentientes subscripserunt. Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariattho, Marcellus, viri clarissimi, subscripserunt." [Cap. xiv. Div. 2.] [Cap. xiv. Div. 3.]

Quod si præfecti prætorii et viri patricii subscribere in concilio potuerunt, imperatores et reges non potuerunt? Non sane opus erat rem ita perspicuam tot verbis et tam prolixe prosequi, nisi nobis res cum illis esset, qui omnia clarissima, etiam ea quæ vident quæque oculis usurpant, tamen contentionis et vincendi studio negare solent. Imperator Justinianus legem tulit de corrigendis moribus, et de frænanda insolentia sacerdotum; et, quamvis esset christianus et catholicus imperator, tamen duos papas successores Petri, vicarios Christi, Sylverium et Vigilium, de papatu dejecit. [Cap. xiv. Div. 4.] [Cap. xiv. Div. 5.] [Cap. xiv. Div. 6.]

Jam vero qui auctoritatem sumunt in episcopos, qui a Deo accipiunt mandata de religione, qui reducunt arcam Dei, componunt sacros psalmos, præsunt sacerdotibus, ædificant templa, habent conciones de cultu Dei, qui templa repurgant, demoliuntur excelsa, incendunt lucos, qui sacerdotes admonent officii, et illis scribunt leges vitæ, qui prophetas impios occidunt, qui episcopos summovent, qui cogunt concilia episcoporum, qui cum episcopis una sedent, eosque quid agendum sit instituunt, qui episcopum hæreticum adjudicant supplicio, qui de religione cognoscunt, qui subscribunt, qui pronunciant, atque hæc omnia non alieno jussu, sed nomine suo, et recte et pie faciunt; an ad eos dicemus religionis curam non pertinere? aut magistratum christianum, qui hisce rebus sese admisceat, aut improbe, aut immodeste, aut impie facere? His rebus imperatores et reges, antiquissimi et christianissimi, sese admiscuerunt; non tamen ea causa unquam notati sunt aut impietatis aut immodestiæ. Et quis quærat vel principes magis catholicos vel exempla illustriora? [Cap. xv. Div. 1.]

Quod si hoc illis licebat, cum essent civiles tantum magistratus, et præessent rebus publicis; quid hodie peccaverunt nostri principes, quibus, cum eo loco sint, idem tamen non liceat? Aut quæ tanta vis doctrinæ, judicii, sanctitatis est in istis, ut, præter consuetudinem omnium veterum et catholicorum episcoporum, qui cum principibus viris de religione deliberarunt, nunc principes christianos a causæ cognitione et a suo congressu rejiciant? Sed recte illi cavent sibi, regnoque suo, quod alioqui vident brevi esse ruiturum. Nam si illi, quos Deus in altissimo gradu collocavit, viderent atque intelligerent istorum artes, contemni ab illis jussa Christi, obscurari et extingui lucem evangelii, sibi fucum fieri, imprudentibus illudi, atque obstrui aditum ad regnum Dei; nunquam illi se vel ita superbe despici, vel ita contumeliose haberi ludibrio, ita facile paterentur. Nunc autem illi eos inscitia et cæcitate obstrictos sibi habent atque obnoxios. [Cap. xv. Div. 2.] [Cap. xv. Div. 3.]

Nos quidem, uti diximus, de mutanda religione nihil temere aut insolenter, nihil nisi cunctanter et magna cum deliberatione fecimus; neque id unquam animum induxissemus facere, nisi nos et manifesta atque indubitata voluntas Dei, nobis in sacrosanctis scripturis patefacta, et salutis nostræ ratio coegisset. Etsi enim discessimus ab illa ecclesia, quam isti appellant catholicam, et ea re nobis, apud illos qui judicare non possunt, invidiam faciunt; tamen id satis est nobis, satisque esse debet homini prudenti et pio, et de æterna vita cogitanti, nos ab ea ecclesia discessisse, quæ errare potuerit, quam Christus, qui errare non potest, tanto ante prædixerit erraturam, quamque nos ipsi oculis perspicue videbamus a sanctis patribus, ab apostolis, a Christo ipso, a primitiva et catholica ecclesia discessisse. Accessimus autem, quantum maxime potuimus, ad ecclesiam apostolorum, et veterum catholicorum episcoporum et patrum, quam scimus adhuc fuisse integram, utque Tertullianus ait, incorruptam virginem, nulla [Cap. xvi. Div. 1.]

[Pars VI.] dum nec[1] idololatria nec errore gravi ac publico contaminatam; nec tantum doctrinam nostram, sed etiam sacramenta precumque publicarum formam ad illorum ritus et instituta direximus. Utque Christum ipsum, et omnes fere pios fecisse scimus, religionem ab istis turpiter neglectam et depravatam ad originem et ad primordia revocavimus. Inde enim putavimus instaurationem petendam esse, unde prima religionis initia ducta essent. Hæc enim ratio, inquit antiquissimus pater Tertullianus, valet adversus omnes hæreses: "Id esse verum, quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius." Irenæus sæpe ad antiquissimas ecclesias provocavit, quæ Christo fuissent viciniores, quasque credibile vix esset erravisse. Jam vero, cur ea hodie ratio non initur? Cur ad antiquarum ecclesiarum similitudinem non redimus? Cur id a nobis hodie audiri non potest, quod olim in concilio Niceno a tot episcopis et catholicis patribus, nullo refragante, pronunciatum est, ἔθη ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω. Esdras, cum reficere vellet ruinas templi Dei[2], non misit Ephesum, quamvis ibi esset Dianæ templum pulcherrimum et ornatissimum; cumque vellet sacra et cæremonias restituere, non misit Romam, quamvis fortasse audisset ibi esse hecatombas, solitaurilia, lectisternia, supplicationes, et libros Numæ Pompilii rituales. Satis ille sibi putavit fore, si exemplar veteris templi, quod ab initio Salomon ad Dei præscriptum excitaverat, et veteres illos ritus ac cæremonias, quas Deus ipse Mosi nominatim scripserat, haberet ante oculos, et sequeretur.

[Cap. xvi. Div. 2.]

[Cap. xvii. Div. 1. et 2.]

Aggæus propheta, cum jam templum ab Esdra refectum esset, et populo causa oblata satis justa videri potuisset sibi de tanto Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio gratulandi, tamen excussit omnibus lacrymas, quod qui erant adhuc superstites, et priora templi ædificia, antequam a Babyloniis diriperetur, viderant, meminissent multum adhuc ab ea pulchritudine abesse, quæ olim fuerat. Tum enim demum putassent templum egregie instauratum, si ad pristinum exemplar et veterem templi majestatem respondisset.

Divus Paulus, ut cœnam Domini, quam Corinthii jam tum cœperant corrumpere, repurgaret, proposuit illis institutionem Christi, quam sequerentur: "Id," inquit, "ego vobis tradidi, quod acceperam a Domino." Et Christus, ut Pharisæorum errorem refelleret, ad initia, inquit, redeundum est: "Ab initio non fuit sic." Utque sacerdotum sordes et avaritiam coargueret, et templum purgaret: hæc, inquit, ab initio domus orationis fuit, ubi[4] populus omnis pie et caste precaretur; atque ita vos oportebat nunc quoque eam instituere. Non enim ea causa exstructa fuit, ut esset spelunca latronum.

1 Cor. xi.[3]

Sic omnes in sacris scripturis pii et laudati principes eo maxime nomine laudati sunt, quod ambulassent in viis David patris sui; videlicet quod ad primordia et ad fontes rediissent, et religionem in integrum restituissent.

Itaque nos, cum videremus omnia ab istis prorsus esse pessundata, et in templo Dei præter miseras ruinas nihil esse reliqui, consultissimum esse duximus, ut illas nobis ecclesias proponeremus, quas certo sciremus et non errasse, et missas privatas, et preces ignotas ac barbaras, et istam sacrorum corruptionem, atque alias ineptias non habuisse.

Et, cum templum Domini cuperemus in integrum restitutum, non aliud fundamentum quærere voluimus quam quod jam olim ab apostolis sciremus esse jactum, quod est Servator noster Jesus Christus.

1 Cor. iii.[3]

Cumque audiremus Deum ipsum nobis loquentem in verbo suo, et videremus exempla illustria veteris et primitivæ ecclesiæ; incerta autem esset concilii generalis exspectatio, et eventus multo incertior; maxime vero, cum certi essemus de voluntate Dei, et nefas esse duceremus nimium sollicitos esse atque anxios de sententiis hominum; non potuimus amplius cum carne et sanguine deliberare: illud potius fecimus, quod et recte posset fieri, et a piis hominibus et catholicis episcopis sæpe multis factum esset, ut provinciali synodo nostris ecclesiis prospiceremus. Sic enim veteres patres scimus solitos esse experiri, antequam ad publicum orbis terrarum concilium veniretur. Exstant hodie canones scripti in conciliis municipalibus, Carthagini sub

[1] 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *nec*.]
[2] 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *Dei*.]
[3] These references are inserted from 1584.]
[4] Ut, 1581, 1591, 1599.]

Cypriano, Ancyræ, Neocæsariæ, Gangræ etiam in Paphlagonia, ut quidam putant, antequam Niceni concilii œcumenici nomen auditum esset. Ad hunc modum olim sine concilio generali statim domi privata disceptatione occursum est Pelagianis et Donatistis. Sic cum imperator Constantius[5] aperte studeret Auxentio Arianarum[6] partium[7] episcopo, Ambrosius[8], episcopus christianus, non ad concilium generale, in quo videlicet, propter imperatoris potentiam et studium partium, videbat nihil posse fieri, sed ad clerum populumque suum, hoc est, ad provincialem synodum provocavit. Sic decretum est in concilio Niceno, ut in singulos annos bis, in Carthaginensi, ut minimum semel, episcoporum conventus in singulis provinciis haberentur; quod Chalcedonense concilium ait ea causa fuisse factum, ut, si qui errores aut abusus uspiam emersissent, statim in ipso vestigio, ubi nati[9] fuissent, extinguerentur. Ita, cum Secundus et Palladius Aquileiense concilium, quod non esset generale ac publicum, repudiarent, Ambrosius episcopus Mediolanensis respondit, non debere illud novum cuiquam videri aut peregrinum, si occidentis episcopi convocent synodos, et[10] agant conventus provinciales; id enim antea et ab occidentalibus episcopis non raro, et a Græcis sæpe factum esse. Ita Carolus Magnus imperator concilium habuit provinciale in Germania, contra concilium Nicenum secundum, de tollendis imaginibus. Ne[11] nobis quidem prorsus inaudita aut nova est ea ratio. Nos enim habuimus aliquando in Anglia synodos provinciales, et domesticis legibus ecclesias nostras ordinavimus. Quid multis? Certe concilia illa plenissima et maxima, de quibus isti solent tantopere gloriari, si cum omnibus ecclesiis, quæ per totum orbem terrarum agnoscunt et confitentur nomen Christi, conferantur; quid obsecro aliud videri possunt quam privata quædam episcoporum concilia, et synodi provinciales? Nam, etsi forte Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Anglia, Germania, Dania, Scotia conveniat[12]; absit autem Asia, Græcia, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Ægyptus, Æthiopia, India, Mauritania, quibus in locis omnibus et christiani homines multi sunt et episcopi; quomodo potest cuiquam sano hujusmodi concilium videri generale? Aut cum tot partes orbis absint, quomodo possunt[13] vere dicere, se habere consensum orbis terrarum? Aut quale tandem erat illud concilium proximum Tridentinum? Aut quomodo dici potuit generale, cum ad illud ex omnibus regnis et regionibus christianis quadraginta tantum episcopi convenissent, et ex illis aliqui ita diserti, ut remittendi esse viderentur ad grammaticos; ita vero docti, ut nunquam perlegerint sacras literas? Quicquid est, veritas evangelii Jesu Christi non pendet a conciliis, aut, ut Paulus ait, ab humano die. Quod si illi, quibus ecclesia Dei curæ esse oportuit, sapere nolint, et officio suo defuerint[14], atque animos suos contra Deum et ejus Christum obfirmaverint, et rectas vias Domini pervertere perrexerint, Deus lapides excitabit, et pueros infantes disertos faciet; ut semper existant aliqui, a quibus istorum mendacia refutentur. Potest enim Deus, non solum sine conciliis, sed etiam invitis conciliis, et tueri et promovere regnum suum. "Multæ," inquit Salomon, "sunt cogitationes in humano corde; sed Domini consilium manet firmum. Non enim est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum." "Humanis operibus," inquit Hilarius, "exstructa non durant: aliter ædificanda, aliter conservanda ecclesia est. Ea enim posita est in fundamentis apostolorum et prophetarum, et continetur uno angulari lapide, Christo Jesu." Multo vero clarissime et ad hæc tempora appositissime D. Hieronymus: "Quoscunque," inquit, "diabolus deceperit, et quasi suavi et pernicioso carmine Sirenarum illexerit ad dormiendum, eos excitat sermo divinus, et dicit, "Surge qui dormis, elevare, et illuminabit te Christus." In adventu ergo Christi, et sermonis Dei, et doctrinæ ecclesiasticæ, et consummationis Ninivæ et speciosissimæ meretricis, elevabitur populus et properabit, qui sub magistris antea fuerat sopitus; et ibit ad montes scrip-

[Pars VI.]

[Cap. xviii. Div. 1.]

[Cap. xviii. Div. 2.]

Eph. ii.[15]

[Cap. xix. Div. 1.] In Proph. Naum cap. iii.

[5] Constantinus, 1591, 1599.]
[6] Arrianorum, 1584.]
[7] Patrium, 1591.]
[8] Athanasius, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[9] Natæ, 1562, 1584.]
[10] Aut, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[11] Nec, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[12] Conveniant, 1584.]
[13] Possint, 1591, 1599.]
[14] Defuerit, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[15] This reference is inserted from 1584.]

[Pars VI.] turarum: ibi inveniet montes Mosen, Jesum filium Nave, montes prophetas, montes novi testamenti apostolos et evangelistas. Et cum ad tales montes confugerit, et in hujusmodi montium fuerit lectione versatus, si non invenerit qui eum doceat, (messis enim erit multa, operarii pauci;) tamen et populi studium comprobabitur, quod confugerint ad hujusmodi montes, et magistrorum negligentia coarguetur." Hæc Hieronymus, ita perspicue, ut nihil opus sit interprete, ita ad ea, quæ nos jam oculis videmus evenisse, accommodate, ut nobis quidem videatur universum statum temporum nostrorum, et ornatissimæ illius meretricis Babylonicæ ruinam, et ecclesiæ Dei instaurationem, et cæcitatem atque ignaviam episcoporum, et studium atque alacritatem populi, quasi Spiritu prophetico prædicere, et ante oculos nostros constituere voluisse. Quis enim tam cæcus est, ut non videat istos illos magistros esse, a quibus populus, ut Hieronymus ait, in errorem inductus sit et consopitus; aut Niniven istorum Romam, pulcherrimis aliquando fucatam coloribus, nunc, detracta persona, et melius videri et minoris fieri; aut homines pios excitatos tanquam e gravi somno ad lucem evangelii et ad voces Dei, nihil exspectatis hujusmodi magistrorum conciliis, contulisse se ad montes scripturarum?

[Cap. xx. Div. 1.] At saltem (inquiet aliquis) injussu Romani pontificis ista tentari non oportuit; illum enim unum esse nodum et vinculum societatis christianæ, illum unum esse sacerdotem illum Levitici generis, quem Deus significaverit in Deuteronomio, a quo consilium in rebus arduis et veritatis judicium petendum sit; si quis illius judicio non obtemperet, illum in conspectu fratrum suorum oportere interfici; illum, quicquid agat, non posse a quoquam mortalium judicari; Christum in cœlis regnare, illum in terris; illum unum posse, quicquid Christus aut Deus ipse potest; illius enim[1] et Christi unum esse consistorium; sine illo nullam esse fidem, nullam spem, nullam ecclesiam; qui ab illo discedat, eum abjicere et repudiare salutem suam. Hæc canonistæ, parasiti pontificum; non nimium modeste illi quidem; vix enim plura, certe non ampliora, potuissent de Christo ipso dicere.

[Cap. xx. Div. 2.] Nos quidem non voluptatis ullius humanæ aut commodi causa a pontifice discessimus. Atque utinam potius ille ita se gereret, ne opus esset discessione. Verum ita res erat: nos, nisi illo relicto, non potuimus ad Christum pervenire. Neque ille nunc aliud fœdus nobiscum ferire vult, quam quale olim rex
1 Reg. xi. Ammonitarum Naas ferire voluit cum Jabensibus, ut illis omnibus dextros oculos effoderet. Eripere enim vult nobis sacras scripturas, evangelium salutis nostræ, et omnem illam spem quam habemus in Christo Jesu: aliis enim conditionibus pacem non posse convenire.

[Cap. xx. Div. 3.] Nam quod quidam tantopere solent prædicare, papam solum esse successorem Petri, quasi ea causa Spiritum Sanctum in sinu gerat, et errare non possit, leve ac nugatorium est. Animo pio ac Deum timenti promissa est Dei gratia, non cathedris et successionibus. "Divitiæ," inquit Hieronymus, "potentiorem[2] episcopum facere possunt; omnes tamen episcopi, quicunque sunt, sunt successores apostolorum." Quod si locus et inauguratio sola satis est, et Manasses successit Davidi, et Caiaphas Aaroni, et idolum sæpe stetit in templo Dei. Archidamus olim Lacedæmonius multa de se prædicabat, quod esset ex Hercule oriundus: ejus insolentiam ita refutabat Nicostratus: "Atqui tu ex Hercule oriundus non videris; nam ille malos homines interfecit, tu ex bonis malos facis." Cumque Pharisæi jactarent successiones suas, et genus, et sanguinem Abrahami; "Vos," inquit Christus, "quæritis me interficere, hominem qui veritatem vobis locutus sum[3], quam audivi a Deo: hoc Abraham nunquam fecit: vos ex patre diabolo estis, et ejus voluntati vultis obsequi."

[Cap. xxi. Div. 1.] Tamen ut aliquid successioni largiamur, an solus papa successit Petro? Qua ergo in re, qua in religione, in qua functione, in qua parte vitæ illi successit? Quid unquam aut Petrus papæ simile habuit, aut papa Petro? Nisi hoc forte velint dicere; Petrum, cum esset Romæ, nunquam docuisse evangelium, nunquam pavisse gregem, abstulisse claves regni cœlorum, abscondisse thesauros Domini sui; tantum sedisse in Laterano, et omnia spatia purgatorii et suppliciorum genera digito descripsisse; animas miseras, alias in cruciatum relegasse,

[[1] 1581, 1591, 1599 omit *enim*.] [[2] Potentiorum, 1584.] [[3] Suum, 1562.]

alias accepta mercede repente pro arbitrio exemisse; missas privatas, quæ in [Pars VI.]
omnibus angulis dicerentur, tradidisse, sacra mysteria summissa voce et aliena lingua mussitasse; eucharistiam in omnibus templis et altaribus collocasse[4], eamque ante se, quocunque incederet, in asturcone gradario cum luminibus[5] et tintinnabulis circumtulisse; oleum, ceram, lanam, campanas, calices, templa, altaria sacro anhelitu consecrasse; jubilæa, gratias, immunitates, exspectationes, præventiones, annatas, pallia, usum palliorum, bullas, indulgentias, diplomata vendidisse; sese caput ecclesiæ, et summum pontificem, et episcoporum episcopum, et solum sanctissimum appellasse, in alienas ecclesias jus et auctoritatem sibi usurpasse; ab omni se civili potestate exemisse, bella gessisse, principes inter se commisisse; in aurata sella, corona lemniscata, apparatu Persico, regali sceptro, aureo diademate, lucentibus gemmis in hominum nobilium cervicibus equitasse. Hæc scilicet Petrus olim Romæ fecit, eaque successoribus suis quasi per manus tradidit. Hæc enim a papis hodie Romæ fiunt; atque ita fiunt, quasi aliud fieri nihil debeat. Aut, [Cap. xxi. Div. 2.]
nisi hoc malint fortasse dicere, papam ea nunc facere omnia, quæ olim scimus fecisse Petrum, discurrere in omnes terras, docere evangelium non tantum publice, sed etiam privatim per singulas domos, instare opportune, importune, tempestive, intempestive, opus facere evangelistæ, implere ministerium Christi, esse speculatorem domus Israel, accipere oracula et voces Dei, easque ut acceperit ita populo reddere, esse sal terræ, esse lucem mundi, non seipsum pascere sed gregem, non implicare se civilibus negotiis hujus vitæ, non exercere dominium in populum Domini, non id quærere, ut sibi[6] ab aliis ministretur, sed ipsum potius aliis ministrare, omnes episcopos putare socios esse suos et pares, subjectum esse principibus tanquam a Deo missis, reddere quod Cæsaris est Cæsari, quodque veteres episcopi Romani sine exceptione fecerunt, imperatorem dominum suum appellare; hæc nisi nunc papæ faciant, et nisi ea quæ diximus Petrus fecerit, nihil est quod de nomine Petri, et de ista successione tantopere glorientur.

Quod autem de secessione nostra querantur, et nos ad societatem et fidem [Cap. xxii. Div. 1.]
suam revocent, multo minus. Cobilonem aiunt, quendam Lacedæmonium, cum fœderis feriendi causa missus esset legatus ad regem Persarum, et aulicos forte invenisset ludentes aleam[7], statim re infecta rediisse domum; rogatum cur neglexisset ea facere quæ publice acceperat in mandatis, respondisse quod ignominiosum existimasset id fore reipublicæ, si fœdus percussisset cum aleatoribus. At, si nos ad pontificem pontificiosque errores redire animum induceremus, et fœdus non tantum cum aleatoribus sed etiam cum hominibus longe nequioribus feriremus, esset id[8] nobis non tantum ad famam ignominiosum, sed etiam ad inflammandam adversus nos iram Dei, et ad opprimendam extinguendamque conscientiam nostram perniciosum. Nam nos quidem discessimus ab [Cap. xxii. Div. 2.]
illo, quem videbamus multa jam secula cæcasse orbem terrarum; ab illo, qui nimium insolenter dicere solebat, se errare non posse, et quicquid ageret non posse se a quoquam mortalium, non a regibus, non ab imperatoribus, non a toto clero, non ab universo populo judicari; non, si mille animas secum abduceret ad inferos; ab illo, qui sibi imperium sumebat, non tantum in homines, sed etiam in angelos Dei, ut irent, redirent, ducerent animas in purgatorium, et easdem reducerent, cum ipse vellet; quem Gregorius clarissime dicebat esse præcursorem et antesignanum antichristi, et a fide catholica defecisse; a quo coryphæi nostri illi, qui evangelio atque agnitæ[9] veritati se opponunt, ad unum omnes jampridem ultro et libenter discesserunt; et nunc etiam ab eodem non inviti discederent, nisi eos inconstantiæ nota, et pudor, et populi de se existimatio impediret: postremo, ab illo discessimus, cui obstricti non eramus, quique, præter genium quendam loci et successionem, quod pro se diceret nihil habuit. Et nos quidem ab illo longe omnium justissime dis- [Cap. xxiii. Div. 1.]
cessimus. Nostri enim reges, illi etiam qui auctoritatem et fidem episcoporum Romanensium observantissime sequebantur, satis jam olim senserunt jugum et tyrannidem regni pontificii. Romani enim episcopi et[10] Henrico regi nostro,

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[4 Collocasset, 1591.]
[5 Hominibus, 1591, 1599.]
[6 Non quærere ut id sibi, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[7 Alea, 1581, 1591, 1599.]
[8 In, 1584.]
[9 Agnita, 1562.]
[10 Ab, 1599.]

[Pars VI.] ejus nominis secundo, diadema de capite detraxerunt, eumque, abjecta omni majestate, privato tantum habitu, ut esset suis omnibus ludibrio, ad legatum suum venire demissum et supplicem voluerunt. Et in regem nostrum Joannem episcopos et monachos et nonnullam etiam partem nobilitatis armaverunt, et populum omnem jurejurando quo illi erant obstricti liberarunt, eumque postremo nefarie per summum scelus, non tantum regno, sed etiam vita exuerunt; et Henricum ejus nominis octavum, nobilissimum principem, diris et fulminibus defixerunt, et in illum modo Cæsarem, modo Gallum commoverunt, quodque in ipsis erat, regnum nostrum prædæ ac direptioni exposuerunt; homines insani ac fatui, qui aut tantum regem larvis et crepitaculis perterrefieri posse crederent, aut tantum regnum tam facile uno quasi bolo devorari. Et, quasi hæc omnia non essent satis, universam etiam provinciam vectigalem habere voluerunt, et ex ea quotannis census injustissimos exegerunt. Tanti videlicet nobis constitit amicitia urbis Romæ. Quod si illi nobis ista imposturis et malis artibus extorserunt, nihil causæ est cur non illis eadem legitimis rationibus et bonis legibus possint eripi. At, si ea illis reges nostri in illa caligine superiorum temporum, inducti opinione aliqua simulatæ illorum sanctitatis, religionis ergo, ultro, et liberaliter donaverunt; postea, animadverso errore, a posteris regibus, qui eadem potestate sunt, possunt auferri. Irrita enim est donatio, nisi donatoris voluntate comprobetur; voluntas autem videri non potest, quam error obfuscat atque impedit.

[Cap. xxiii. Div. 2.]

Conclusio hujus Apologiæ[1].

Habes, christiane lector, non esse novum, si hodie postliminio restituta et quasi renascens religio christiana contumeliis et conviciis accipiatur; id enim et Christo ipsi et apostolis accidisse. Tamen ne tu te istis adversariorum nostrorum clamoribus abduci, et tibi imponi patiaris, exposuimus tibi universam rationem religionis nostræ, quid de Deo Patre, quid de ejus unico Filio Jesu Christo, quid de Spiritu Sancto, quid de ecclesia, quid de sacramentis, quid de ministerio, quid de sacris scripturis, quid de cæremoniis, quid de omni parte persuasionis christianæ sentiamus. Diximus nos omnes antiquas hæreses, quas aut sacrosanctæ scripturæ aut vetera concilia condemnarunt, ut pestes et pernicies animorum detestari; nos disciplinam ecclesiasticam, quam adversarii nostri prorsus enervarunt, quantum maxime possumus, revocare, et omnem vitæ licentiam et dissolutionem morum priscis et avitis legibus, et ea qua par est quaque possumus severitate, vindicare; nos regnorum statum, eo quo accepimus loco, sine imminutione ulla aut mutatione retinere, et principibus nostris majestatem, quantum maxime possumus, incolumem conservare; nos ab illa ecclesia, quam isti speluncam latronum fecerant, et in qua nihil integrum aut ecclesiæ simile reliquerant, quamque ipsi fatebantur multis in rebus erravisse, ut Lothum olim e Sodoma, aut Abrahamum e Chaldæa, non contentionis studio sed Dei ipsius admonitu discessisse, et ex sacris libris, quos scimus non posse fallere, certam quandam religionis formam quæsivisse, et ad veterum patrum atque apostolorum primitivam ecclesiam, hoc est, ad primordia atque initia, tanquam ad fontes rediisse; auctoritatem autem in ea re, aut consensum concilii Tridentini, in quo videremus nihil recte atque ordine geri, ubi ab omnibus in unius nomen juraretur, ubi legati principum nostrorum contemnerentur, ubi nemo nostrorum theologorum audiretur, ubi aperte partibus atque ambitioni studeretur, non exspectasse; sed quod olim sancti patres, quodque majores nostri sæpe fecerunt, provinciali conventu nostras ecclesias restituisse; episcopi vero Romani, cui obstricti non eramus, quique nihil habebat nec Christi, nec Petri, nec apostoli, nec omnino episcopi simile, jugum et tyrannidem, pro eo ac debuimus, excussisse; postremo, nos inter nos de omnibus dogmatis[2] et capitibus religionis christianæ convenire, et uno ore unoque spiritu colere Deum et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Quare, christiane ac pie lector, cum videas rationes et causas, et restitutæ apud nos religionis, et secessionis ab istis nostræ, mirari non debes, si Christo nostro obtemperare maluimus quam hominibus. Paulus nos admonuit, ne variis istis doctrinis nos abduci pateremur; utque illos inprimis fugeremus, qui sererent dissensiones præter illam doctrinam quam a Christo et apostolis accepissent[3]. Jamdudum, ut noctua ad orientem solem, ita istorum imposturæ dilabuntur et

[1 This marginal note is inserted from 1584.] [2 Dogmatibus, 1584.] [3 Accepimus, 1584.]

fugiunt ad aspectum et lucem evangelii; et quamvis ad cœlum usque exstructæ [Pars VI.]
atque exaggeratæ sint, tamen levi momento, et quodammodo sua sponte corruunt. Non enim putare debes ista omnia temere aut casu accidisse. Dei hæc voluntas fuit, ut, invitis prope omnibus, evangelium Jesu Christi in orbem terrarum his temporibus spargeretur. Itaque divinis vocibus admoniti homines sese ultro ad Christi doctrinam contulerunt.

Nos quidem non gloriam ex ea re quæsivimus, non opes, non voluptates, non otium. Hæc enim isti habent abunde omnia; et nos ea, cum apud illos essemus, multo largius et prolixius habebamus. Neque nos consensionem et pacem fugimus; sed pacis humanæ causa cum Deo belligerari nolumus. "Dulce quidem," inquit Hilarius, "est nomen pacis;" "sed aliud est," inquit, "pax, aliud servitus." Nam ut, quod isti quærunt, Christus tacere jubeatur, ut prodatur veritas evangelii, ut errores nefarii dissimulentur, ut christianorum hominum oculis imponatur, ut in Deum aperte conspiretur, non ea pax est, sed iniquissima pactio servitutis. "Est quædam," inquit Nazianzenus, "pax inutilis: est quoddam utile dissidium." Nam paci cum exceptione studendum est, quantum fas sit, quantumque liceat; alioqui Christus ipse non pacem in mundum attulit, sed gladium. Quare, si nos papa secum in gratiam redire velit, ipse prius in gratiam redire debet cum Deo. "Hinc[4] enim," inquit Cyprianus, "schismata oriuntur, quia caput non quæritur, et ad fontem sacrarum scripturarum non reditur, et cœlestis magistri præcepta non servantur." "Non enim," inquit, "pax ea est, sed bellum; nec ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab evangelio separatur." Isti vero cauponari[5] tantum solent nomen pacis. Pax enim illa, quam tantopere quærunt, otiosorum tantum est ventrum tranquillitas. Nam hæc omnia inter nos facile componi possent, nisi ambitio, venter, luxus impedirent: hinc illæ lacrymæ; animus est in patinis. Id scilicet clamant atque obstrepunt, ut male parta fœdius et nequius tueantur[6]. Queruntur hodie de nobis indulgentiarii, datarii, quæstores, lenones, aliique qui quæstum putant esse pietatem, nec Jesu Christo serviunt sed suo ventri. Olim enim isti generi hominum fuit quæstus uberrimus apud seculum prius. Nunc autem quicquid Christo accedit, id omne sibi detractum putant. Id hodie pontifex ipse queritur; refrixisse videlicet pietatem, reditus suos angustiores jam esse, quam solebant. Itaque nos in odium rapit, quantum potest, et onerat contumeliis, et condemnat pro hæreticis; ut qui causam non intelligunt putent nullos esse homines nequiores. Nos tamen interim ea causa nec pudet, nec certe pudere debet, evangelii; Dei enim gloriam pluris facimus quam existimationem hominum. Scimus ista vera esse omnia quæ docemus; nec possumus aut vim facere conscientiæ nostræ, aut testimonium dicere contra Deum. Nam, si nos negamus partem aliquam evangelii Jesu Christi Matt. x.[7]
coram hominibus, ille nos vicissim negabit coram Patre suo. Quod si qui sunt, qui offendi velint, et Christi doctrinam non ferant; cæci sunt, et duces cæcorum: veritas tamen prædicanda, et præ nobis ferenda est, et patienter exspectandum est tribunal Dei. Interim isti videant quid agant, et de salute sua cogitent, et desinant odisse ac persequi evangelium Filii Dei, ne illum aliquando sentiant vindicem et ultorem causæ suæ. Deus se haberi ludibrio non sinet. Jamdudum homines vident quid agatur. Ista flamma, quanto magis reprimitur, tanto magis magisque erumpit atque evolat. Infidelitas istorum non frustrabitur fidem Dei. Quod si duritiam istam animorum ponere, et Christi evangelium recipere recusabunt, publicani et peccatores antevertent illis in regno Dei.

Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi illis omnibus oculos aperiat, ut videre possint beatam illam spem, ad quam vocati sunt; ut una omnes glorificemus unum illum et verum Deum, eumque quem de cœlo ad nos demisit, Jesum Christum; cui una cum Patre, et Sancto Spiritu, reddatur omnis honor et gloria in omnem æternitatem.

AMEN.

[4 Huic, 1599.]
[5 Cauponarii, 1584.]
[6 Tuentur, 1591, 1599.]
[7 This reference is inserted from 1584.]

LONDINI
Apud Reginaldum VVolfium.
Anno Domini
M.D.LXII.

AN

APOLOGY, OR ANSWER,

IN DEFENCE OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

An Apologie

or answere in defence of the

Churche of Englande,

with a briefe and plaine

declaration of the true

Religion professed

and used in

the same.

Londini, Anno Domini

M.D.LXIIII.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, LEARNED, AND VIRTUOUS LADY A[NNE] B[ACON][1], M[ATTHEW] C[ANTUAR.][2] WISHETH FROM GOD GRACE, HONOUR, AND FELICITY.

MADAME,

ACCORDING to your request I have perused your studious labour of translation profitably employed in a right commendable work, whereof for that it liked you to make me a judge, and for that the thing itself hath singularly pleased my judgment, and delighted my mind in reading it, I have right heartily to thank your ladyship, both for your own well thinking of me, and for the comfort that it hath wrought me. But, far above these private respects, I am by greater causes enforced, not only to shew my rejoice of this your doing, but also to testify the same by this my writing prefixed before the work, to the commodity of others, and good encouragement of yourself.

You have used your accustomed modesty in submitting it to judgment; but therein is your praise doubled, sith it hath passed judgment without reproach. And, whereas the chief author of the Latin work and I, severally perusing and conferring your whole translation, have without alteration allowed of it, I must both desire your ladyship, and advertise the readers, to think that we have not therein given any thing to any dissembling affection towards you, as being contented to wink at faults to please you, or to make you without cause to please yourself; for there be sundry respects to draw us from so doing, although we were so evil-minded, as there is no cause why we should be so thought of. Your own judgment in discerning flattery, your modesty in misliking it, the laying open of our opinion to the world, the truth of our friendship towards you, the unwillingness of us both (in respect of our vocations) to have this public work not truly and well translated, are good causes to persuade that our allowance is of sincere truth and understanding. By which your travail, Madame, you have expressed an acceptable duty to the glory of God, deserved well of this church of Christ, honourably defended the good fame and estimation of your own native tongue, shewing it so able to contend with a work originally written in the most praised speech; and, besides the honour ye have done to the kind of women and to the degree of ladies, ye have done pleasure to the author of the Latin book, in delivering him by your clear translation from the perils of ambiguous and doubtful constructions, and in making his good work more publicly beneficial; whereby ye have raised up great comfort to your friends, and have furnished your own conscience joyfully with the fruit of your labour, in so occupying your time; which must needs redound to the encouragement of noble youth in their good education, and to spend their time and knowledge in godly exercise, having delivered them by you so singular a precedent. Which your doing good, Madame, as God (I am sure) doth accept and will bless with increase, so your and ours most virtuous and learned sovereign lady and mastress shall see good cause to commend; and all noble gentlewomen shall (I trust) hereby be allured from vain delights to doings of more perfect glory. And I for my part (as occasion may serve) shall exhort other to take profit by your work, and follow your example; whose success I beseech our heavenly Father to bless and prosper. And now to the end both to acknowledge my good approbation, and to spread the benefit more largely, where your ladyship hath sent me your book written, I have with most hearty thanks returned it to you (as you see) printed; knowing that I have therein done the best, and in this point used a reasonable policy, that is, to prevent such excuses as your modesty would have made in stay of publishing it. And thus at this time I leave furder to trouble Your good Ladyship.

M[ATTHEW] C[ANTUAR.]

[1 Anne Lady Bacon was daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, wife of Sir Nicholas and mother of Lord Bacon.]
[2 Archbishop Parker.]

AN

APOLOGY, OR ANSWER,

IN DEFENCE OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

WITH A BRIEF AND PLAIN DECLARATION OF THE TRUE RELIGION PROFESSED AND USED IN THE SAME[1].

[Part I.] [Chap. i. Div. I.] Tertull. in Apolog.

It hath been an old complaint, even from the first time of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the writings and testimonies of every age, that the truth wandereth here and there as a stranger in the world, and doth readily find enemies and slanderers amongst those that know her not. Albeit perchance this may seem unto some a thing hard to be believed, I mean to such as have scant well and narrowly taken heed thereunto, specially seeing all mankind of nature's very motion without a teacher doth covet the truth of their own accord; and seeing our Saviour Christ himself, when he was on earth, would be called "the truth," as by a name most fit to express all his divine power; yet we—which have been exercised in the holy scriptures, and which have both read and seen what hath happened to all godly men commonly at all times; what to the prophets, to the apostles, to the holy martyrs, and what to Christ himself; with what rebukes, revilings and despites they were continually vexed whiles they here lived, and that only for the truth's sake—we (I say) do see, that this is not only no new thing, or hard to be believed, but that it is a thing already received, and commonly used from age to age. Nay truly, this might seem much rather a marvel, and beyond all belief, if the devil, who is "the father of lies," and enemy to all truth, would now upon a sudden change his nature, and hope that truth might otherwise be suppressed than by belying it; or that he would begin to establish his own kingdom by using now any other practices than the same which he hath ever used from the beginning. For since any man's remembrance we can scant find one time, either when religion did first grow, or when it was settled, or when it did afresh spring up again, wherein truth and innocency were not by all unworthy means and most despitefully entreated. Doubtless the devil well seeth that, so long as truth is in good safety, himself cannot be safe, nor yet maintain his own estate.

John viii.

For, letting pass the ancient patriarchs and prophets, who, as we said[2], had no part of their life free from contumelies and slanders; we know there were certain in times past which said and commonly preached, that the old ancient Jews (of whom we make no doubt but they were the worshippers of the only and true God) did worship either a sow or an ass in God's stead, and that all the same religion was nothing else but a sacrilege, and a plain contempt of all godliness. We know also that the Son of God, our Saviour Jesu Christ, when he taught the truth, was counted a juggler[3] and an en-

Corn. Tacit.

[[1] There are many variations between the edition of 1564 here reprinted, and the text as it appears in the Defence. Some few of these were introduced by Harding in his Confutation; some by Jewel himself; and some were probably errors of the press. It is not thought necessary to mark all the minute differences, which are exceedingly numerous; but where the sense is at all affected, notice will be taken. The edition of the Defence here collated is that of 1567; further differences were introduced into the later editions, which are noted in their proper place.]

[[2] Have said, Def.]

[[3] Sorcerer, Def.]

chanter, a Samaritan, Belzebub, a deceiver of the people, a drunkard, and a glutton. Again, who wotteth not what words were spoken against St Paul, the most earnest and vehement preacher and maintainer of the truth? sometime, that he was a seditious and busy man, a raiser of tumults, a causer of rebellion; sometime again, that he was an heretic; sometime, that he was mad; sometime, that only upon strife and stomach he was both a blasphemer of God's law, and a despiser of the fathers' ordinances. Further, who knoweth not how St Stephen, after he had throughly and sincerely embraced the truth, and began frankly and stoutly to preach and set forth the same, as he ought to do, was immediately called to answer for his life, as one that had wickedly uttered disdainful and heinous words against the law, against Moyses, against the temple, and against God? Or who is ignorant, that in times past there were some which reproved the holy scriptures of falsehood, saying they contained things both contrary and quite one against another; and how that the apostles of Christ did severally disagree betwixt themselves, and that St Paul did vary from them all? And, not to make rehearsal of all, (for that were an endless labour,) who knoweth not after what sort our fathers were railed upon in times past, which first began to acknowledge and profess the name of Christ? how they made private conspiracies, devised secret counsels against the commonwealth, and to that end made early and privy meetings in the dark, killed young babes, fed themselves with men's flesh, and, like savage and brute beasts, did drink their blood? in conclusion, how that, after they had put out the candles, they committed adultery between themselves, and without regard wrought incest one with another; that brethren lay with their sisters, sons with their mothers, without any reverence of nature or kin, without shame, without difference; and that they were wicked men without all care of religion, and without any opinion of God, being the very enemies of mankind, unworthy to be suffered in the world, and unworthy of life?

[Part I.] Matt. xi. Marc. ex Tertull. Ælius e Lact. Euseb. Lib. v. cap. i. Tertull. in Apolog. iii. Idem, i. ii. iii. et vii. viii. ix.

All these things were spoken in those days against the people of God, against Christ Jesu, against Paul, against Stephen, and against all them, whosoever they were, which at the first beginning embraced the truth of the gospel, and were contented to be called by the name of Christians; which was then an hateful name among the common people. And, although the things which they said were not true, yet the devil thought it should be sufficient for him, if at the least he could bring it so to pass, as they might be believed for true, and that the Christians might be brought into a common hatred of every body, and have their death and destruction sought of all sorts. Hereupon kings and princes, being led then by such persuasions, killed all the prophets of God, letting none escape; Esay with a saw, Jeremy with stones, Daniel with lions, Amos with an iron bar, Paul with the sword, and Christ upon the cross; and condemned all Christians to imprisonments, to torments, to the pikes, to be thrown down headlong from rocks and steep places, to be cast to wild beasts, and to be burnt; and made great fires of their quick bodies, for the only purpose to give light by night, and for a very scorn and mocking-stock; and did count them no better than the vilest filth, the offscourings and laughing-games of the whole world. Thus (as ye see) have the authors and professors of the truth ever been entreated.

Tertull. in Apol. cap. iii. Suet. Tranq. in Nerone.

Wherefore we ought to bear it the more quietly, which have taken upon us to profess the gospel of Christ, if we for the same cause be handled after the same sort; and if we, as our forefathers were long ago, be likewise at this day tormented, and baited with railings, with spiteful dealings, and with lies; and that for no desert of our own, but only because we teach and acknowledge the truth.

[Chap. ii. Div. 1.]

They cry out upon us at this present everywhere, that we are all heretics, and have forsaken the faith, and have with new persuasions and wicked learning utterly dissolved the concord of the church; that we renew, and, as it were, fetch again from hell the old and many-a-day condemned heresies; that we sow abroad new sects, and such broils as never erst were heard of; also that we are already divided into contrary parts and opinions, and could yet

[Chap. ii. Div. 2.] [Chap. ii. Div. 3.]

[Part I.] by no means agree well among ourselves; that we be cursed[1] creatures, and
[Chap. ii. Div. 4.] like the giants do war against God himself, and live clean without any regard
[Chap. ii. Div. 6.] or worshipping of God; that we despise all good deeds; that we use no discipline of virtue, no laws, no customs; that we esteem neither right, nor order, nor equity, nor justice; that we give the bridle to all naughtiness, and provoke the people to all licentiousness and lust; that we labour and seek to
[Chap. ii. Div. 7.] overthrow the state of monarchies and kingdoms, and to bring all things under
[Chap. ii. Div. 8.] the rule of the rash inconstant people and unlearned multitude; that we have seditiously fallen from the catholic church, and by a wicked schism and division have shaken the whole world, and troubled the common peace and universal quiet of the church; and that, as Dathan and Abiron conspired in times past against Moyses and Aaron, even so we at this day have renounced the
[Chap. ii. Div. 9.] bishop of Rome, without any cause reasonable; that we set nought by the authority of the ancient fathers and councils of old time; that we have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies, which have been well allowed by our fathers and forefathers many hundred year[2] past, both by good customs, and also in ages of more purity; and that we have by our own private head, without the authority of any sacred and general council, brought new traditions into the church; and have done all these things not for religion's sake, but only upon a desire of contention and strife: but that they for their part have changed no manner of thing, but have held and kept still such a number of years to this very day all things, as they were delivered from the apostles, and well approved by the most ancient fathers.

[Chap. ii. Div. 10.] And that this matter should not seem to be done but upon privy slander, and to be tossed to and fro in a corner, only to spite us, there have been besides wilily procured by the bishop of Rome certain persons of eloquence enough, and not unlearned neither, which should put their help to this cause, now almost despaired of, and should polish and set forth the same, both in books, and with long tales, to the end that, when the matter was trimly and eloquently handled, ignorant and unskilful persons might suspect there was some great thing in it. Indeed they perceived that their own cause did everywhere go to wrack; that their sleights were now espied, and less esteemed; and that their helps did daily fail them; and that their matter stood altogether in great need of a cunning spokesman.

[Chap. iii. Div. 2.] Now, as for those things which by them have been laid against us, in part they be manifestly false, and condemned so by their own judgments, which spake them: partly again, though they be as false too indeed, yet bear they a certain shew and colour of truth, so as the reader (if he take not good heed) may easily be tripped and brought into error by them, specially when their fine and cunning tale is added thereunto; and part of them be of such sort, as we ought not to shun them as crimes or faults, but to acknowledge and profess[3] them as things well done, and upon very good reason.

For, shortly to say the truth, these folk falsely accuse and slander all our doings, yea, the same things which they themselves cannot deny but to be rightly and orderly done; and for malice do so misconstrue and deprave all our sayings and doings, as though it were impossible that any thing could be rightly spoken or done by us. They should more plainly and sincerely have gone to work, if they would have dealt truly. But now they neither truly, nor sincerely, nor yet christianly, but darkly and craftily charge and batter us with lies, and do abuse the blindness and fondness of the people, together with the ignorance of princes, to cause us to be hated, and the truth to be suppressed.

This, lo ye, is the power of darkness, and of men which lean more to the amazed wondering of the rude multitude, and to darkness, than they do to the truth and light; and, as St Hierome saith, which[4] do openly gainsay the truth, closing up their eyes, and will not see for the nonce. But we give thanks to

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[1 Accursed, Def.]
[2 Years, Def.]
[3 Confess, Def.]
[4 Def. omits *which*.]

the most good and mighty God, that such is our cause, whereagainst (when they would fainest) they were able to utter no despite, but the same which might as well be wrested against the holy fathers, against the prophets, against the apostles, against Peter, against Paul, and against Christ himself. [Part I.]

Now therefore, if it be leefull for these folks to be eloquent and fine-tongued in speaking evil, surely it becometh not us in our cause, being so very good, to be dumb in answering truly. For men to be careless what is spoken by them and their own matter, be it never so falsely and slanderously spoken (especially when it is such that the majesty of God and the cause of religion may thereby be damaged), is the part doubtless of dissolute and wretchless persons, and of them which wickedly wink at the injuries done unto the name of God. For, although other wrongs, yea oftentimes great, may be borne and dissembled of a mild and christian man; yet he that goeth smoothly away, and dissembleth the matter when he is noted of heresy, Ruffinus was wont to deny that man to be a Christian. We therefore will do the same thing, which all laws, which nature's own voice doth command to be done, and which Christ himself did in like case, when he was checked and reviled; to the intent we may put off from us these men's slanderous accusations, and may defend soberly and truly our own cause and innocency. [Chap. iii. Div. 5.]

For Christ verily, when the Pharisees charged him with sorcery, as one that had some familiar spirits, and wrought many things by their help: "I," said he, "have not the devil, but do glorify my Father; but it is you that have dishonoured me, and put me to rebuke and shame." And St Paul, when Festus the lieutenant scorned him as a madman: "I," said he, "most dear Festus, am not mad, as thou thinkest, but I speak the words of truth and soberness." And the ancient Christians, when they were slandered to the people for man-killers, for adulterers, for committers of incest, for disturbers of commonweals[5], and did perceive that by such slanderous accusations the religion which they professed might be brought in question, namely if they should seem to hold their peace, and in manner to[6] confess the fault; lest this might hinder the free course of the gospel, they made orations, they put up supplications, and made means to emperors and princes, that they might defend themselves and their fellows in open audience. [Chap. iv. Div. 2.]

But we truly, seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty years have borne witness unto the truth in the midst of most painful torments that could be devised; and when princes, desirous to restrain the gospel, sought many ways, but prevailed nothing; and that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light; we take it that our cause hath already been sufficiently declared and defended, and think it not needful to make many words, since[7] the very matter saith enough for itself. For, if the popes would, or else if they could, weigh with their own selves the whole matter, and also the beginning[8] and proceedings of our religion, how in a manner all their travail hath come to nought, nobody driving it forward, and without any worldly help; and how, on the other side, our cause, against the will of emperors from the beginning, against the wills of so many kings, in spite of the popes, and almost maugre the head of all men, hath taken increase, and by little and little spread over into all countries, and is come at length even into kings' courts and palaces; these same things, methinketh, might be tokens great enough to them, that God himself doth strongly fight in our quarrel, and doth from heaven laugh at their enterprises; and that the force of the truth is such, as neither man's power nor yet hell-gates are able to root it out. For they be not all mad at this day, so many free cities, so many kings, so many princes, which have fallen away from the seat of Rome, and have rather joined themselves to the gospel of Christ. [Chap. iv. Div. 3.] [Chap. iv. Div. 7.] [Chap. v. Div. 3.]

And, although the popes had never hitherunto leisure to consider diligently and earnestly of these matters, or though some other cares do now let them, [Chap. v. Div. 4.]

[5 Of the commonweals, Def.]
[6 Def. omits *to*.]
[7 Seeing, Def.]
[8 Beginnings, Def.]

[Part I.] and diverse ways pull them, or though they count these to be but common and trifling studies, and nothing to appertain to the pope's worthiness, this maketh not why our matter ought to seem the worse. Or if they perchance will not see that which they see indeed, but rather will withstand the known truth, ought we therefore by and by to be counted heretics, because we obey not their will and pleasure? If so be that pope Pius were the man (we say not, which he would so gladly be called), but if he were indeed a man that either would account us for his brethren, or at least would take us to be men, he would first diligently have examined our reasons, and would have seen what might be said with us, what against us; and would not in his bull, whereby he lately pretended a council, so rashly have condemned so great a part of the world, so many learned and godly men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, only upon his own blind prejudices and fore-determinations, and that without hearing of them speak, or without shewing cause why.

[Chap. v. Div. 6.]

[Chap. vi. Div. 1.] But because he hath already so noted us openly, lest by holding our peace we should seem to grant a fault, and specially because we can by no means have audience in the public assembly of the general council, wherein he would no creature should have power to give his voice, or declare his opinion, except he were sworn and straitly bound to maintain his authority—for we have had good experience hereof in his[1] last conference at the council at Trident; where the ambassadors and divines of the princes of Germany, and of the free cities, were quite shut out from their company: nother[2] can we yet forget how Julius the Third, above ten years past, provided warily by his writ, that none of our sort should be suffered to speak in the council (except there were some[3] peradventure that would recant and change his opinion):—for this cause chiefly we thought it good to yield up an account of our faith in writing, and truly and openly to make answer to those things wherewith we have been openly charged; to the end the world may see the parts and foundations of that doctrine, in the behalf whereof so many good men have little regarded their own lives; and that all men may understand what manner of people they be, and what opinion they have of God and of religion, whom the bishop of Rome, before they were called to tell their tale, hath condemned for heretics, without any good consideration, without any example, and utterly without law or right, only because he heard tell that they did dissent from him and his in some point of religion.

[Chap. vi. Div. 2.] And although St Hierome would have nobody to be patient when he is suspected of heresy, yet we will deal herein neither bitterly nor brablingly, nor yet be carried away with anger and heat, though he ought to be reckoned neither bitter nor brabler that speaketh the truth. We willingly leave this kind of eloquence to our adversaries, who, whatsoever they say against us, be it never so shrewdly or despitefully said, yet think it is said modestly and comely enough, and care nothing whether it be true or false. We need none of these shifts, which do maintain the truth.

Further, if we do shew it plain[4], that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left these men, and rather have returned to the apostles and old catholic fathers; and if we shall be found to do the same not colourably, or craftily, but in good faith before God, truly, honestly, clearly, and plainly; and if they themselves which fly our doctrine, and would be called catholics, shall manifestly see how all those[5] titles of antiquity, whereof they boast so much, are quite shaken out of their hands, and that there is more pith in this our cause than they thought for; we then hope and trust, that none of them will be so negligent and careless of his own salvation, but he will at length study and bethink himself, to whether part he were best to join him. Undoubtedly, except one will altogether harden his heart, and refuse to hear, he

[1 The, Def.]
[2 Neither, Def.]
[3 Except that there were some man, Def.]
[4 Plainly, Def.]
[5 These, Def.]

shall not repent him to give good heed to this our Defence, and to mark well what we say, and how truly and justly it agreeth with christian religion. [Part I.]

For where they call us heretics, it is a crime so heinous, that, unless it may be seen, unless it may be felt, and in manner may be holden with hands and fingers, it ought not lightly to be judged or believed, when it is laid to the charge of any christian man[6]. For heresy is a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the body and Spirit of Christ. But this was ever an old and solemn property with them and their forefathers; if any did complain of their errors and faults, and desired to have true religion restored, straightway to condemn such ones[7] for heretics, as men new-fangled and factious. Christ for no nother[8] cause was called a Samaritan, but only for that he was thought to have fallen to a certain new religion, and to be the author of a new sect. And Paul the apostle of Christ was called before the judges to make answer to a matter of heresy; and therefore he said: "According to this way, which they call heresy, I do worship the God of my fathers; believing all things which be written in the law and in the prophets." [Chap. vii. Div. 2.] [Chap. vii. Div. 3.] Acts xxiv.

Shortly to speak. This universal religion, which christian men profess at this day, was called first of the heathen people a sect and heresy. With these terms did they always fill princes' ears, to the intent when they had once hated us with a fore-determined opinion, and had counted all that we said to be faction and heresy, they might be so led away from the truth and right understanding of the cause[9]. But the more sore and outrageous a crime heresy is, the more it ought to be proved by plain and strong arguments, especially in this time, when men begin to give less credit to their words, and to make more diligent search of their doctrine, than they were wont to do. For the people of God are otherwise instructed now than they were in times past, when all the bishops of Rome's sayings were allowed for gospel, and when all religion did depend only upon their authority. Now-a-days the holy scripture is abroad, the writings of the apostles and prophets are in print, whereby all truth and catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresy may be disproved and confuted. Tertull. in Apolog. [Chap. viii. Div. 1.]

Sithence, then, they bring forth none of these for themselves, and call us nevertheless heretics, which have neither fallen from Christ, nor from the apostles, nor yet from the prophets, this is an injurious and a very spiteful dealing. With this sword did Christ put off the devil when he was tempted of him: with these weapons ought all presumption, which doth avance itself against God, to be overthrown and conquered. "For all scripture," saith St Paul, "that cometh by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to confute, to instruct, and to reprove; that the man of God may be perfect[10], and throughly framed to every good work." Thus did the holy fathers alway fight against the heretics with none other force than with the holy scriptures. St Augustine, when he disputed against Petilian, an heretic of the Donatists[11]: "Let not these words," quod he, "be heard between us, 'I say, or you say:' let us rather speak in this wise: 'Thus saith the Lord.' There let us seek the church: there let us boult out our[12] cause." Likewise St Hierome: "All those things," saith he, "which without the testimony of the scriptures are holden as delivered from the apostles, be throughly smitten down by the sword of God's word." St Ambrose also, to Gratianus the emperor: "Let the scripture," saith he, "be asked the question, let the apostles be asked[13], let the prophets be asked, and let Christ be asked." For at that time made the catholic fathers and bishops no doubt but that our religion might be proved out of the holy scriptures. Neither were they ever so hardy to take any for an heretic, whose error they could not evidently and apparently reprove by the self-same scriptures. And we verily do[14] make answer on this wise, [Chap. viii. Div. 2.] [Chap. ix. Div. 1.] 2 Tim. iii. [Chap. ix. Div. 2.] De Unit. Eccl. cap. iii. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Episc. Lib. iii. cap. xiv. [Chap. ix. Div. 3.] In prim. cap. Aggæ. [Chap. ix. Div. 4.]

[6 Conf. and Def. omit *man.*]
[7 One, Conf.; Def. omits the word.]
[8 Other, Def.]
[9 The preceding three sentences are omitted, Conf. and Def.]
[10 Perfite, Def.]
[11 The Donatian heretic, Def.]
[12 The, Conf. and Def.]
[13 Def. omits *let the apostles be asked.*]
[14 To, 1564.]

[Part I.] as St Paul did, According to this way which they call heresy we do worship God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and do allow all things which have been written either in the law, or in the prophets, or in the apostles' works.

[Chap. x. Div. 1.] Wherefore, if we be heretics, and they (as they would fain be called) be catholics, why do they not as they see the fathers, which were catholic men, have always done? Why do they not convince and master us by the divine scriptures? Why do they not call us again to be tried by them? Why do they not lay before us how we have gone away from Christ, from the prophets, from the apostles, and from the holy fathers? Why stick they to do it? Why are they afraid of it? It is God's cause: why are they doubtful to commit it to the trial of God's word? If we be heretics, which refer all our controversies unto the holy scriptures, and report us to the self-same words which we know were sealed by God himself, and in comparison of them set little by all other things, whatsoever may be devised by men; how shall we say to these folk, I pray you? what manner of men be they, and how is it meet to call them, which fear the judgment of the holy scriptures, that is to say, the judgment of God himself, and do prefer before them their own dreams, and full cold inventions; and, to maintain their own traditions, have defaced and corrupted, now these many hundred years, the ordinances of Christ and of the apostles?

[Chap. x. Div. 2.] Men say that Sophocles the tragical poet, when in his old days he was by his own sons accused before the judges for a doting and sottish man, as one that fondly wasted his own substance, and seemed to need a governor to see unto him; to the intent he might clear himself of the fault, he came into the place of judgment, and, when he had rehearsed before them his tragedy called Œdipus Coloneus, which he had written at the very time of his accusation, marvellous exactly and cunningly, did of himself ask the judges[1], whether they thought any sottish or doting man could do the like piece of work.

In like manner, because these men take us to be mad, and appeach us for heretics, as men which have nothing to do, neither with Christ, nor with the church of God; we have judged it should be to good purpose, and not unprofitable, if we do openly and frankly set forth our faith wherein we stand, and shew all that confidence which we have in Christ Jesu, to the intent all men may see what is our judgment of every part of christian religion, and may resolve with themselves, whether the faith which they shall see confirmed by the words of Christ, by the writings of the apostles, by the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and by the examples of many ages, be but a certain rage of furious and mad men, and a conspiracy of heretics. This therefore is our belief.

[Part II.] [Chap. i. Div. 1.] We believe that there is one certain Nature and divine Power, which we call God; and that the same is divided into three equal Persons; into the Father, into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost; and that they all be of one power, of one majesty, of one eternity, of one Godhead, and of one substance. And, although these three Persons be so divided, that neither the Father is the Son, nor the Son is the Holy Ghost or the Father; yet nevertheless we believe that there is but one very God, and that the same one God hath created heaven, and earth, and all things contained under heaven.

We believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father (as long before it was determined before all beginnings), when the fulness of time was come, did take of that blessed and pure Virgin both flesh and all the nature of man, that he might declare to the world the secret and hid will of his Father; which will had been laid up from before all ages and generations; and that he might full finish in his human body the mystery of our redemption; and might fasten to the cross our sins[2], and also that hand-writing which was made against us.

[[1] Did ask the judges in his own behalf, Def.] [[2] Our sins to the cross, Def.]

We believe that for our sake[3] he died, and was buried, descended into hell, the third day by the power of his Godhead returned to life, and rose again; and that the fortieth day after his resurrection, whiles his disciples beheld and looked upon him, he ascended into heaven, to fulfil all things, and did place in majesty and glory the self-same body wherewith he was born, wherein he lived on earth, wherein he was jested at, wherein he had suffered most painful torments and cruel kind of death, wherein he rose again, and wherein he ascended to the right hand of the Father, "above all rule, above all power, all force, all dominion, and above every name which is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come;" and that there he now sitteth, and shall sit, till all things be full perfitted. And, although the majesty and Godhead of Christ be everywhere abundantly dispersed, yet we believe that his body, as St Augustine saith, "must needs be still in one place;" and that Christ hath given majesty unto his body, but yet hath not taken away from it the nature of a body; and that we must not so affirm Christ to be God, that we deny him to be man; and, as the martyr Vigilius saith, that "Christ hath left us as touching his human nature, but hath not left us as touching his divine nature;" and that the same Christ, though he be absent from us concerning his manhood, yet is ever present with us concerning his Godhead. From that place also we believe that Christ shall come again to execute that general judgment, as well of them whom he shall then find alive in the body, as of them that be[4] already dead.

[Part II.]

August. Tract. 50. in Johan.

Acts iii.

In Epist. ad Dard.

Contr. Eutych. Lib. i.

Fulgent. ad Thrasym.

We believe that the Holy Ghost, who is the third Person in the Holy Trinity, is very God; not made, not create[5], not begotten, but proceeding from both the Father and the Son, by a certain mean unknown unto men, and unspeakable; and that it is his property to mollify and soften the hardness of man's heart, when he is once received thereunto[6], either by the wholesome preaching of the gospel, or by any other way; that he doth give men light, and guide them unto the knowledge of God, to all way of truth, to newness of the whole life, and to everlasting hope of salvation.

[Chap. i. Div. 2.]

We believe that there is one church of God, and that the same is not shut up (as in times past among the Jews) into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world; so that there is now no nation which can truly complain that they be shut forth, and may not be one of the church and people of God; and that this church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of Christ; and that Christ alone is the prince of this kingdom; that Christ alone is the head of this body; and that Christ alone is the bridegroom of this spouse.

[Chap. ii. Div. 1.]

Furthermore[7], that there be divers degrees of ministers in the church; whereof some be deacons, some priests, some bishops; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the whole charge and setting forth of religion. Yet notwithstanding we say that there neither is, nor can be any one man, which may have the whole superiority in this universal state; for that Christ is ever present to assist his church, and needeth not any man to supply his room, as his only heir to all his substance; and that there can be no one mortal creature, which is able to comprehend or conceive in his mind the universal church, that is to wit, all the parts of the world, much less able to put them in order, and to govern them rightly and duly. For all the apostles, as Cyprian saith, were of like power among themselves, and the rest were the same that Peter was; and that it was said indifferently to them all, "Feed ye;" indifferently to them all, "Go into the whole world;" indifferently to them all, "Teach ye the gospel." And, as Hierome saith, "all bishops wheresoever they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like preeminence and of like priesthood." And, as Cyprian saith, "there is but one bishoprick, and that[8] a piece thereof is perfitly and wholly holden of every

[Chap. iii. Div. 1.]

[Chap. iii. Div. 2.]

[Chap. iii. Div. 3.]

De Simplic. Prælat.

[Chap. iii. Div. 4.]

[Chap. iii. Div. 5.]

Ad Evagr.

De Simplic. Prælat.

[3 Sakes, Def.]
[4 That shall be, Def.]
[5 Created, Def.]
[6 Thereinto, Def.]
[7 Conf. and Def. insert (*we believe*).]
[8 Def. omits *that*.]

[Part II.] particular bishop." And, according to the judgment of the Nicene council, we
[Chap. iii. Div. 6.] say that the bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the church of God, than the rest of the patriarchs, either of Alexandria or Antiochia, have.
[Chap. iii. Div. 7.] And as for the bishop of Rome, who now calleth all matters before himself alone, except he do his duty as he ought to do, except he administer[1] the sacraments, except he instruct the people, except he warn them and teach them, we say that he ought not of right once to be called a bishop, or so much as an elder. For a bishop, as saith Augustine, "is a name of labour, and not of honour;" because he would have that man understand himself to be no
[Chap. iv. Div. 1.] bishop, which will seek to have pre-eminence, and not to profit others[2]. And that neither the pope, nor any other worldly creature, can no more be head of the whole church, or a bishop over all, than he can be the bridegroom, the light, the salvation, and life of the church: for these privileges and names belong only to Christ, and be properly and only fit for him alone. And that no bishop of Rome did ever suffer himself to be called by such a proud name and title before Phocas the emperor's time, who, as we know, by killing his own sovereign Maurice the emperor, did by a traitorous villany aspire to the empire, which was about the sixth hundred and thirteenth year after Christ
[Chap. iv. Div. 2. Cap. 47.] was born. Also the council of Carthage did circumspectly provide, that no bishop should be called either the highest bishop or chief priest.

[Chap. iv. Div. 3.] And therefore, sithence the bishop of Rome will now-a-days so be called, and challengeth unto himself an authority that is none of his; besides that he doth plainly contrary to the ancient councils and contrary to the old fathers, we believe that he doth give unto himself, as it is written by his
Greg. Epist. Lib. iv. epist. 76, 78, 80. Et Lib. vii. epist. 66. own companion Gregory, a presumptuous, a profane, a sacrilegious, and an antichristian name; that he is also the king of pride; that he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren; that he hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of antichrist.

[Chap. v. Div. 1.] Further, we say that the minister ought lawfully, duly, and orderly to be preferred to that office of the church of God, and that no man hath power to wrest himself into the holy ministry at his own pleasure and list[3]. Wherefore these persons do us the greater wrong, which have nothing so common in their mouth, as that we do nothing orderly and comely, but all things troublesomely, and without order; and that we allow every man to be a priest, to be a teacher, and to be an interpreter of the scriptures.

[Chap. vi. Div. 1.] Moreover, we say that Christ hath given to his ministers power to bind,
[Chap. vi. Div. 2.] to loose, to open, to shut; and that the office of loosing consisteth in this point, that the minister should either offer by the preaching of the gospel the merits of Christ[4] and full pardon to such as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent them, pronouncing unto the same a sure and undoubted forgiveness of their sins, and hope of everlasting salvation; or else that the minister[5], when any have offended their brothers' minds with a[6] great offence, and with a notable and open fault[7], whereby they have, as it were, banished and made themselves strangers from the common fellowship and from the body of Christ, then, after perfite amendment of such persons, doth reconcile them, and bring them home again, and restore them
[Chap. vi. Div. 3.] to the company and unity of the faithful. We say also, that the minister doth execute the authority of binding and shutting, as often as he shutteth up the gate of the kingdom of heaven against the unbelieving and stubborn persons, denouncing unto them God's vengeance and everlasting punishment; or else, when he doth quite shut them out from the bosom of the church by open excommunication. Out of doubt, what sentence soever the minister of God shall give in this sort, God himself doth so well allow of it[8], that

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[1 Minister, Conf. and Def.]

[2 That the man that seeketh to have pre-eminence, and not to profit, may understand himself to to be no bishop, Def.]

[3 Def. omits *and list.*]

[4 Minister either by the preaching of the gospel offereth the merits of Christ, Def.]

[5 The same minister, Def.]

[6 Some, Def.]

[7 Or notable and open crime, Def.]

[8 Allow it, Conf. and Def.]

whatsoever here in earth by their means is loosed and bound, God himself will loose and bind and confirm the same in heaven. [Part II.]

And touching the keys, wherewith they may either shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we with Chrysostom say they be "the knowledge of the scriptures:" with Tertullian we say they be "the interpretation of the law;" and with Eusebius we call them "the word of God." [Chap. vii. Div. 1.]

Moreover, that Christ's disciples did receive this authority, not that they should hear private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings, as the common massing priests do everywhere now-a-days, and do it so, as though in that one point lay all the virtue and use of the keys; but to the end they should go, they should teach, they should publish abroad the gospel, and be unto the believing a sweet savour of life unto life, and unto the unbelieving and unfaithful a savour of death unto death; and that the minds of godly persons, being brought low by the remorse of their former life and errors, after they once begun to look up unto the light of the gospel and believe in Christ, might be opened with the word of God, even as a door is opened with a key. Contrariwise, that the wicked and wilful folk[9], and such as would not believe nor return into the right way, should be left still as fast locked and shut up, and, as St Paul saith, "wax worse and worse." This take we to be the meaning of the keys; and that after this fashion[10] men's consciences either to be[11] opened or shut. We say that the priest indeed is judge in this case, but yet hath no manner of right to challenge an authority, or power, as saith Ambrose. And therefore our Saviour Jesu Christ, to reprove the negligence of the scribes and Pharisees in teaching, did with these words rebuke them, saying, "Wo unto you scribes and Pharisees, which have taken away the keys of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven before men." Seeing then the key, whereby the way and entry to the kingdom of God is opened unto us, is the word of the gospel and the expounding of the law and scriptures, we say plainly, where the same word is not, there is not the key. And seeing one manner of word is given to all, and one only key belongeth to all, we say there is but one only power of all ministers, as concerning opening and shutting. And as touching the bishop of Rome, for all his parasites flatteringly sing in his ears those words[12], "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (as though those keys were fit for him alone, and for nobody else), except he go so to work, as men's consciences may be made pliant, and be subdued to the word of God, we deny that he doth either open, or shut, or hath the keys at all. And, although he taught and instructed the people (as would to God he might once truly do, and persuade himself it were at the least some[13] piece of his duty), yet we think his key to be never a whit better or of greater force than other men's. For who hath severed him from the rest? who hath taught him more cunningly to open, or better to absolve than his brethren?

[Chap. vii. Div. 2.] 2 Tim. iii. [Chap. vii. Div. 3.] [Chap. vii. Div. 4.] De Pœnit. Dist. 1. cap. Verb. Dei. Luke xi. Matt. xxiii. [Chap. vii. Div. 5.]

We say that matrimony is holy and honourable in all sorts and states of persons, in[14] the patriarchs, in the prophets, in the apostles, in holy martyrs, in the ministers of the church, and in bishops, and that it is an honest and lawful thing (as Chrysostom saith) for a man living in matrimony to take upon him therewith the dignity of a bishop; and, as Sozomenus saith of Spiridion, and as Nazianzene saith of his own father, that[15] a good and diligent bishop doth serve in the ministry never the worse for that he is married, but rather the better, and with more ableness to do good. Further we say that the same law, which by constraint taketh away this liberty from men, and compelleth them against their wills to live single, is "the doctrine of devils," as Paul saith; and that, ever since the time of this law, a wonderful uncleanness of life and manners in God's ministers, and sundry horrible enormities have followed, as the bishop of Augusta, as Faber, as Abbas Panormitanus, as La-

[Chap. viii. Div. 1.] Chrysost. in Epist. ad Tit. Hom. 2. [Chap. viii. Div. 2.] Euseb. Lib. x. cap. v. Nazian. in Monod. de Basil. [Chap. viii. Div. 3.] 1 Tim. iv.

[9 Def. omits *folk.*]
[10 Sort, Def.]
[11 Be either, Def.]
[12 All that his flattering parasites sing these words in his ears, Def.]
[13 Any, Def.]
[14 As in, Def.]
[15 We say that, Def.]

[Part II.] tomus, as the Tripartite work, which is annexed to the second tome of the Councils, and other champions of the pope's band, yea, and as the matter itself and all histories do confess. For it was rightly said by Pius the Second, a bishop of Rome, "that he saw many causes why wives should be taken away from priests, but that he saw many more and more weighty causes why they ought to be restored them again."

Platin. in Vita Pii Secundi.

[Chap. ix. Div. 1.] We receive and embrace all the canonical scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, giving thanks to our God, who hath raised up unto us that light which we might ever have before our eyes, lest, either by the subtlety of man, or by the snares of the devil, we should be carried away to errors and lies. Also that these be the heavenly voices, whereby God hath opened unto us his will; and that only in them man's heart can have settled rest; that in them be abundantly and fully comprehended all things, whatsoever be needful for our salvation[1], as Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyrillus have taught; that they be the very might and strength of God to attain to salvation; that they be the foundations of the prophets and apostles, whereupon is built the church of God; that they be the very sure and infallible rule, whereby may be tried, whether the church doth stagger[2], or err, and whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account; and that against these scriptures neither law, nor ordinance, nor any custom ought to be heard; no, though Paul his own self[3], or an angel from heaven, should come and teach the contrary.

[Chap. x. Div. 1.] Moreover, we allow the sacraments of the church, that is to say, certain holy signs and ceremonies, which Christ would we should use, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm our[4] faith which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts. And those[5] sacraments, together with Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, Basil, Dionysius, and other catholic fathers, do we call figures, signs, marks or badges, prints, copies, forms, seals, signets, similitudes, patterns, representations, remembrances, and memories. And we make no doubt, together with the same doctors, to say, that those[5] be certain visible words, seals of righteousness, tokens of grace; and do[6] expressly pronounce that in the Lord's supper there is truly given unto the believing the body and blood of the Lord[7], the flesh of the Son of God, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, grace[8], truth, and life; and the supper to be[9] the communion of the body and blood of Christ; by the partaking whereof we be revived, we be strengthened, and be fed unto immortality; and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporate unto Christ, that we may abide in him, and he in us.

[Chap. xi. Div. 1.]

[Chap. xi. Div. 2.] Besides, we acknowledge there be two sacraments, which, we judge, properly ought to be called by this name; that is to say, baptism, and the sacrament[10] of thanksgiving. For thus many we see were delivered and sanctified by Christ, and well allowed of the old fathers, Ambrose and Augustine[11].

[Chap. xi. Div. 3.] We say that baptism is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing, which we have in the blood of Christ; and that no person, which will profess Christ's name, ought to be restrained or kept back therefrom; no, not the very babes of Christians; forsomuch as they be born in sin, and do pertain unto the people of God.

[Chap. xii. Div. 1.] We say that eucharistia, the supper of the Lord, is a sacrament, that is to wit, an evident token[12] of the body and blood of Christ, wherein is set, as it were, before our eyes the death of Christ, and his resurrection, and what act soever[13] he did whilst he was in his mortal body; to the end we may give him thanks for his death, and for our deliverance; and that, by the often

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[1 Health, Def.]
[2 Do swerve, Def.]
[3 Himself, Def.]
[4 The, Def.]
[5 These, Def.]
[6 And we do, Conf. and Def.]
[7 Our Lord, Def.]
[8 Of grace, Def.]
[9 The same supper to be, Def.]
[10 Sacraments, 1564.]
[11 Def. adds, *and such others.*]
[12 Representation, Def.]
[13 Whatsoever, Def.]

receiving of this sacrament, we may daily renew the remembrance of that matter[14], to the intent we, being fed with the body and blood of Christ, may be brought into the hope of the resurrection and of everlasting life, and may most assuredly believe that the body and blood of Christ doth in like manner feed our souls, as bread and wine doth feed our bodies[15]. To this banquet we think the people of God ought to be earnestly bidden, that they may all communicate among themselves, and openly declare and testify both the godly society which is among them, and also the hope which they have in Christ Jesu. For this cause, if there had been any which would be but a looker-on, and abstain from the holy communion, him did the old fathers and bishops of Rome in the primitive church, before private mass came up, excommunicate as a wicked person and as a pagan. Neither was there any Christian at that time which did communicate alone, whiles other looked on. For so did Calixtus in times past decree that, after the consecration was finished, all should communicate, except they had rather stand without the church-doors; "because thus," saith he, "did the apostles appoint, and the same the holy church of Rome keepeth still."

[Part II.]

[Chap. xii. Div. 2.]

Chrysost. ad Ephes. Hom. 3.

Dist. 2. Sæculares. De Cons. Dist. ii. cap. Peracta.

Moreover, when the people cometh to the holy communion, the sacrament ought to be given them in both kinds; for so both Christ hath commanded, and the apostles in every place have ordained, and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops have followed the same. And whoso doth contrary to this, he (as Gelasius saith) committeth sacrilege. And therefore we say that our adversaries at this day, who, having violently thrust out and quite forbidden the holy communion, do, without the word of God, without the authority of any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive church, yea, and without reason also, defend and maintain their private masses and the mangling of the sacraments, and do this not only against the plain express commandment and bidding[16] of Christ, but also against all antiquity, do wickedly therein, and are very church-robbers.

[Chap. xii. Div. 3.]

De Cons. Dist. 2. Comperimus.

We affirm that bread and wine are holy and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ, and that by them Christ himself, being the true bread of eternal life, is so presently given unto us, as that by faith we verily receive his body and his blood. Yet say we not this so, as though we thought that the nature of bread[17] and wine is clearly changed, and goeth to nothing; as many have dreamed in these later times, which yet could never agree among themself of this their dream[18]. For that was not Christ's meaning, that the wheaten bread should lay apart his own nature, and receive a certain new divinity; but that he might rather change us, and (to use Theophylactus' words) might transform us into his body. For what can be said more plainly than that which Ambrose saith, "Bread and wine remain still the same they were before; and yet are changed into another thing?" or that which Gelasius saith, "The substance of the bread, or the nature of the wine, ceaseth not so to be[19];" or that which Theodoret saith, "After the consecration the mystical signs do not cast off their own proper nature; for they remain still in their former substance, form, and kind;" or that which Augustine saith, "That which ye see is the bread and cup, and so our eyes tell us; but that which your faith requireth to be taught is this; the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his blood:" or that which Origen saith, "Bread[20] which is sanctified by the word of God, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy;" or that which Christ himself said, not only after the blessing of the cup, but after[21] he had ministered the communion: "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine?" It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood.

[Chap. xiii. Div. 1.]

Johan. cap. vi.

De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

In Dial. 1. & 2.

In Serm. ad Infant. De Consecr. Dist. 2. cap. Qui manducat.

Orig. in Matt. Hom. 15.

And in speaking thus we mean not to abase the Lord's supper, or to teach

[Chap. xiv. Div. 1.]

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[14] Remembrance thereof, Def.]

[15] That, as our bodies be fed with bread and wine, so our souls be fed with the body and blood of Christ. Def.]

[16] Def. omits *and bidding.*]

[17] Nature and substance of the bread, Def.]

[18] Themselves upon their own dreams, Def.]

[19] Not to be, Def.]

[20] The bread, Def.]

[21] But also after, Def.]

[Part II.] that it is but a cold ceremony only, and nothing to be wrought therein (as many falsely slander us we teach). For we affirm that Christ doth truly and presently give his own self in[1] his sacraments; in baptism, that we may put him on; and in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and spirit, and may have everlasting life by his cross and blood. And we say not, this is done slightly and coldly, but effectually and truly. For, although we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him by faith, by understanding, and by the spirit[2]. And this[3] is no vain faith which doth comprehend Christ; and that is not received with cold devotion, which is received with understanding, with faith, and with spirit. For Christ himself altogether is so offered and given us in these mysteries, that we may certainly know we be flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; and that Christ "continueth in us, and we in him." And therefore in celebrating these mysteries, the people are to good purpose exhorted, before they come to receive the holy communion, to lift up their hearts, and to direct their minds to heaven-ward; because he is there, by whom we must be full[4] fed, and live. Cyril saith, when we come to receive these mysteries, all gross imaginations must quite be banished. The council of Nice, as is alleged[5] by some in Greek, plainly forbiddeth us to be basely affectioned, or bent toward the bread and wine, which are set before us. And, as Chrysostom very aptly writeth, we say that "the body of Christ is the dead carcase, and we ourselves must be the eagles:" meaning thereby, that we must fly high[6], if we will come unto the body of Christ. "For this table," as Chrysostom saith, "is a table of eagles, and not of jays." Cyprian also, "This bread," saith he, "is the food of the soul, and not the meat of the belly." And Augustine[7], "How shall I hold him," saith he, "which is absent[8]? How shall I reach my hand up to heaven, to lay-hold upon him that sitteth there[9]?" He answereth, "Reach thither thy faith, and then thou hast laid hold on him."

[Chap. xiv. Div. 2.] De consecr. Dist. 1. Quando.
[Chap. xiv. Div. 3.] Ad Object. Theodor.
[Chap. xiv. Div. 4.]
[Chap. xiv. Div. 5.] Chrysost. in 1 Cor. x.
De Cœna Domini.
[Chap. xiv. Div. 8.] In Johan. Tractat. 50.

[Chap. xv. Div. 1.] We cannot also away[10] in our churches with the shews, and sales, and buying and selling[11] of masses, nor the carrying about and worshipping of bread[12]; nor such other idolatrous and blasphemous fondness; which none of them can prove that Christ or his apostles did ever ordain or left unto us. And we justly blame the bishops of Rome, who, without the word of God, without the authority of the holy fathers, without any example of antiquity, after a new guise, do not only set before the people the sacramental bread to be worshipped as God, but do also carry the same about upon an ambling horse[13], whithersoever themselves journey; as in[14] old time the Persians' fire, and the reliques of the goddess Isis, were solemnly carried about in procession; and have brought the sacraments of Christ to be used now as a stage-play, and a solemn sight; to the end that men's eyes should be fed with nothing else but with mad gazings, and foolish gauds, in the self-same matter, wherein the death of Christ ought diligently to be beaten into our hearts, and wherein also the mysteries of our redemption ought with all holiness and reverence to be executed.

In Lib. de Cærem. Roman. Eccl.

[Chap. xv. Div. 2.] Besides, where they say, and sometime do persuade fools, that they are able by their masses to distribute and apply unto men's commodity all the merits of Christ's death, yea, although many times the parties think nothing of the matter, and understand full little what is done, this is a mockery, a heathenish fancy, and a very toy. For it is our faith that applieth the death and cross of Christ to our benefit, and not the act of the massing priest. "Faith had in the sacraments," saith Augustine, "doth justify, and not the sacraments." And Origen saith, "Christ is the priest, the propitiation, and sacrifice; which propitiation cometh to every one by mean of faith." So that

Orig. ad Rom. i. cap. iii.

[1 Himself wholly in, Def.]
[2 By spirit, Def.]
[3 It, Def.]
[4 Def. omits *full.*]
[5 It is alleged, Def.]
[6 Fly on high, Def.]
[7 St Augustine saith, Def.]
[8 Being absent, Def.]
[9 Sitting there, Def.]
[10 Neither can we away, Def.]
[11 Markets, Def.]
[12 Of the bread, Def.]
[13 Palfrey, Def.]
[14 In such sort as in, Def.]

by this reckoning, we say that the sacraments of Christ without faith do not once profit these that be alive: a great deal less do they profit those that be dead. [Part II.]

And as for their brags they are wont to make of their purgatory, though we know it is not a thing so very late risen amongst them, yet is it no better than a blockish and an old wives' device. [Chap. xvi. Div. 1.]

Augustine indeed sometime saith, there is such a certain place: sometime he denieth not but there may be such a one: sometime he doubteth: sometime again he utterly denieth it to be[15], and thinketh that men are therein deceived by a certain natural good-will they bear their friends departed. But yet of this one error hath there grown up such a harvest of these[16] massmongers, the masses[17] being sold abroad commonly in every corner, the temples of God became shops, to get money; and silly souls were persuaded[18] that nothing was more necessary to be bought. Indeed there was nothing more gainful for these men to sell. [Chap. xvi. Div. 2.] August. in Psal. lxxxv. In Enchir. cap. lxvii. De Civ. Dei xxi. cap. xxvi. Hypog.

As touching the multitude of vain and superfluous ceremonies, we know that Augustine[19] did grievously complain of them in his own time; and therefore have we cut off a great number of them, because we know that men's consciences were cumbered[20] about them, and the churches of God overladen with them. Nevertheless we keep still and esteem, not only those ceremonies which we are sure were delivered us from the apostles, but some others too besides, which we thought might be suffered without hurt to the church of God; because we had a desire that all things in the holy congregation might (as Paul[21] commandeth) "be done with comeliness, and in good order;" but, as for all those things which we saw were either very superstitious, or unprofitable[22], or noisome, or mockeries, or contrary to the holy scriptures, or else unseemly for honest or discreet folks, as there be an infinite number[23] now-a-days where papistry[24] is used, these, I say, we have utterly refused without all manner exception, because we would not have the right worshipping of God any longer defiled with such follies. [Chap. xvii. Div. 1.] Ad Jan. Epist. 119.

We make our prayers in that tongue which all our people, as meet is, may understand, to the end they may (as Paul[21] counselleth us) take common commodity by common prayer; even as all the holy fathers and catholic bishops, both in the old and new testament, did use to pray themselves, and taught the people to pray too; lest, as Augustine saith, "like parrots and ousels we should seem to speak that we understand not." [Chap. xviii. Div. 1.]

Neither have we any other mediator and intercessor, by whom we may have access to God the Father, than[25] Jesus Christ, in whose only name all things are obtained at his Father's hand. But it is a shameful part, and full of infidelity, that we see everywhere used in the churches of our adversaries, not only in that they will have innumerable sorts of mediators, and that utterly without the authority of God's word; so that, as Jeremy saith, the saints be now "as many in number, or rather above the number of the cities;" and poor men cannot tell to which saint it were best to turn them first; and, though there be so many as they cannot be told, yet every one of them hath his peculiar duty and office assigned unto him of these folks, what thing they ought to ask, what to give, and what to bring to pass—but besides this also, in that they do not only wickedly, but also shamelessly, call upon the blessed virgin, Christ's mother, to have her remember that she is a mother, and to command her Son, and to use a mother's authority over him. Jer. ii. & xi. Bernardus

We say also, that every person is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin; that nobody is able truly to say his heart is clean; that the most righteous person is but an unprofitable servant; that the law of God is perfite, and re- [Chap. xix. Div. 1.]

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[15] There is any at all, Def.]
[16] Those, Conf. and Def.]
[17] That the masses, Def.]
[18] Borne in hand, Def.]
[19] St Augustine, Def.]
[20] Encumbered, Def.]
[21] St Paul, Def.]
[22] Utterly unprofitable, Def.]
[23] Sober and discreet people, whereof there be infinite numbers, Def.]
[24] The Roman religion, Def.]
[25] But only, Def.]

[Part II.] quireth of us perfite and full obedience; that we are able by no means to fulfil that law in this worldly life; that there is no one mortal creature which can be justified by his own deserts in God's sight; and therefore that our only succour and refuge is to fly to the mercy of our Father by Jesu Christ, and assuredly to persuade our minds that he is the obtainer of forgiveness for our sins, and that by his blood all our spots of sin be washed clean; that he hath pacified and set at one all things by the blood of his cross; that he by the same one only sacrifice, which he once offered upon the cross, hath brought to effect and fulfilled all things, and that for that cause he said, when he gave up the ghost, "It is finished;" as though he would signify that the price and ransom was now full paid for the sin of all mankind. If there be any then[1] that think this sacrifice not sufficient, let them go in God's name, and seek another that is better[2]. We verily, because we know this to be the only sacrifice, are well content with it alone, and look for none other; and, forasmuch as it was to be offered but once, we command it not to be renewed again. And, because it was full and perfite in all points and parts, we do not ordain in place thereof any continual succession of offerings.

[Chap. xx. Div. 1.] Besides, though we say we have no meed at all by our own works and deeds, but appoint all the mean[3] of our salvation to be in Christ alone, yet say we not that for this cause men ought to live loosely and dissolutely; nor that it is enough for a Christian to be baptized only and to believe; as though there were nothing else required at his hand. For true faith is lively, and can in no wise be idle. Thus therefore teach we the people, that God hath called us, not to follow riot and wantonness, but, as Paul saith, "unto good works, to walk in them;" that God hath plucked us out[4] "from the power of darkness, to serve[5] the living God," to cut away all the remnants of sin, and "to work our salvation in fear and trembling;" that it may appear how that the Spirit of sanctification is in our bodies, and that Christ himself doth dwell in our hearts.

[Chap. xxi. Div. 1.] To conclude: we believe that this our self-same flesh wherein we live, although it die, and come to dust, yet at the last day[6] it shall return again to life, by the means of Christ's Spirit which dwelleth in us; and that then verily, whatsoever we suffer here in the meanwhile for his sake, Christ will wipe from off our eyes all tears and lamentation[7]; and that we through him shall enjoy everlasting life, and shall for ever be with him in glory. So be it.

[Part III.] [Chap. i. Div. 1.] Behold, these are the horrible heresies, for the which a good part of the world is at this day condemned by the bishop of Rome, and yet were never heard to plead their cause. He should have commenced his suit rather against Christ, against the apostles, and against the holy fathers. For these things did not only proceed from them, but were also appointed by them: except perhaps these men will say (as I think they will indeed) that Christ hath not instituted the holy communion to be divided amongst the faithful; or that Christ's apostles and the ancient fathers have[8] said private masses in every corner of the temples, now ten, now twenty togethers in one day; or that Christ and his apostles banished all the common people from the sacrament of his blood; or that the thing, which themselves do at this day every where, and do it so as they condemn him for an heretic which doth otherwise, is not called of Gelasius, their own doctor, plain sacrilege; or that these be not the very words of Ambrose, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostom, and Origen: "The bread and wine in the sacraments remain still the same they were before:" "the thing which is seen upon the holy table is bread:" "there ceaseth not to be still the substance of bread, and nature of wine:" "the

[1 Conf. and Def. omit *then*.]
[2 Seek a better, Def.]
[3 Means, Conf. and Def.]
[4 That we are delivered, Def.]
[5 To the end that we should serve, Def.]
[6 Def. omits *day*.]
[7 Wipe away all tears and heaviness from our eyes, Def.]
[8 Def. omits *have*.]

substance and nature of bread are not changed:" "the self-same bread, as touching the material substance, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy;" or that Christ, the apostles, and holy fathers, prayed not in that tongue which the people might understand; or that Christ hath not performed all things by that one offering which he once offered[9]; or that the same sacrifice was imperfect, and so now we have need of another. All these things must they of necessity say, unless perchance they had rather say thus, that all law and right is locked up in the treasury of the pope's breast, and that (as once one of his soothing pages and claw-backs did not stick to say) the pope is able to dispense against the apostles, against a council, and against the canons and rules of the apostles; and that he is not bound to stand neither to the examples, nor to the ordinances, nor to the laws of Christ. We, for our parts, have learned these things of Christ, of the apostles, of the devout fathers; and do sincerely and with good faith teach the people of God the same. Which thing is the only cause why we at this day are called heretics of the chief prelates[10] (no doubt) of religion. O immortal God! hath Christ himself then, the apostles, and so many fathers, all at once gone astray? Were then Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, Theodoret, forsakers of the catholic faith? Was so notable a consent of so many ancient bishops and learned men nothing else but a conspiracy of heretics? or is that now condemned in us which was then commended in them? or is the thing now, by alteration only of men's affection, suddenly become schismatic, which in them was counted catholic? or shall that which in times past was true[11], now by and by, because it liketh not these men, be judged false? Let them then bring forth another gospel, and let them shew the causes why these things, which so long have openly been observed and well allowed in the church of God, ought now in the end to be called in again. We know well enough that the same word which was opened by Christ, and spread abroad by the apostles, is sufficient, both our salvation and all truth to uphold and maintain[12], and also to confound all manner of heresy. By that word only do we condemn all sorts of the old heretics, whom these men say we have called out of hell again. As for the Arians, the Eutychians, the Marcionites, the Ebionites, the Valentinians, the Carpocratians, the Tatians, the Novatians, and shortly, all them which have had[13] a wicked opinion, either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other point of christian religion, forsomuch as they be confuted by the gospel of Christ, we plainly pronounce them for detestable and cast-away[14] persons, and defy them even unto the devil. Neither do we leave them so, but we also severely and straitly hold them in by lawful and politic punishments, if they fortune to break out any where, and bewray themselves.

[Part III.]

[Chap. i. Div. 2.]

Dist. 36. Lector, in Gloss. Dist. 82. ca. Presbyter.

[Chap. i. Div. 3.]

Indeed we grant that certain new and very strange sects, as the Anabaptists, Libertines, Menonians, and Zuenckfeldians, have been stirring in the world ever since the gospel did first spring. But the world seeth now right well (thanks be given to our God), that we neither have bred, nor taught, nor kept up these monsters. In good fellowship, I pray thee, whosoever thou be, read our books: they are to be sold in every place. What hath there ever been written by any of our company, which might plainly bear with the madness of any of those heretics? Nay, I say unto you, there is no country at this day so free from their pestilent infections, as they be, wherein the gospel is freely and commonly taught[15]. So that, if they weigh the very matter with earnest and upright advisement, this thing is a great argument that this same is the very truth of the gospel which we do teach[16]: for lightly neither is cockle wont to grow without the wheat, nor yet the chaff without the corn. For from the very apostles' times, who knoweth not how many

[Chap. ii. Div. 1.]

[9 Def. adds *upon the cross.*]
[10 Prelate, Conf. and Def.]
[11 Was undoubtedly true, Def.]
[12 Both to our salvation, and also to uphold and maintain all truth, Def.]
[13 Conf. and Def. omit *had.*]
[14 Damned, Def.]
[15 Preached, Def.]
[16 This same doctrine which we teach is the very truth of the gospel of Christ, Def.]

[Part III.] heresies did rise up even together, so soon as the gospel was first spread abroad? Who ever had heard tell of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius, Colorbasius, Heracleo, Lucianus, and Severus[1], before the apostles were sent abroad? But why stand we reckoning up these? Epiphanius rehearseth up four-score sundry heresies; and Augustine many more, which did spring up even together with the gospel. What then? Was the gospel therefore not the gospel, because heresies sprang up withal? or was Christ therefore not Christ?

And yet, as we said, doth not this great crop and heap of heresies grow up amongst us, which do openly, abroad, and frankly teach the gospel. These poisons take their beginnings, their increasings, and strength, amongst our adversaries, in blindness and in darkness, amongst whom truth is with tyranny and cruelty kept under, and cannot be heard but in corners and secret meetings. But let them make a proof: let them give the gospel free passage: let the truth of Jesu Christ give his clear light, and stretch forth his bright beams into all parts; and then shall they forthwith see how all these shadows straight will vanish and pass away at the light of the gospel, even as the thick mist of the night consumeth at the sight of the sun. For whilst these men sit still, and make merry, and do nothing, we continually repress and put back all those heresies, which they falsely charge us to nourish and maintain.

[Chap. iii. Div. i.] Where they say that we have fallen into sundry sects, and would be called some of us Lutherians, some of us Zuinglians, and cannot yet well agree among ourselves touching the whole substance of doctrine[2]; what would these men have said, if they had been in the first times of the apostles and holy fathers; when one said, "I hold of Paul;" another, "I hold of Cephas;" another, "I hold of Apollo?" when Paul did so sharply rebuke Peter? when, upon a falling out, Barnabas departed from Paul? when, as Origen mentioneth, the Christians were divided into so many factions, as that they kept no more but the name of Christians in common among them, being in no manner of thing else like to Christians? when, as Socrates saith, for their dissensions and sundry sects, they were laughed and jested at openly of the people in the common[3] game-plays? when, as Constantine the emperor affirmeth, there were such a number of variances and brawlings in the church, that it might justly seem a misery far passing all the former miseries? when also Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ruffine, Hierome, being all Christians, being all fathers, being all catholics, did strive[4] one against another with most bitter and remediless[5] contentions without end? when, as saith Nazianzene, the parts of one body were consumed and wasted one of another? when the east part[6] was divided from the west, only for leavened bread and only for keeping of Easter-day; which were indeed no great matters to be strived for? and when in all councils new creeds and new decrees continually were devised? What would these men (trow ye) have said in those days? which side would they specially then have taken? and which would they then have forsaken? which gospel would they have believed? whom would they have accounted for heretics, and whom for catholics? And yet what a stir and revel keep they at this time upon two[7] poor names only, Luther and Zuinglius! Because these two men do not yet fully agree upon some one point[8], therefore would they needs have us think that both of them were deceived; that neither of them had the gospel; and that neither of them taught the truth aright.

[Chap. iv. Div. i.]

[Chap. v. Div. i.] But, good God! what manner of fellows be these, which blame us for disagreeing? And do all they themselves, ween you, agree well together? Is every one of them fully resolved what to follow? Hath there been no strifes, no debates, amongst them[9] at no time? Why then do the Scotists and

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[1 Def. adds, *and other like.*]
[2 Of our doctrine, Def.]
[3 In their stages and common, Def.]
[4 Quarrelled, Def.]
[5 Most remediless, Def.]
[6 The whole east part of the church, Def.]
[7 Keep they this day only upon the two, Def.]
[8 Men are not yet fully resolved upon some one certain point of doctrine, Def.]
[9 Have there been no strifes, no quarrels, no debates amongst themselves, Def.]

Thomists, about that they call *meritum congrui* and *meritum condigni*, no better agree together? Why agree they no better among themselves concerning original sin in the blessed virgin; concerning a solemn vow and a single vow? Why say the[10] canonists that auricular confession is appointed by the positive law of man; and the[10] schoolmen contrariwise, that it is appointed by the law of God? Why doth Albertus Pius dissent from Caietanus? why doth Thomas dissent from Lombardus, Scotus from Thomas, Occanus from Scotus, Alliensis[11] from Occanus? And why do the[10] Nominals disagree from the[10] Reals? And yet say I nothing of so many diversities of friars and monks; how some of them put a great holiness in eating of fish, and some in eating of herbs; some in wearing of shoes, and some in wearing of sandals; some in going in a linen garment, and some in a woollen; some of them called white, some black; some being shaven broad, and some narrow; some stalking abroad upon pattens, some bare-footed[12]; some girt, and some ungirt. They ought, I wis[13], to remember how there be some of their own company which say, that the body of Christ is in his supper naturally; contrary, other some of the self-same company deny it to be so[14]: again, that there be other of them which say the body of Christ in the holy communion is rent and torn with our teeth[15]; and some again that deny the same. Some also of them there be which write, that the body of Christ is *quantum in eucharistia*[16]; that is to say, hath his perfite quantity in the sacrament; some other again say nay: that there be others of them which say, Christ did consecrate with a certain divine power; some, that he did the same with his blessing; some again that say, he did it with uttering five solemn chosen words; and some, with rehearsing the same words afterward again. Some will have it that, when Christ did speak those five words, the material wheaten bread was pointed by[17] this demonstrative pronoun *hoc*: some had rather have that a certain *vagum individuum*, as they term it, was meant thereby. Again, others there be that say, dogs and mice may truly and in very deed eat the body of Christ; and others again there be that stedfastly deny it. There be others which say that the very accidents of bread and wine may nourish: others again there be which say how that the substance of the bread doth return again[18]. What need I say more? It were over-long and tedious to reckon up all things: so very uncertain, and full of controversies[19], is yet the whole form of these men's religion and doctrine, even amongst themselves, from whence it did first spring and begin. For hardly at any time do they well agree between themselves: except it be peradventure as, in times past, the Pharisees and Sadducees; or as Herod and Pilate did accord against Christ.

[Part III.]

Steph. Gardiner in Diab. Soph. Rich. Smith. De Consecr. Recant. Bereng. Schol. et Gloss. Guimundus.

Thom. Aquinas.

Steph. Gardiner.

De Consecr. Dist. Spe. Glos. Magist. Sent. et Schola.

They were best therefore to go and set peace at home rather among their own selves. Of a truth unity and concord doth best become religion; yet is not unity the sure and certain mark whereby to know the church of God. For there was the greatest consent[20] that might be amongst them that worshipped the golden calf, and among them which with one voice jointly cried against our Saviour Jesu Christ, "Crucify him." Nother, because the Corinthians were unquieted with private dissensions; or because Paul did square with Peter, or Barnabas with Paul; or because the Christians, upon the very beginning of the gospel, were at mutual discord touching some one matter, may we therefore think there was no church of God amongst them. And as for those persons, whom they upon spite call Zuinglians and Lutherians, in very deed they of both sides be Christians, good friends, and brethren. They vary not betwixt themselves upon the principles and foundations of our religion, nor as touching God, nor Christ, nor the Holy Ghost, nor of the

[Chap. vi. Div. 5.]

[10 Their, Def.]
[11 Alliacensis, Def.]
[12 Some going barefooted, Def.]
[13 Yewis, Def.]
[14 Deny it utterly, Def.]
[15 With teeth, Def.]
[16 In the sacrament is *quantum*, Def.]
[17 Pointed unto by, Def.]
[18 Substance of the bread returneth again by a miracle, Def.]
[19 Doubts, Def.]
[20 Unity, Def.]

[Part III.] means to[1] justification, nor yet everlasting life, but upon one only question, which is neither weighty nor great; neither mistrust we, or make doubt at all, but they will shortly be agreed. And, if there be any of them which have other opinion than is meet, we doubt not but, or it be long, they will put apart all affections and names of parties, and that God will reveal it[2] unto them; so that by better considering and searching out of the matter, as once it came to pass in the council of Chalcedon, all causes and seeds of dissension shall be throughly plucked up by the root, and be buried, and quite forgotten for ever; which God grant.

[Chap. vii. Div. 1 & 2.] But this is the most grievous and heavy case[3], that they call us wicked and ungodly men, and say we have thrown away all care of religion. Though this ought not to trouble us much, whiles they themselves that thus have charged us know full well how spiteful and false a saying it is[4]: for Justin the martyr is a witness, how that all Christians were called ἄθεοι, that is, godless, as soon as the gospel first began to be published, and the name of Christ to be openly declared. And, when Polycarpus stood to be judged, the people stirred up the president to slay and murder all them which professed the gospel, with these words, Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, that is to say, "Rid out of the way these wicked and godless creatures." And this was not because it was true that the Christians were godless, but because they would not worship stones and stocks, which were then honoured as God. The whole world seeth plainly enough already, what we and ours have endured at these men's hands for religion and our only God's cause. They have thrown us into prison, into water, into fire, and have imbrued themselves in our blood; not because we were either adulterers, or robbers, or murderers, but only for that we confessed the gospel of Jesu Christ, and put our confidence in the living God; and for that we complained too justly and truly (Lord, thou knowest), that they did break the law of God for their own most vain traditions; and that our adversaries were the very foes to the gospel, and enemies to Christ's cross, who so wittingly and willingly did obstinately despise[5] God's commandments.

Euseb. Lib. iv.

Wherefore, when these men saw they could not rightly find fault with our doctrine, they would needs pick a quarrel, and inveigh and rail against our manners, surmising how that we do condemn all well-doings; how we set open the door to all licentiousness and lust, and lead away the people from all love of virtue. And in very deed, the life of all men, even of the devoutest and most christian, both is, and evermore hath been, such as one may always find some lack, even in the very best and purest conversation. And such is the inclination of all creatures unto evil, and the readiness of all men to suspect, that the things which neither have been done, nor once meant to be done, yet may be easily both heard and credited for true. And, like as a small spot is soon spied in the neatest and whitest garment, even so the least stain of dishonesty is easily found out in the purest and sincerest life. Neither take we all them, which have at this day embraced the doctrine of the gospel, to be angels, and to live clearly without any mote or wrinkle; nor yet think we these men either so blind that, if any thing may be noted in us, they are not able to perceive the same even through the least crevie; nor so friendly, that they will construe ought to the best; nor yet so honest of nature nor courteous, that they will look back upon themselves, and weigh our fashions[6] by their own. If so be we list to search this matter from the bottom, we know in the very apostles' times there were Christians, through whom the name of the Lord was blasphemed and evil spoken of among the gentiles. Constantius the emperor bewaileth, as it is written in Sozomenus, how that many waxed worse after they had fallen to the religion of Christ. And

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[1 Of, Def.]

[2 Reveal the truth, Def.]

[3 This is the heaviest and most grievous part of their slanders, Def.]

[4 Full well how spiteful and untrue their slander is, Def.]

[5 So wittingly and willingly and obstinately despising, Def.]

[6 Our lives, Def.]

Cyprian in a lamentable oration setteth out the corrupt manners in his time: [Part III.] "The wholesome discipline," saith he, "which the apostles left unto us, hath idleness and long rest now utterly marred: every one studied to increase his livelihood; and, clean forgetting either what they had done before whiles they were under the apostles, or what they ought continually to do, having received the faith, they earnestly laboured to make great their own wealth with an unsatiable desire of covetousness. There is no devout religion," saith he, "in priests, no sound faith in ministers, no charity shewed in good works, no form of godliness in their conditions: men are become effeminate; and women's beauty is counterfeited." And before his days said Tertullian: "O how wretched be we, which are called Christians at this time! for we live as heathens under the name of Christ[7]." And, without reciting of many more writers, Gregory Nazianzene speaketh this of the pitiful state of his own time: "We," saith he, "are in hatred among the heathen for our own vices' sake; we are also become now a wonder, not alone to angels and men, but even to all the ungodly." In this case was the church of God, when the gospel first began to shine, and when the fury of tyrants was not as yet cooled, nor the sword taken off from the Christians' necks. Surely it is no new thing that men be but men, although they be called by the name of Christians. Cypr. de Laps.

But will these men, I pray you, think nothing at all of themselves, whiles they accuse us so maliciously? and whiles they have leisure to behold so far off, and see both what is done in Germany and in England, have they either forgotten, or can they not see what is done at Rome? or be they our accusers, whose life is such[8] as no man is able to make mention thereof but with shame and uncomeliness?[9] Our purpose here is, not to take in hand, at this present, to bring to light and open to the world those things which were meet rather to be hid and buried with the workers of them: it beseemeth neither our religion, nor our modesty, nor our shamefacedness. But yet he, which giveth commandment that he should be called the "Vicar of Christ" and the "Head of the Church," who also heareth that such things be done in Rome, who seeth them, who suffereth them (for we will go no further), he can easily consider with himself what manner of things they be. Let him on[10] God's name call to mind, let him remember, that they be of his own canonists, which have taught the people, that fornication between single folk is not sin; as though they had fet that doctrine from Micio in Terence, whose words be: "It is no sin (believe me) for a young man to haunt harlots." Let him remember they be of his own, which have decreed that a priest ought not to be put out of his cure for fornication. Let him remember also how cardinal Campegius, Albertus Pighius, and others many more of his own, have taught that the priest which keepeth a concubine doth live more holily and chastely than he which hath a wife in matrimony. I trust he hath not yet forgotten that there be many thousands of common harlots in Rome; and that himself doth gather yearly of the same harlots upon a[11] thirty thousand ducats, by the way of an annual pension. Neither can he forget how himself doth maintain openly brothels houses, and by a most filthy lucre doth filthily and lewdly serve his own lust. Were all things then pure and holy in Rome, when Joane a woman, rather of perfect age than of perfect life, was pope there, and bare herself as the head of the church; and after that for two whole years in that holy see she had played the naughty pack, at last going in procession about the city, in the sight of all the cardinals[12] and bishops, fell in travail openly in the streets? [Part IV.] [Chap. i. Div. 1.] Johan. de Magist. de Temp. iii. q. 7. Lata. Extrav. de Big. Quia circa. The image of this woman pope, being in travail, is yet to be seen at Rome.

But what need one rehearse concubines and bawds? as for that is now an ordinary and a gainful sin at Rome. For harlots sit there now-a-days, not as they did in times past, without the city walls, and with their faces hid and [Chap. ii. Div. 1.] Gen. xxxviii.

[7 Def. omits this sentence.]

[8 Will they accuse us their own life being such, Def.]

[9 Def. omits *and uncomeliness*.]

[10 In, Def.]

[11 About, Def.]

[12 Her cardinals, Def.]

[Part IV.] Concil. Delect. Card. Conc. Tom. III.

covered: but they dwell in palaces and fair houses; they stray about in court and market, and that with bare and open face; as who say they may not only lawfully do it, but ought also to be praised for so doing. What should we say any more of this? Their vicious and abominable life is now thoroughly known to the whole world. Bernard writeth roundly and truly of the bishop of Rome's house, yea, and of the bishop of Rome himself. "Thy palace," saith he, "taketh in good men, but it maketh none: naughty persons thrive there; and the good appaire and decay." And whosoever he were which wrote the Tripartite work, annexed to the Council *Lateranense*, saith thus: "So excessive at this day is the riot, as well in the prelates and bishops, as in the clerks and priests, that it is horrible to be told." But these things be not only grown in ure, and so by custom and continual time well allowed, as all the rest of their doings in manner be, but they are now waxen old and rotten ripe. For who hath not heard what a heinous act Peter Aloisius, pope Paul the third's son, committed against Cosmus Cherius, the bishop of Favense; what John Casus, archbishop of Beneventanus, the pope's legate at Venice, wrote in the commendation of a most abominable filthiness; and how he set forth with most loathsome words and wicked eloquence the matter which ought not once to proceed out of any body's mouth? To whose ears hath it not come, that N.[1] Diasius, a Spaniard, being purposely sent from Rome into Germany, did shamefully and devilishly murder his own brother John Diasius, a most innocent and a most godly man, only because he had embraced the gospel of Jesu Christ, and would not return again to Rome?

De Consid. ad Eugen.

But it may chance, to this they will say: These things may sometime happen in the best governed commonwealth, yea, and against the magistrates' wills; and besides, there be good laws made to punish such. I grant it be so; but by what good laws (I would know) have these great mischiefs been punished amongst them? Petrus Aloisius, after he had done that notorious act that I spake of, was always cherished in his father's bosom, pope Paul the third, and made his very dearling. Diasius, after he had murdered his own brother, was delivered by the pope's means, to the end he might not be punished by good laws. John Casus, *archiepiscopus Beneventanus*, is yet alive, yea, and liveth at Rome, even in the eyes and sight of the most holy father.

[Chap. iii. Div. 1. & 2.]

They have put to death[2] infinite numbers of our brethren, only because they believed truly and sincerely in Jesu Christ. But of that great and foul number of harlots, fornicators, adulterers, what one have they at any time (I say not killed[3], but) either excommunicate, or once attached? Why, voluptuousness, adultery, ribaudry, whoredom, murdering of kin, incest, and others more abominable parts, are not these counted sin at Rome? Or, if they be sin, ought Christ's vicar, Peter's successor, the most holy father, so lightly and slightly[4] bear them, as though they were no sin, and that in the city of Rome, and in that principal tower of all holiness?

O holy scribes and Pharisees, which knew not this kind of holiness! O what holiness, what a catholic faith is this! Peter did not this teach at Rome: Paul did not so live at Rome: they did not practise brothelry, which these do openly: they made not a yearly revenue and profit of harlots: they suffered no common adulterers and wicked murderers to go unpunished. They did not receive them into their entire[5] familiarity, into their council, into their household, nor yet into the company of christian men. These men ought not therefore so unreasonably to triumph against our living. It had been more wisdom for them either first to have proved good their own life before the world, or at least to have cloked it a little more cunningly. For we do use still the old and ancient laws, and (as much as men may do, in the manners used at these days, when all things are so wholly corrupt) we diligently and earnestly put in execution the ecclesiastical discipline: we have not common brothel-houses of strumpets, nor yet flocks of concubines, nor herds of harlot-haunters; neither

[1] Alphonsus, Def.]
[2] Killed, Def.]
[3] Put to death, Def.]
[4] Sliely, Def.]
[5] Def. omits *entire*.]

do we prefer adultery before matrimony; neither do we exercise beastly sensuality; neither do we gather ordinary rents and stipends of stews; nor do suffer to escape unpunished incest, and abominable naughtiness, nor yet such man-quellers as the Aloisians, Casians, and Diasians were[6]. For, if these things would have pleased us, we needed not to have departed from these men's fellowship, amongst whom such enormities be in their chief pride and price. Nother needed we, for leaving them, to run into the hatred of men and into most wilful dangers. Paul the fourth, not many months since, had at Rome in prison certain Augustine friars, many bishops, and a great number of other devout men, for religion sake. He racked them, and tormented them: to make them confess, he left no means unassayed. But in the end how many brothels, how many whoremongers, how many adulterers, how many incestuous persons could he find of all those? Our God be thanked, although we be not the men we ought and profess to be, yet, whosoever we be, compare us with these men, and even our own life and innocency will soon prove untrue and condemn their malicious surmises. For we exhort the people to all virtue and well-doing, not only by books and preachings, but also with our examples and behaviour. We also teach that the gospel is not a boasting or bragging of knowledge, but that it is the law of life, and that a christian man (as Tertullian saith) "ought not to speak honourably, but ought to live honourably; nor that they be the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law, which are justified before God."

[Part IV.]

[Chap. iii. Div. 3.]

In Apolog. cap. xlv.

Besides all these matters wherewith they charge us, they are wont also to add this one thing, which they enlarge with all kind of spitefulness; that is, that we be men of trouble; that we pluck the sword and sceptre out of kings' hands; that we arm the people; that we overthrow judgment-places, destroy the laws, make havoc of possessions, seek to make the people princes, turn all things upside down; and, to be short, that we would have nothing in good frame in a commonwealth. Good Lord! how often have they set on fire princes' hearts with these words, to the end they might quench the light of the gospel in the very first appearing of it, and might begin[7] to hate the same or ever they were able to know it, and to the end that every magistrate might think he saw his deadly enemy as often as he saw any of us!

[Chap. iv. Div. 1.]

Tertull. in Apolog. cap. i. ii. iii.

Surely it should exceedingly grieve us to be so maliciously accused of most heinous treason, unless we knew that Christ himself, the apostles, and a number of good and christian men, were in time past blamed and envied in manner for the same faults[8]. For, although Christ taught they should "give unto Cæsar that which was Cæsar's;" yet was he charged with sedition, in that he was accused to devise some conspiracy and to covet the kingdom[9]. And hereupon they cried out with open mouth against him in the place of judgment, saying: "If thou let this man scape, thou art not Cæsar's friend."

And, though the apostles did likewise evermore and stedfastly teach that magistrates ought to be obeyed, that "every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, not only for fear of wrath and punishment, but even for conscience sake," yet bare they the name to disquiet the people, and to stir up the multitude to rebel. After this sort did Haman specially bring the nation of the Jews into the hatred of the king Assuerus, because, said he, they were a rebellious and stubborn people, and despised the ordinances and commandments of princes. Wicked king Achab said to Elie the prophet of God: "It is thou that troublest Israel." Amasias the priest at Bethel laid a conspiracy to the prophet Amos' charge before king Jeroboam, saying: "See, Amos hath made a conspiracy against thee in the midst of the house of Israel." To be brief, Tertullian saith, this was the general accusation of all Christians whiles he lived, that they were traitors, they were rebels, and the enemies of mankind. Wherefore, if now-a-days the truth be likewise evil spoken of, and,

In the book of Hester.

1 Kings xviii.

Amos vii.

In Apolog. cap. xxxvii.

[6 Nor do we suffer incest, and abominable naughtiness, nor yet such Aloisians, Casians, and Diasians to escape unpunished, Def.]

[7 And that men might begin, Def.]

[8 Blamed and reviled in like sort, Def.]

[9 And to seek ways to get the kingdom, Def.]

[Part IV.] being the same truth it was then, if it be now like despitefully used as it was in times past, though it be a grievous and unkind dealing, yet can it not seem unto us a new or an unwonted matter. Forty years agone, and upward, was it an easy thing for them to devise against us these accursed speeches, and other sorer than these; when, in the midst of the darkness of that age, first began to spring and to give shine some one glimmering beam of truth, unknown at that time and unheard of; when also Martin Luther and Hulderic Zuinglius, being most excellent men, even sent of God to give light to the whole world, first came unto the knowledge and preaching of the gospel; whereas[1] yet the thing was but new, and the success thereof uncertain; and when men's minds stood doubtful and amazed, and their ears open to all slanderous tales; and when there could be imagined against us no fact so detestable, but the people then would soon believe it, for the novelty and strangeness of the matter. For so did Symmachus, so did Celsus, so did Julianus, so did Porphyrius, the old foes to the gospel, attempt in times past to accuse all Christians of sedition and treason, before that either prince or people were able to know who those Christians were, what they professed, what they believed, or what was their meaning.

[Chap. iv. Div. 2.]

[Chap. v. Div. 1.] But now, sithence our very enemies do see, and cannot deny, but we ever in all our words and writings have diligently put the people in mind of their duty to obey their princes and magistrates, yea, though they be wicked, (for this doth very trial and experience sufficiently teach, and all men's eyes, whosoever and wheresoever they be, do well enough see and witness for us;) it was a foul part of them to charge us with these things; and, seeing they could find no new and late faults, therefore to seek to procure us envy only with stale and outworn lies. We give our Lord God thanks, whose only cause this is, there hath yet at no time been any such example in all the realms, dominions, and commonweals, which have received the gospel. For we have overthrown no kingdom, we have decayed no man's power or right, we have disordered no commonwealth. There continue in their own accustomed state and ancient dignity the kings of our country of England, the kings of Denmark, the kings of Swetia, the dukes of Saxony, the counties palatine, the marquesses of Brandeburgh, the lansgraves of Hessia, the commonwealths of the Helvetians and Rhætians, and the free cities, as Argentine, Basil, Frankford, Ulm, August, and Norenberg, do all, I say, abide in the same authority and estate wherein they have been heretofore, or rather in a much better, for that by means of the gospel they have their people more obedient unto them. Let them go, I pray you, into those places where at this present, through God's goodness[2], the gospel is taught. Where is there more majesty? Where is there less arrogancy and tyranny? Where is the prince more honoured? Where be the people less unruly? Where hath there at any time the commonwealth or the church been in more quiet?

Perhaps ye will say, from the first beginning of this doctrine the common sort every where began to rage and to rise throughout Germany. Allow it were so, yet Martin Luther, the publisher and setter forward of this doctrine, did write marvellous vehemently and sharply against them, and reclaimed them home to peace and obedience.

[Chap. v. Div. 2.] But, whereas it is wont sometime to be objected by persons wanting skill touching the Helvetians' change of state, and killing of Leopoldus the duke of Austria, and restoring by force their country to liberty, that[3] was done, as appeareth plainly by all stories for two hundred and three-score years past or above, under Boniface the eighth[4], when the authority of the bishop of Rome was in greatest jollity, about two hundred years before Hulderic Zuinglius either began to teach the gospel, or yet was born. And ever since that time they have had all things still and quiet, not only from foreign enemies, but also from civil[5] dissension. And if it were a sin in the Helvetians

[1 When as, Def.]
[2 Def. adds *and mercy*.]
[3 All that, Def.]
[4 In the time of pope Boniface, Def.]
[5 All civil, Def.]

to deliver their own country from foreign government, specially when they were so proudly and tyrannously oppressed; yet to burden us with other men's faults, or them with the faults of their forefathers, is against all right and reason. [Part IV.]

But, O immortal God! and will the bishop of Rome accuse us of treason? Will he teach the people to obey and follow their magistrates? or hath he any regard at all of the majesty of princes?[6] Why doth he then, as none of the old bishops of Rome heretofore ever did, suffer himself to be called of his flatterers "Lord of lords," as though he would have all kings and princes, who and whatsoever they are, to be his underlings? Why doth he vaunt himself to be "King of kings," and to have kingly royalty over his subjects? Why compelleth he all emperors and princes to swear to him fealty and true obedience? Why doth he boast that the emperor's majesty is a thousand-fold inferior to him; and for this reason specially, because God hath made two lights in the heaven, and because heaven and earth were created not at[7] two beginnings, but at[7] one? Why hath he and his complices[8] (like Anabaptists and Libertines, to the end they might run on more licentiously and carelessly) shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from being under all civil power? Why hath he his legates (as much to say as most subtle spies) lying in wait in all kings' courts, councils, and privy chambers? Why doth he, when he list, set christian princes one against another, and at his own pleasure trouble the whole world with debate and discord? Why doth he excommunicate, and command to be taken as a heathen and a pagan, any christian prince that renounceth his authority? And why promiseth he his indulgences and his pardons so largely to any that will (what way soever it be) kill any of his enemies? Doth he maintain empires and kingdoms? or doth he once desire that common quiet should be provided for? You must pardon us, good reader, though we seem to utter these things more bitterly and bitingly, than it becometh divines to do. For both the shamefulness of the matter, and the desire of rule in the bishop of Rome, is so exceeding and outrageous, that it could not well be uttered with other words, or more mildly. For he is not ashamed to say in open assembly, that "all jurisdiction of all kings doth depend upon himself." And, to feed his ambition and greediness of rule, hath he pulled in pieces the empire of Rome, and vexed and rent whole Christendom asunder. Falsely and traitorously also did he release the Romans, the Italians, and himself too, of the oath whereby they and he were straitly bound to be true to the emperor of Grecia, and stirred up the emperor's subjects to forsake him; and, calling Carolus Martellus[9] out of France into Italy, made him emperor, such a thing as never was seen before. He put Chilpericus the French king, being no evil prince, beside his realm, only because he fancied him not, and wrongfully placed Pipin in his room. Again, after he had cast out king Philip, if he could have brought it so to pass, he had determined and appointed the kingdom of France to Albertus king of Romans. He utterly destroyed the state of the most flourishing city and commonweal of Florence, his own native country, and brought it out of a free and peaceable state to be governed at the pleasure of one man: he brought to pass by his procurement, that whole Savoy on the one side was miserably spoiled by the emperor Charles the fifth, and on the other side by the French king; so as the unfortunate duke had scant one city left him to hide his head in.

[Chap. vi. Div. 1.]

Angust. Steuch. Anton. de Rosel.

De Major. et Obed. Solitæ. De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam.

Clem. V. in Conc. Vien.

Leo papa.

Zach. papa.

Clem. papa VII.

Idem Clem.

We are cloyed with examples in this behalf, and it should be very tedious to reckon up all the notorious deeds[10] of the bishops of Rome. Of which side were they, I beseech you, which poisoned Henry the emperor even in the receiving of the sacrament? which poisoned Victor the pope even in the receiving of the chalice? which poisoned our king John, king of England, in a drinking-cup? Whosoever at least they were, and of what sect soever,

[Chap. vi. Div. 4.]

[6 Of a prince, Def.]
[7 In, Def.]
[8 Fellows, Def.]
[9 Magnus, Def.]
[10 Practices, Def.]

[Part IV.] I am sure they were neither Lutherians nor Zuinglians. What is he at this day, which alloweth the mightiest kings and monarchs of the world to kiss his blessed feet? What is he that commandeth the emperor to go by him at his horse bridle, and the French king to hold his stirrup? Who hurled under his table Francis Dandalus the duke of Venice, king of Creta and Cyprus, fast bound with chains, to feed of bones among his dogs? Who set the imperial crown upon the emperor Henry the sixth his head, not with his hand, but with his foot; and with the same foot again cast the same crown off, saying withal, he had power to make emperors, and to unmake them again at his pleasure? Who put in arms Henry the son against the emperor his father, Henry the fourth, and wrought so that the father was taken prisoner of his own son, and, being shorn and shamefully handled, was thrust into a monastery, where with hunger and sorrow he pined away to death? Who so ill-favouredly and monstrously put the emperor Frederic's neck under his feet, and, as though that were not sufficient, added further this text out of the Psalms: "Thou shalt go upon the adder and cockatrice, and shalt tread the lion and dragon under thy feet?" Such an example of scorning and contemning a prince's majesty, as never before this[1] was heard tell of in any remembrance; except, I ween, either of Tamerlanes the king of Scythia, a wild and barbarous creature, or else of Sapor king of the Persians. All these notwithstanding were popes, all Peter's successors, all most holy fathers; whose several words we must take to be as good as several gospels.

[Chap. vii. Div. 2.] [Chap. vii. Div. 3.] [Chap. vii. Div. 4.] Sabellicus. [Chap. vii. Div. 5.] Celest. papa. [Chap. vii. Div. 6.] Hildeb. papa. [Chap. viii. Div. 1.] Innocent. papa III.

If we be counted traitors, which do honour our princes, which give them all obedience, as much as is due to them by God's word, and which do pray for them; what kind of men then be these, which have not only done all the things before said, but also allow the same for specially well done? Do they then either this way instruct the people, as we do, to reverence their magistrate? Or can they with honesty appeach us as seditious persons, breakers of the common quiet, and despisers of princes' majesty? Truly we neither put off the yoke of obedience from us; neither do we disorder realms; neither do we set up or pull down kings; nor translate governments; nor give our kings poison to drink; nor yet hold to them our feet to be kissed; nor, opprobriously triumphing over them, leap into their necks with our feet. This rather is our profession, this is our doctrine; that every soul, of what calling soever he[2] be, be he[2] monk, be he[2] preacher, be he[2] prophet, be he[2] apostle, ought to be subject to kings and magistrates; yea, and that the bishop of Rome himself, unless he will seem greater than the evangelists, than the prophets, or the apostles, ought both to acknowledge and to call the emperor his lord and master, which the old bishops of Rome, who lived in times of more grace, ever did. Our common teaching also is, that we ought so to obey princes, as men sent of God; and that whoso withstandeth them withstandeth God's ordinance. This is our schooling[3], and this is well to be seen, both in our books and in our preachings, and also in the manners and modest behaviour of our people.

[Chap. viii. Div. 2. & 3.] Chrysost. in xiii. cap. ad Rom. Greg. papa sæpe in Epist.

But, where they say we have gone away from the unity of the catholic church, this is not only a matter of malice, but besides, though it be most untrue, yet hath it some shew and appearance of truth. For the common people and ignorant multitude give not credit alone to things true and of certainty, but even to such things also, if any chance, which may seem to have but a resemblance of truth. Therefore we see that subtle and crafty persons, when they had no truth on their side, have ever contended and hotly argued with things likely to be true, to the intent they which were not able to espy the very ground of the matter, might be carried away at least with some pretence and probability thereof[4]. In times past, where the first Christians, our forefathers, in making their prayers to God, did turn themselves towards the east, there were that said, they worshipped the sun, and reckoned it as God. Again, where our forefathers said that, as touching

[Chap. ix. Div. 1. & 2.] Tertull. in Apolog. cap. xvi.

[1] That time, Def.]
[2] It, Def.]
[3] Doctrine, Def.]
[4] Probability or likelihood of the truth, Def.]

immortal and everlasting life, they lived by no other means, but by the flesh [Part IV.] and blood of that Lamb who was without spot, that is to say, of our Saviour Jesus Christ; the envious creatures, and foes of Christ's cross, whose only care was to bring christian religion into slander by all manner of ways, made people believe that they were wicked persons, that they sacrificed men's flesh, and drunk men's blood. Also, where our forefathers said that before God "there is neither man nor woman," nor, for attaining to the true righteousness, there is no distinction at all of persons, and that they did call one another indifferently by the name of sisters and brothers; there wanted not men, which forged false tales upon the same, saying that the Christians made no difference among themselves, either of age or of kind; but like brute beasts without regard had to do one with another. And where, for to pray and hear the gospel, they met often together in secret and bye-places, because rebels sometime were wont to do the like, rumours were every where spread abroad, how they made privy confederacies, and counselled together either to kill the magistrates, or to subvert the commonwealth. And where, in celebrating the holy mysteries after Christ's institution, they took bread and wine, they were thought of many not to worship Christ, but Bacchus and Ceres; forsomuch as those vain gods were worshipped of the heathen in like sort, after a profane superstition, with bread and wine. These things were believed of many, not because they were true indeed, (for what could be more untrue?) but because they were like to be true, and through a certain shadow of truth might the more easily deceive the simple.

Tertull. in Apolog. cap. vii. viii. ix.

Tertull. in Apolog. ix.

August.

On this fashion likewise do these men slander us as heretics, and say that we have left the church and fellowship of Christ; not because they think it is true, (for they do not much force of that,) but because to ignorant folk it might perhaps some way appear true. We have indeed put ourselves apart, not, as heretics are wont, from the church of Christ, but, as all good men ought to do, from the infection of naughty persons and hypocrites.

Nevertheless, in this point they triumph marvellously, that they be the church, that their church is Christ's spouse, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noe; and that without it there is no hope of salvation. Contrariwise they say that we be renegades; that we have torn Christ's seat; that we are plucked quite off from the body of Christ, and have forsaken the catholic faith. And, when they leave nothing unspoken that may never so falsely and maliciously be said against us, yet this one thing are they never able truly to say, that we have swerved either from the word of God, or from the apostles of Christ, or from the primitive church. Surely we have ever judged the primitive church of Christ's time, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, to be the catholic church; neither make we doubt to name it Noe's ark, Christ's spouse, the pillar and upholder of all truth, nor yet to fix therein the whole mean of our salvation. It is doubtless an odious matter for one to leave the fellowship whereunto he hath been accustomed, and specially of those men, who, though they be not, yet at least seem and be called Christians. And to say truly, we do not despise the church of these men (howsoever it be ordered by them now-a-days), partly for the name sake itself, and partly for that the gospel of Jesu Christ hath once been therein truly and purely set forth. Neither had we departed therefrom, but of very necessity and much against our wills. But I put case, an idol be set up in the church of God, and the same desolation, which Christ prophesied to come, stood openly in the holy place. What if some thief or pirate invade and possess Noe's ark? These folks, as often as they tell us of the church, mean thereby themselves alone, and attribute all these titles to their own selves, boasting as they did in times past, which cried, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord;" or as the Pharisees and scribes did, which cracked they were "Abraham's children." Thus with a gay and jolly shew deceive they the simple, and seek to choke us with the very[5] name of the

[Chap. ix. Div. 3.]

[5 Bare, Def.]

[Part IV.] church. Much like as if a thief, when he hath gotten into another man's house, and by violence either hath thrust out or slain the owner, should afterward assign the same house to himself, casting forth of possession the right inheritor; or if antichrist, after he hath[1] once entered into "the temple of God," should afterward say, This house is mine own; and Christ hath nothing to do withal. For these men now, after they have left nothing remaining in the church of God that hath any likeness of this church, yet will they seem the patrons and the valiant maintainers of the church; very like as Gracchus, amongst the Romans, stood in defence of the treasury, notwithstanding with his prodigality and fond expenses he had utterly wasted the whole stock of the treasury. And yet was there never any thing so wicked, or so far out of reason, but lightly it might be covered, and defended by the name of the church. For the wasps also make honey-combs as well as bees; and wicked men have companies like to the church of God: yet, for all that, they be not straightway the people of God, which are called the people of God; neither be they all Israélites, as many as are come of Israel the father.

August. in Epist. 48. ad Vinc.

The Arians, notwithstanding they were heretics, yet bragged they that they alone were catholics, calling all the rest, now Ambrosians, now Athanasians, now Johannites. And Nestorius, as saith Theodoret, for all he was an heretic, yet covered he himself τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι, that is to wit, with a certain cloke and colour of the true and right faith. Ebion, though he agreed in opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as saith Epiphanius, he would be called a Christian. The Mahomites at this day, for all that all histories make plain mention, and themselves also cannot deny, but they took their first beginning of Agar the bond-woman, yet, for the very name and stock's sake, choose they rather to be called Saracens, as though they came of Sara the free-woman and Abraham's wife[2]. So likewise the false prophets of all ages, which stood up against the prophets of God, which resisted Esaias, Jeremy, Christ and the apostles, at no time cracked of any thing so much as they did of the name of the church. And for no nother cause did they so fiercely vex them, and call them runaways[3] and apostatas, than for that they forsook their fellowship, and kept not the ordinances of the elders. Wherefore, if we would follow the judgments of those men only who then governed the church, and would respect nothing else, neither God, nor his word, it must needs be confessed that the apostles were rightly and by just law condemned of them to death, because they fell from the bishops and priests, that is, you must think, from the catholic church; and because they made many[4] new alterations in religion, contrary to the bishops' and priests' wills, yea, and for all their spurning so earnestly against it.

[Chap. ix. Div. 4.]

Wherefore, like as it is written that Hercules in old time was forced, in striving with Antæus, that huge giant, to lift him quite up from the earth that was his mother, ere he could conquer him; even so must our adversaries be heaved from their mother, that is, from this vain colour and shadow of the church, wherewith they so disguise and defend themselves; otherwise they cannot be brought to yield unto the word of God. And therefore saith Jeremy the prophet: "Make not such great boast that the temple of the Lord is with you." "This is but a vain confidence; for these are lies." The angel also saith in the Apocalypse: "They say they be Jews; but they be the synagogue of Satan." And Christ said to the Pharisees, when they vaunted themself of the kindred and blood of Abraham, "Ye are of your father the devil:" for you resemble not your father Abraham; as much to say, Ye are not the men ye would so fain be called: ye beguile the people with vain titles, and abuse the name of the church to the overthrowing of the church.

John viii.

[Chap. x. Div. 1.]

So that these men's part had been, first to have clearly and truly proved that the Romish church is the true and right-instructed church of God; and that the same, as they do order it at this day, doth agree with the primitive church of Christ, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, which we doubt

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[1 When he had, Def.]
[2 True and lawful wife, Def.]
[3 Renegates, Def.]
[4 Def. omits *many*.]

not but was indeed the true catholic church. For our parts, if we could have judged ignorance, error, superstition, idolatry, men's inventions, and the same commonly disagreeing with the holy Scriptures, either pleased God, or to be sufficient for the obtaining everlasting salvation; or if we could ascertain ourselves, that the word of God was written but for a time only, and afterward again ought to be abrogated and put away; or else that the sayings and commandments of God ought to be subject to man's will, that whatsoever God saith and commandeth, except the bishop of Rome willeth and commandeth the same, it must be taken as void and unspoken; if we could have brought ourselves to believe these things, we grant there had been no cause at all why we should have left these men's company. As touching that we have now done, to depart from that church, whose errors were proved and made manifest to the world, which church also had already evidently departed from God's word; and yet not to depart so much from itself, as from the errors thereof; and not to do this disorderly or wickedly, but quietly and soberly—we have done nothing herein against the doctrine either of Christ, or of his apostles. For neither is the church of God such as it may not be dusked with some spot, or asketh not sometime reparation. Else what needeth there so many assemblies and councils, without the which, as saith Egidius, the christian faith is not able to stand? "For look," saith he, "how often councils are discontinued, so often is the church destitute of Christ." Or if there be no peril that harm may come to the church, what need is there to retain to no purpose the names of bishops, as is now commonly used among them? For if there be no sheep that may stray, why be they called shepherds? If there be no city that may be betrayed, why be they called watchmen? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called pillars? Anon after the first creation of the world, the church of God began to spread abroad, and the same was instructed with the heavenly word which God himself pronounced with his own mouth. It was also furnished with divine ceremonies. It was taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets, and continued so even till the time that Christ shewed himself to us in the flesh. This notwithstanding, how often, O good God, in the mean while, and how horribly was the same church darkened and decayed! Where was that church then, when "all flesh upon earth had defiled their own way?" Where was it, when amongst the number of the whole world there were only eight persons (and they neither all chaste and good), whom God's will was should be saved alive from that universal destruction and mortality? when Eli the prophet so lamentably and bitterly made moan, that only himself was left of all the whole world, which did truly and duly worship God? and when Esay said, "the silver" of God's people (that is, of the church) was "become dross;" and that "the same city, which aforetime had been faithful, was now become an harlot;" and that in the same was "no part sound throughout the whole body, from the head to the foot?" or else, when Christ himself said, that the house of God was made by the Pharisees and priests "a den of thieves?" Of a truth, the church, even as a corn-field, except it be eared, manured, tilled, and trimmed, instead of wheat it will bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. For this cause did God send, ever among, both prophets, and apostles, and last of all his "own Son," who might bring home the people into the right way, and repair anew the tottering church after she had erred.

[Part IV.] [Chap. x. Div. 2.] [Chap. xi. Div. 1.] In Conc. Lat. sub Julio II. [Chap. xii. Div. 1. & 2.] 1 Kings xix. Isai. i. Matt. xxi.

But lest some man should say that the foresaid things happened in the time of the law only, of shadows, and of infancy, when truth lay hid under figures and ceremonies, when nothing as yet was brought to perfection, when the law was not graven in men's hearts, but in stone; (and yet is that but a foolish saying[5], for even at those days was there the very same God that is now, the same Spirit, the same Christ, the same faith, the same doctrine, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same league[6], and the same efficacy and virtue of God's word: Eusebius also saith, "All the faithful, even from

[Chap. xiii. Div. 1.] Lib. i. cap. i.

[5 And yet were that but a foolish distinction, Def.]

[6 Covenant, Def.]

[Part IV.] Adam until Christ, were in very deed[1] Christians," though they were not so termed; but, as I said, lest men should thus speak still,) Paul the apostle found the like faults and falls even then in the prime and chief of the gospel, in chief perfection[2], and in light; so that he was compelled to write in this sort to the Galatians, whom he had well before that instructed: "I fear me," quod he, "lest I have laboured amongst you in vain[3], and lest ye have heard the gospel in vain." "O my little children, of whom I travail anew, till Christ be fashioned again in you." And as for the church of the Corinthians, how foully it was defiled, is nothing needful to rehearse. Now tell me, might the churches of the Galatians and Corinthians go amiss, and the church of Rome alone may it not fail, nor go amiss? Surely Christ prophesied long before of his church, that the time should come when desolation should stand in the holy place. And Paul saith that antichrist should once set up his own tabernacle and stately seat in the temple of God; and that the time should be, "when men should not away with wholesome doctrine, but be turned back unto fables and lies," and that within the very church. Peter likewise telleth how there should be teachers of lies in the church of Christ. Daniel the prophet, speaking of the later times of antichrist: "Truth," saith he, "in that season shall be thrown under foot, and trodden upon in the world." And Christ saith, how the calamity and confusion of things shall be so exceeding great, "that even the chosen, if it were possible, shall be brought into error:" and how all these things shall come to pass, not amongst gentiles and Turks, but that they should be in the holy place, in the temple of God, in the church, and in the company and fellowship of those which profess the name of Christ.

[Chap. xiii. Div. 2.]
2 Thess. ii.
2 Tim. iv.
2 Pet. ii.
Dan. viii.
Matt. xxiv.

[Chap. xiv. Div. 1. & 2.] Albeit these same warnings alone may suffice a wise man to take heed he do not suffer himself rashly to be deceived with the name of the church, and not to stay to make further inquisition thereof by God's word; yet, beside all this, many fathers also, many learned and godly men, have often and carefully complained how all these things have chanced in their life-time. For even in the midst of that thick mist of darkness God would yet there should be some, who, though they gave not a clear and bright light, yet should they kindle, were it but some spark, which men might espy, being in the darkness.

Hilarius, when things as yet were almost uncorrupt and in good case too: "Ye are ill deceived," saith he, "with the love of walls: ye do ill worship the church, in that ye worship it in houses and buildings: ye do ill bring in the name of peace under roofs. Is there any doubt but antichrist will have his seat under the same? I rather reckon hills, woods, pools, marishes, prisons, and quavemires, to be places of more safety; for in these the prophets, either abiding of their accord, or drowned[4] by violence, did prophesy by the Spirit of God."

Contr. Aux.

Gregory, as one which perceived and foresaw in his mind the wrack of all things, wrote thus to John[5] bishop of Constantinople, who was the first of all others that commanded himself to be called by this new name, the "universal bishop of whole Christ's church:" "If the church," saith he, "shall depend upon one man, it will at once[6] fall down to the ground." Who is he that seeth not how this is come to pass long since? For long agone hath the bishop of Rome willed to have the whole church depend upon himself alone. Wherefore it is no marvel, though it be clean fallen down long agone.

In Regist. Lib. iv. Epist. 32. ad Maurit.

[Chap. xiv. Div. 3.] Bernard the abbot, above four hundred years past, writeth thus: "Nothing is now of sincerity and pureness[7] amongst the clergy: wherefore it resteth that the man of sin should be revealed." The same Bernard, in his work[8] of the conversion of Paul: "It seemeth now," saith he, "that persecution hath ceased: no, no, persecution seemeth but now to begin, even from them which

Sermone 33.

[1 Deed very, Def.]
[2 In the greatest perfection, Def.]
[3 To small purpose, Def.]
[4 Forced thither, Def.]
[5 Wrote thus of John, Def.]
[6 Soon, Def.]
[7 Sincere and pure, Def.]
[8 Treatie, Def.]

have chief pre-eminence in the church. Thy friends and neighbours[9] have drawn near, and stood up against thee: from the sole of thy foot to the crown of thy head there is no part whole. Iniquity is proceeded from the elders, the judges and deputies, which pretend to rule thy people. We cannot say now, Look, how the people be, so is the priest. For the people be not so ill as the priest is. Alas, alas, O Lord God, the self-same persons be the chief in persecuting thee, which seem to love the highest place, and bear most rule in thy church!" The same Bernard again, upon the Canticles, writeth thus: "All they are thy friends; yet are they all thy foes: all thy kinsfolk; yet are they all thy adversaries. Being Christ's servants, they serve antichrist. Behold, in my rest my bitterness is most bitter." [Part IV.]

Roger Bacon also, a man of great fame, after he had in a vehement oration touched to the quick the woful state of his own time: "These so many errors," saith he, "require and look for antichrist." Gerson complaineth how in his days all the substance and efficacy of sacred divinity was brought into a glorious contention, and ostentation of wits, and to very sophistry. The friars of Lyons[10], men, as touching the manner of their life, not to be misliked, were wont boldly to affirm, that the Romish church (from whence alone all counsel and orders was then sought) was the very same harlot of Babylon and rout of devils, whereof is prophesied so plainly in the Apocalypse. [Chap. xv. Div. 1.] In libello de idiomate linguarum.

I know well enough the authority of the foresaid persons is but lightly regarded amongst these men. How then if I call forth those for witnesses, whom themselves have used to honour? What if I say, that Adrian the bishop of Rome did frankly confess that all these mischiefs brast out first from the high throne of the pope? Pighius acknowledgeth herein to be a fault, that many abuses are brought in, even into the very mass, which mass otherwise he would have seem to be a reverend matter. Gerson saith that, through the number of most fond ceremonies, all the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which ought to have full operation in us, and all true godliness, is utterly quenched and dead. Whole Grecia and Asia complain, how the bishops of Rome, with the marts of their purgatories and pardons, have both tormented men's consciences, and picked their purses. [Chap. xv. Div. 2.] Platina. [Chap. xv. Div. 3.]

As touching the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, and their barbarous Persian-like pride, to leave out others, whom perchance they reckon for enemies, because they freely and liberally find fault with their vices, the self-same men, which have led their life at Rome, in the holy city, in the face of the most holy father, who also were able to see all their secrets, and at no time departed from the catholic faith, as for example, Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch, Hierome, Savanorola, abbot Joachim, Baptist of Mantua, and before all these, Bernard the abbot, have many a time and much complained of it, giving the world also sometime to understand, that the bishop of Rome himself (by your leave) is very antichrist. Whether they spake it truly or falsely, let that go: sure I am they spake it plainly. Neither can any man allege that those authors were Luther's or Zuinglius' scholars; for they were[11] not only certain years, but also certain ages, or ever Luther or Zuinglius' names were heard of. They well saw that even in their days errors had crept into the church, and wished earnestly they might be amended[12]. [Chap. xvi. Div. 1.]

And what marvel if the church were then carried away with errors in that time, specially when neither the bishop of Rome, who then only ruled the roast, nor almost any other, either did his duty, or once understood what was his duty. For it is hard to be believed, whiles they were idle and fast asleep, that the devil also all that while either fell asleep, or else continually lay idle. For how they were occupied in the mean time, and with what faithfulness they took care of God's house, though we hold our peace, yet, I pray you, let them hear Bernard, their own friend. "The bishops," saith he, "who [Chap. xvii. Div. 1.] Bernard. ad Eugen.

[9 Def. adds, *O God.*]
[10 The poor men called *pauperes a Lugduno,* Def.]
[11 Lived, Def.]
[12 Def. omits this sentence.]

[Part IV.] now have the charge of God's church, are not teachers, but deceivers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they are not prelates, but Pilates." These words spake Bernard of that bishop who named himself the highest bishop of all, and of the other bishops likewise which then had the place of government. Bernard was no Lutherian: Bernard was no heretic: he had not forsaken the catholic church; yet nevertheless he did not let to call the bishops that then were, deceivers, beguilers, and Pilates. Now when the people was openly deceived, and christian men's eyes were craftily bleared, and when Pilate sat in judgment-place, and condemned Christ and Christ's members to the sword and fire; O good Lord, in what case was Christ's church then? But yet tell me, of so many and gross errors, what one have these men at any time reformed? or what fault have they once acknowledged and confessed?

[Chap. xviii. Div. I.] But, forsomuch as these men avouch the universal possession of the catholic church to be their own, and call us heretics, because we agree not in judgment with them; let us know, I beseech you, what proper mark and badge hath that church of theirs, whereby it may be known to be the church of God. I wis it is not so hard a matter to find out God's church, if a man will seek it earnestly and diligently. For the church of God is set upon a high and glistering place, in the top of an hill, and built upon the "foundation of the apostles and prophets." "There," saith Augustine, "let us seek the church: there let us try our matter." "And," as he saith again in another place, "the church must be shewed out of the holy and canonical scriptures; and that which cannot be shewed out of them is not the church." Yet, for all this, I wot not how, whether it be for fear, or for conscience, or despairing of victory, these men alway abhor and fly the word of God, even as the thief fleeth the gallows. And no wonder truly. For, like as men say the cantharus by and by perisheth and dieth as soon as it is laid in balm; notwithstanding balm be otherwise a most sweet-smelling ointment; even so these men well see their own matter is damped and destroyed in the word of God, as if it were in poison. Therefore the holy scriptures, which our Saviour Jesu Christ did not only use for authority in all his speech, but did also at last seal up the same with his own blood, these men, to the intent they might with less business drive the people from the same, as from a thing dangerous and deadly, have used to call them a bare letter, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, and dead: which seemeth to us all one as if they should say, "The scriptures are to no purpose, or as good as none." Hereunto they add also a similitude not very agreeable, how the scriptures be like to a nose of wax, or a shipman's hose; how they may be fashioned and plied all manner of ways, and serve all men's turns. Wotteth not the bishop of Rome that these things are spoken by his own minions? or understandeth he not he hath such champions to fight for him? Let him hearken then how holily and how godly one Hosius writeth of this matter, a bishop in Polonia, as he testifieth of himself; a man doubtless well spoken and not unlearned, and a very sharp and stout maintainer of that side. One will marvel[1], I suppose, how a good man could either conceive so wickedly, or write so despitefully of those words which he knew proceeded from God's mouth, and specially in such sort as he would not have it seem his own private opinion alone, but the common opinion of all that band. He dissembleth, I grant you indeed, and hideth what he is, and setteth forth the matter so, as though it were not he and his side, but the Zuenckfeldian heretics that so did speak. "We," saith he, "will bid away with the same scriptures, whereof we see brought not only divers, but also contrary interpretations; and we will hear God speak, rather than we will resort to these naked elements[2], and appoint our salvation to rest in them. It behoveth not a man to be expert in the law and scripture, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labour that a man bestoweth in the scriptures. For the scripture is a creature, and a certain bare letter." This is Hosius' saying, uttered altogether with the same spirit

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. iii.

Idem, Cap. iv.

Albert. Pigh. in Hierarch.

[Chap. xix. & xx. Div. I.]

Hosius de Expr. Verb. Dei.

[1 Thou wilt marvel, Def.]

[2 Def. adds, *or bare words of the scriptures.*]

and the same mind wherewith in times past Montane[3] and Marcion were moved, [Part IV.]
who, as men report[4], used to say, when with a contempt they rejected the holy scriptures, that themselves knew many more and better things than either Christ or the apostles ever knew.

What then shall I say here, O ye principal posts of religion, O ye archgovernors of Christ's church? Is this that your reverence which ye give to God's word? The holy scriptures, which, St Paul saith, came "by the inspiration of God," which God did commend by so many miracles, wherein are the most perfit prints of Christ's own steps, which all the holy fathers, apostles, and angels, which Christ himself the Son of God, as often as was needful, did allege for testimony and proof; will ye, as though they were unworthy for you to hear, bid them avaunt away? That is, will ye enjoin God to keep silence, who speaketh to you most clearly by his own mouth in the scriptures? or that word, whereby alone, as Paul saith, we are reconciled to God, and which the prophet David saith is "holy and pure, and shall last for ever;" will ye call that but a "bare and dead letter?" or will ye say, that all our labour is lost, which is bestowed in that thing which Christ hath commanded us diligently to search, and to have evermore before our eyes? And will ye say that Christ and the apostles meant with subtilty to deceive the people, when they exhorted them to read the holy scriptures, that thereby they might flow in all wisdom and knowledge? No marvel at all though these men despise us and all our doings, which set so little by God himself and his infallible sayings. Yet was it but want of wit in them, to the intent they might hurt us, to do so extreme injury to the word of God.

But Hosius will here make exclamation, saying we do him wrong, and that these be not his own words, but the words of the heretic Zuenckfeldius. But how then, if Zuenckfeldius make exclamation on the other side, and say that the same very words be not his, but Hosius' own words? For tell me, where hath Zuenckfeldius ever written them? or, if he have written them, and Hosius have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not Hosius spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter goeth, although Hosius peradventure will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words. For well near in all controversies, and namely touching the use of the holy communion under both kinds, although the words of Christ be plain and evident, yet doth Hosius disdainfully reject them, as no better than cold and dead elements, and commandeth to give faith to certain new lessons, appointed by the church, and to I wot not what revelations of the Holy Ghost. And Pighius saith: "Men ought not to believe, no not the most clear and manifest words of the scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the church[5]."

And yet, as though this were too little, they also burn the holy scriptures, [Chap. xxi. Div. I.]
as in times past wicked king Aza did, or as Antiochus or Maximinus did, and are wont to name them heretics' books. And out of doubt, to see too[6], they Euseb.
would fain do as Herod in old time did in Jewry, that he might with more surety keep still his dominion[7]; who, being an Idumæan born, and a stranger to the stock and kindred of the Jews, and yet coveting much to be taken for a Jew, to the end he might establish to him and his posterity the kingdom of that country, which he had gotten of Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all the genealogies and pedigrees to be burnt, and made out of the way, so as there should remain no record whereby he might be known to them that came after, that he was an aliaunt in blood; whereas even from Abraham's time these monuments had been safely kept amongst the Jews, and laid up in their treasury, because in them it might easily and most assuredly be found of what lineage every one did descend. So (in good faith) do these men, when they would have all their own doings in estimation, as though they had been delivered to us even from the apostles, or from Christ him-

[3 The heretics Montanus, Def.]
[4 As it is written of them, Def.]
[5 Def. adds, *whereby he meaneth the church of Rome.*]
[6 As it seemeth, Def.]
[7 His usurped dominion, Def.]

[Part IV.] self; to the end there might be found nowhere any thing able to convince such their dreams and lies, either they burn the holy scriptures, or else they craftily convey them from the people surely.

[Chap. xxi. Div. 2. & 3.] Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Very rightly and aptly doth Chrysostom write against these men. "Heretics," saith he, "" shut up the doors against the truth; for they know full well, if the door were open, the church should be none of theirs." Theophylact also: "God's word," saith he, "is the candle whereby the thief is espied." And Tertullian saith: "The holy scripture manifestly findeth out the fraud and theft of heretics." For why do they hide, why do they keep under the gospel, which Christ would have preached aloud from the house-top? Why whelm they that light under a bushel, which ought to stand on a candlestick? Why trust they more to the blindness of the unskilful multitude, and to ignorance, than to the goodness of their cause? Think they their sleights are not already perceived, and that they can walk now unespied, as though they had Gyges' ring to go invisible by upon their finger? No, no. All men see now well and well again, what good stuff is in that "chest of the bishop of Rome's bosom." This thing alone of itself may be an argument sufficient, that they work not uprightly and truly. Worthily ought that matter seem suspicious, which fleeth trial, and is afraid of the light. "For he that doth evil," as Christ saith, "seeketh darkness, and hateth light." A conscience that knoweth itself clear cometh willingly into open shew, that the works which proceed of God may be seen. Neither be they so very blind but they see this well enough, how their own kingdom straightway is at a point, if the scripture once have the upper hand; and that, like as men say, the idols of devils in times past, of whom men in doubtful matters were then wont to receive answers, were suddenly stricken dumb at the sight of Christ, when he was born and came into the world; even so they see that now all their subtle practices will soon fall down headlong upon the sight of the gospel. For antichrist is not overthrown but with the brightness of Christ's coming.

[Chap. xxi. Div. 4.] [Chap. xxi. Div. 5. & 6.] [Chap. xxi. Div. 7.] [Chap. xxi. Div. 8.]

[Chap. xxii. Div. 1.] As for us, we run not for succour to the fire, as these men's guise is, but we run to the scriptures; neither do we reason with the sword, but with the word of God: and therewith, as saith Tertullian, "do we feed our faith; by it do we stir up our hope, and strengthen our confidence." For we know that the "gospel of Jesu Christ is the power of God unto salvation;" and that therein consisteth eternal life. And, as Paul warneth us, "We do not hear, no not an angel of God coming from heaven, if he go about to pull us from any part of this doctrine." Yea, more than this, as the holy martyr Justin speaketh of himself, we would give no credence to God himself, if he should teach us any other gospel[1].

[Chap. xxii. Div. 2.]

[Chap. xxii. Div. 3.] For where these men bid the holy scriptures away, as dumb and fruitless, and procure us to come to God himself rather, who speaketh in the church and in councils[2], which is to say, to believe their fancies and opinions; this way of finding out the truth is very uncertain, and exceeding dangerous, and in manner a fantastical and a mad way, and by no means allowed of the holy fathers. Chrysostom saith: "There be many oftentimes which boast themselves of the Holy Ghost; but truly whoso speak of their own head do falsely boast they have the Spirit of God. For, like as (saith he) Christ denied he spake of himself, when he spake out of the law and prophets; even so now, if any thing be pressed upon us in the name of the Holy Ghost, save the gospel, we ought not to believe it. For, as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and the prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the gospel." Thus far goeth Chrysostom.

[Chap. xxii. Div. 4.]

[Part V.] [Chap. i. Div. 1.] But here I look they will say, though they have not the scriptures, yet may chance they have the ancient doctors and the holy fathers with them. For this is a high brag they have ever made, how that all antiquity and a continual consent of all ages doth make on their side; and that all our cases be but new, and yesterday's work, and until these few last years never heard

[1 Def. omits this sentence.] [2 In the councils, Conf.; in their councils, Def.]

of. Questionless, there can nothing be more spitefully spoken against the religion of God than to accuse it of novelty, as a new comen up matter: for, as there can be no change in God himself, no more ought there to be[3] in his religion. [Part V.]

Yet nevertheless, we wot not by what means, but we have ever seen it come so to pass from the first beginning of all, that, as often as God did give but some light, and did open his truth unto men, though the truth were not only of greatest antiquity, but also from everlasting, yet of wicked men and of the adversaries was it called new-fangled and of late devised. That ungracious and blood-thirsty Haman, when he sought to procure the king Assuerus's displeasure against the Jews, this was his accusation to him: "Thou hast here," saith he, "a kind of people that useth certain new laws of their own, but stiff-necked and rebellious against all thy laws." When Paul also began first to preach and expound the gospel at Athens, he was called a tidings-bringer of new gods, as much to say as of new religion; for (said the Athenians) "may we not know of thee what new doctrine this is?" Celsus likewise, when he of set purpose wrote against Christ, to the end he might more scornfully scoff out the gospel by the name of novelty: "What," saith he, "hath God after so many ages now at last and so late bethought himself?" Eusebius also writeth, that christian religion from the beginning for very spite was called νέα καὶ ξένη, that is to say, "new and strange." After like sort these men condemn all our matters as strange and new; but they will have their own, whatsoever they are, to be praised as things of long continuance: doing much like to the enchanters[4] and sorcerers now-a-days, which [Chap. i. Div. 2.] working with devils use to say they have their books and all their holy and hid mysteries from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, Adam, and from the archangel Raphael, because that their cunning, coming[5] from such patrons and founders, might be judged the more high and holy. After the same fashion these men, because they would have their own religion, which they themselves, and that not long since, have brought forth into the world, to be the easilier and rather accepted of foolish persons, or of such as cast little whereabouts they or other do go, they are wont to say they had it from Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, from the apostles, and from Christ himself. Full well know they that nothing is more in the people's favour, or better liketh the common sort than these names. But how if the things, which these [Chap. i. Div. 3.] men are so desirous to have seem new, be found of greatest antiquity? Contrariwise, how if all the things well nigh which they so greatly set out with the name of antiquity, having been well and throughly examined, be at length found to be but new, and devised of very late? Soothly to say, no man that had a true and right consideration would think the Jews' laws and ceremonies to be new, for all Haman's accusation; for they were graven in very ancient tables of most antiquity. And, although many did take Christ to have swerved from Abraham and the old fathers, and to have brought in a certain new religion in his own name, yet answered he them directly: "If ye believed Moyses, ye would believe me also," for my doctrine is not so new as you make it; for Moses, an author of greatest antiquity, and one to whom ye give all honour, "hath spoken of me." Paul[6] likewise, though the gospel of Jesus Christ be of many counted to be but new, yet hath it (saith he) the testimony most old both of the law and prophets. As for our doctrine, which we may rightlier call Christ's catholic doctrine, it is so far off from new, that God, who is above all most ancient, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath left the same unto us in the gospel, in the prophets' and apostles' works, being monuments of greatest age. So that no man can now think our doctrine to be new, unless the same think either the prophets' faith, or the gospel, or else Christ himself to be new.

And as for their religion, if it be of so long continuance as they would [Chap. ii. Div. 1. & 2.] have men ween it is, why do they not prove it so by the examples of the

[3 So ought there to be no change, Def.]
[4 Conjurors, Def.]
[5 Being thought to come, Def.]
[6 St Paul, Def.]

[Part V.] primitive church, and by the fathers and councils of old times? Why lieth so ancient a cause thus long in the dust destitute of an advocate? Fire and sword they have had always ready at hand; but as for the old councils and the fathers, all mum, not a word. They did surely against all reason to begin first with these so bloody and extreme means, if they could have found other more easy and gentle ways. And if they trust so fully to antiquity, and use no dissimulation, why did John Clement, a countryman of ours, but few years past, in the presence of certain honest men and of good credit, tear and cast into the fire certain leaves of Theodoret the most ancient father and a Greek bishop, wherein he plainly and evidently taught that the nature of bread in the communion was not changed, abolished, or brought to nothing? And this did he of purpose, because he thought there was no other copy thereof to be found. Why saith Albertus Pighius that the ancient father Augustine had a wrong opinion of original sin; and that he erred and lied and used false logic, as touching the case of matrimony concluded after a vow made, which Augustine affirmeth to be perfect matrimony indeed, and cannot be undone again[1]? Also, when they did of late put in print the ancient father Origen's work upon the Gospel of John, why left they quite out the whole sixth chapter? wherein it is likely, yea rather of very surety, that the said Origen had written many things concerning the sacrament of the holy communion contrary to these men's minds, and would put forth that book mangled rather than full and perfit, for fear it should reprove them and their partners of their error? Call ye this trusting to antiquity, when ye rent in pieces, keep back, maim, and burn the ancient fathers' works[2]?

[Chap. ii. Div. 3.] Dist. 27. Quidam. August. de Bono Viduit. cap. x. xxvii. 41. Nuptiar. bon. [Chap. ii. Div. 4.]

Liber hodie extat et circumfertur mutilus.

It is a world to see how well-favouredly and how towardly touching religion these men agree with the fathers, of whom they use to vaunt that they be their own good. The old council Eliberine made a decree, that nothing that is honoured of the people should be painted in the churches. The old father Epiphanius saith: "It is an horrible wickedness, and a sin not to be suffered, for any man to set up any picture in the churches of the Christians, yea, though it were the picture of Christ himself." Yet these men store all their temples and each corner of them with painted and carved images, as though without them religion were nothing worth.

[Chap. iii. Div. 1. & 2.]

[Chap. iii. Div. 3.]

The old fathers Origen and Chrysostom exhort the people to read the scriptures, to buy them books, to reason at home betwixt themselves of divine matters; wives with their husbands, and parents with their children. These men condemn the scriptures as dead elements, and, as much as ever they may, bar the people from them. The ancient fathers Cyprian, Epiphanius, and Hierome, say, "It is better for one who perchance hath made a vow to lead a sole life, and afterward liveth unchastely, and cannot quench the flames of lust, to marry a wife, and to live honestly in wedlock." And the old father Augustine judgeth the self-same marriage to be good and perfit, and ought not to be broken again. These men, if a man have once bound himself by a vow, though afterward he burn, keep queans, and defile himself with never so sinful and desperate a life, yet they suffer not that person to marry a wife; or, if he chance to marry, they allow it not for marriage. And they commonly teach it is much better and more godly to keep a concubine and[3] harlot, than to live in that kind of marriage.

[Chap. iii. Div. 4.] Orig. in Lev. cap. xvi. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2. Idem in Johan. 31. [Chap. iii. Div. 4. & 5.] Cypr. Epist. 2. Lib. i. Epiph. contr. Apost. Hær. 61. Hier. ad Demetr.

The old father Augustine complained of the multitude of vain ceremonies wherewith he even then saw men's minds and consciences overcharged: these men, as though God regarded nothing else but their ceremonies, have so out of measure increased them, that there is now almost none other thing left in their churches and places of prayer.

Ad Jan.

Again, that old father Augustine denieth it to be leeful for a monk to spend his time slothfully and idly, and under a pretensed and counterfeit holiness to live all upon others. And whoso thus liveth, an old father Apol-

[Chap. iii. Div. 5.] Aug. de Op. Mon.

[1 Which matrimony St Augustine affirmeth to be perfite indeed, and that it may not be undone again, Def.]

[2 Def. omits *works*.]

[3 1564 repeats *and*; and an, Conf.; or an, Def.]

lonius likeneth him to a thief. These men have, I wot not whether to name them droves or herds of monks, who for all they do nothing, nor yet once intend to bear any shew of holiness, yet live they not only upon others, but also riot lavishly of other folks' labours. [Part V.]

The old council at Rome decreed that no man should come to the service said by a priest well known to keep a concubine. These men let to farm concubines to their priests, and yet constrain men by force against their will to hear their cursed paltry service. [Chap. iii. Div. 6.] Conc. Rom. cap. 3.

The old canons of the apostles command that bishop to be removed from his office, which will both supply the place of a civil magistrate, and also of an ecclesiastical person. These men, for all that, both do and will needs serve both places. Nay rather, the one office which they ought chiefly to execute they once touch not, and yet nobody commandeth them to be displaced. [Chap. iii. Div. 7.] Can. 8.

The old council Gangrense commandeth that none should make such difference between an unmarried priest and a married priest, as he ought[4] to think the one more holy than the other for single life sake. These men put such a difference between them, that they straightway think all their holy service to be defiled, if it be done by a good and honest man that hath a wife. [Chap. iii. Div. 8.]

The ancient emperor Justinian commanded that in the holy administration all things should be pronounced with a clear, loud, and treatable voice, that the people might receive some fruit thereby. These men, lest the people should understand them, mumble up all their service, not only with a drowned and hollow voice, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue. [Chap. iii. Div. 9.] In Novell. Constit. 123. & 146.

The old council at Carthage commanded nothing to be read in Christ's congregation but the canonical scriptures: these men read such things in their churches as themselves know for a truth to be stark lies and fond fables. [Chap. iii. Div. 10.] Conc. Carth. III. cap. 47.

But, if there be any that think that these above rehearsed authorities be but weak and slender, because they were decreed by emperors and certain petty bishops, and not by so full and perfit councils, taking pleasure rather in the authority and name of the pope; let such a one know that pope Julius doth evidently forbid that a priest in ministering the communion should dip the bread in the cup. These men, contrary to pope Julius' decree, divide the bread, and dip it in the wine. [Chap. iv. Div. 1.] De Conseer. Dist. 2. Cum enim nemo.

Pope Clement saith it is not lawful for a bishop to deal with both swords; "For if thou wilt have both," saith he, "thou shalt deceive both thyself and those that obey thee." Now-a-days the pope challengeth to himself both swords, and useth both. Wherefore it ought to seem less marvel, if that have followed which Clement saith, that is, "that he hath deceived both his own self, and those which have given ear unto him." [Chap. iv. Div. 2.]

Pope Leo saith, upon one day it is lawful to say but one mass in one church. These men say daily in one church commonly ten masses, twenty, thirty, yea, oftentimes more: so that the poor gazer on can scant tell which way he were best to turn him. [Chap. iv. Div. 3.]

Pope Gelasius saith it is a wicked deed and sibb[5] to sacrilege in any man to divide the communion, and when he received one kind, to abstain from the other. These men, contrary to God's word, and contrary to pope Gelasius, command that one kind only of the holy communion be given to the people, and by so doing they make their priests guilty of sacrilege.

But if they will say that all these things are worn now out of ure and nigh dead, and pertain nothing to these present times; yet, to the end all folk may understand what faith is to be given to these men, and upon what hope they call togethers their general councils, let us see in few words what good heed they take to the self-same things, which they themselves these very last years (and the remembrance thereof is yet new and fresh), in their own general council that they had by order called, decreed and commanded to be devoutly kept. In the last council at Trident, scant fourteen years past, [Chap. v. Div. 1.]

[4 Def. omits *he ought.*]

[5 Subject, Conf. and Def.]

[Part V.] it was ordained by the common consent of all degrees, that one man should not have two benefices at one time. What is become now of that ordinance? Is the same too so soon worn out of mind and clean consumed? For these men, ye see, give to one man not two benefices only, but sundry abbeys many times, sometime also two bishopricks, sometime three, sometime four, and that not only to an unlearned man, but oftentimes even to a man of war.

In the said council a decree was made, that all bishops should preach the gospel. These men neither preach nor once go up into the pulpit, neither think they it any part of their office. What great pomp and crack then is this they make of antiquity? Why brag they so of the names of the ancient fathers, and of the new and old councils? Why will they seem to trust to their authority, whom when they list they despise at their own pleasure?

[Chap. v. Div. 2.] [Chap. vi. Div. 1.]

But I have a special fancy to common a word or two rather with the pope's good holiness, and to say these things to his own face. Tell us, I pray you, good holy father, seeing ye do crack so much of all antiquity, and boast yourself that all men are bound to you alone, which of all the fathers have at any time called you by the name of the highest prelate, the universal bishop, or the head of the church? Which of them[1] ever said that both the swords were committed to you? Which of them ever said that you have authority and a right to call councils? Which of them ever said that the whole world is but your diocese? Which of them, that all bishops have received of your fulness? Which of them, that all power is given to you as well in heaven as in earth? Which of them, that neither kings, nor the whole clergy, nor yet all people together, are able to be judges over you? Which of them, that kings and emperors by Christ's commandment and will do receive authority at your hand? Which of them with so precise and mathematical limitation hath surveyed and determined you to be seventy and seven times greater than the mightiest kings? Which of them, that more ample authority is given to you than to the residue of the patriarchs? Which of them, that you are the Lord God? or that you are not a mere natural man, but a certain substance made and grown together of God and man? Which of them, that you are the only head-spring of all law? Which of them, that you have power over purgatories? Which of them, that you are able to command the angels of God as you list yourself? Which of them that ever said, that you are Lord of lords, and the King of kings? We can also go further with you in like sort. What one amongst the whole number of the old bishops and fathers ever taught you, either to say private mass whiles the people stared on, or to lift up the sacrament over your head (in which point consisteth now all your religion); or else to mangle Christ's sacraments, and to bereave the people of the one part, contrary to Christ's institution and plain expressed words? But, that we may once come to an end, what one is there of all the fathers which hath taught you to distribute Christ's blood and the holy martyrs' merits, and to sell openly as merchandises your pardons and all the rooms and lodgings of purgatory[2]? These men are wont to speak much of a certain secret doctrine of theirs, and manifold and sundry readings. Then let them bring forth somewhat now, if they can, that it may appear they have at least read or do know somewhat. They have often stoutly noised in all corners where they went, how all the parts of their religion be very old, and have been approved not only by the multitude, but also by the consent and continual observation of all nations and times. Let them therefore once in their life shew this their antiquity: let them make appear at eye, that the things whereof they make such ado have taken so long and large increase: let them declare that all christian nations have agreed by consent to this their religion.

[Chap. vi. Div. 2.] De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam. [Chap. vi. Div. 3.] [Chap. vi. Div. 4.] Durandus. [Chap. vi. Div. 5.] Conc. Lat. sub Jul. II. [Chap. vi. Div. 6.] [Chap. vi. Div. 7.] Dist. 9. Innoc. [Chap. vi. Div. 8.] [Chap. vi. Div. 9.] De Major. et Obed. Solitæ. [Chap. vi. Div. 10.] [Chap. vi. Div. 11.] [Chap. vi. Div. 12.] Extrav. Johan. XXII. Cum inter, in Glos. in Edit. impress. Par. et Lugd. [Chap. vi. Div. 13.] [Chap. vi. Div. 14.] [Chap. vi. Div. 15.] Anton. de Rosel. [Chap. vi. Div. 16.] [Chap. vii. Div. 1.]

[Chap. viii. Div. 1.]

Nay, nay, they turn their backs, as we have said already, and flee from their own decrees, and have cut off and abolished again within a short space

[1 Of the ancient fathers or doctors, Def. In the following sentences the same or like words are repeated.]

[2 To sell openly your pardons and all the rooms and lodgings of purgatory as a gainful kind of merchandize, Def.]

the same things which, but a few years before, themselves had established, [Part V.] for evermore, forsooth, to continue. How should one then trust them in the fathers, in the old councils, and in the words spoken by God? They have not, good Lord, they have not (I say) those things which they boast they have: they have not that antiquity, they have not that universality, they have not that consent of all places nor of all times. And though they have a desire rather to dissemble, yet they themselves are not ignorant hereof: yea, and sometime also they let not to confess it openly. And for this cause they say that the ordinances of the old councils and fathers be such as may now and then be altered, and that sundry and divers decrees serve for sundry and divers times of the church. Thus lurk they under the name of the church, and beguile silly creatures with their vain glozing. It is to be marvelled that either men be so blind as they cannot see this, or, if they see it, to be so patient as they can so lightly and quietly bear it.

But, whereas they have commanded that those decrees should be void, [Chap. ix. Div. 1.] as things now waxen too old, and that have lost their grace, perhaps they have provided in their stead certain other better things, and more profitable for the people. For it is a common saying with them, that, "if Christ himself or the apostles were alive again, they could not better nor godlier govern God's church than it is at this present governed by them." They have put in[3] their stead indeed; but it is "chaff instead of wheat," as Hieremy saith, and such things as, according to Esay's words, "God never required at their hands." "They have stopped up," saith he, "all the veins of clear springing water, and have digged up for the people deceivable and puddle-like pits, full of mire and filth, which neither have nor are able to hold pure water." They have plucked away from the people the holy communion, the word of God, from whence all comfort should be taken, the true worshipping of God also, and the right use of sacraments and prayer; and have given us of their own to play withal in the meanwhile salt, water, oil-boxes, spittle, palms, bulls, jubilees, pardons, crosses, censings, and an endless rabble of ceremonies, and (as a man might term with Plautus) pretty games to make sport withal. In [Chap. ix. Div. 2.] these things have they set all their religion, teaching the people that by these God may be duly pacified, spirits be driven away, and men's consciences well quieted. For these, lo, be the orient colours and precious savours of [Chap. x. Div. 1.] christian religion: these things doth God look upon and accepteth them thankfully: these must come in place to be honoured, and put quite away the institutions of Christ and of his apostles. And, like as in times past, when wicked king Jeroboam had taken from the people the right serving of God, and brought them to worship golden calves, lest perchance they might afterwards change their mind and slip away, getting them again to Jerusalem to the temple of God there, he exhorted them with a long tale to be stedfast, saying thus unto them, "O Israel, these calves be thy gods;" in this sort commanded your God you should worship him; for it should be wearisome and troublous for you to take upon you a journey so far off, and yearly to go up to Jerusalem there to serve and honour your God: even after the same sort every whit, when these men had once made the law of God of none effect through their own traditions, fearing that the people should afterward open their eyes, and fall another way, and should somewhence else seek a surer mean of their salvation; Jesu, how often have they cried out, This is the same worshipping that pleaseth God, and which he straitly requireth of us, and wherewith he will be turned from his wrath; that by these things is conserved the unity of the church; by these all sins cleansed, and consciences quieted; and whoso departeth from these hath left unto himself no hope of everlasting salvation. For it were wearisome and troublous (say they) for the people to resort to Christ, to the apostles, and to the ancient fathers, and to observe continually what their will and commandment should be. This, ye may see, is to withdraw the people of God from the weak elements of the world, from the leaven of the scribes and Phari-

[3 Put somewhat in, Def.]

[Part V.] sees, and from the traditions of men. It were reason, no doubt, that Christ's commandments and the apostles' were removed, that these their devices might come in place. O just cause, I promise you, why that ancient and so long-allowed doctrine should be now abolished, and a new form of religion be brought into the church of God!

[Chap. x. Div. 2.] And yet, whatsoever it be, these men cry still that nothing ought to be changed; that men's minds are well satisfied herewithal; that the church of Rome, the church which cannot err, hath decreed these things. For Silvester Prierias saith that the Romish church is the squire and rule of truth, and that the holy scripture hath received from thence both authority and credit. "The doctrine," saith he, "of the Romish[1] church is the rule of most infallible faith, from the which the holy scripture taketh his force." And, "indulgences and pardons (saith he) are not made known to us by the authority of the scriptures, but they are known to us by the authority of the Romish church and of the bishops of Rome, which is greater[2]." Pighius also letteth not to say, that without the licence of the Romish church we ought not to believe the very plain scriptures. Much like as if any of those that cannot speak pure and clean Latin, and yet can babble out quickly and readily a little some such law-Latin as serveth the court, would needs hold that all others ought also to speak after the same way which Mammetrectus and Catholicon spake many year ago, and which themselves do yet use in pleading in court; for so may it be understood sufficiently what is said, and men's desires be satisfied; and that it is a fondness now in the later end to trouble the world with a new kind of speaking, and to call again the old fineness[3] and eloquence that Cicero and Cæsar used in their days in the Latin tongue. So much are these men beholden to the folly and darkness of the former times. "Many things," as one writeth, "are had in estimation oftentimes, because they have been once dedicate to the temples of the heathen gods." Even so see we at this day many things allowed and highly set by of these men, not because they judge them so much worth, but only because they have been received into a custom, and after a sort dedicate to the temple of God.

[Chap. xi. Div. 1.] "Our church," say they, "cannot err." They speak that (I think) as the Lacedæmonians long since used to say that it was not possible to find any adulterer in all their commonwealth; whereas indeed they were rather all adulterers, and had no certainty in their marriages, but had their wives common amongst them all; or, as the canonists at this day, for their bellies' sake, use to say of the pope, that, forsomuch as he is lord of all benefices, though he sell for money bishopricks, monasteries, priesthood, spiritual promotions, and parteth with nothing freely, yet, because he counteth all his own, he cannot commit simony, though he would never so fain. But how strongly and agreeably to reason these things be spoken, we are not as yet able to perceive, except perchance these men have plucked off the wings from the truth, as the Romans in old time did proine and pinion their goddess Victory, after they had once gotten her home, to the end that with the same wings she should never more be able to flee away from them again. But what if Jeremy tell them, as is afore rehearsed, that these be lies? What if the same prophet say in another place that the self-same men, who ought to be keepers of the vineyard, have brought to nought and destroyed the Lord's vineyard? How if Christ say that the same persons, who chiefly ought to have a care over the temple, have made of the Lord's temple a den of thieves? If it be so that the church of Rome cannot err, it must needs follow that the good luck thereof is far greater than all these men's policy: for such is their life, their doctrine, and their diligence, that for all them the church may not only err, but also utterly be spoiled and perish. No doubt, if that church may err which hath departed from God's word, from Christ's commandments, from the apostles' ordinances, from the primitive church's examples, from the old fathers' and councils' orders, and from their own decrees,

Sum. Angel. Dict. Papa. Theod. de Schism.

Plutarch.

[Chap. xi. Div. 2.]

[Chap. xii. Div. 1.]

[1] Here and in several other places Def. has *Roman.*]

[2] Def. adds, *than the scriptures.*]

[3] Spelt *fynesse*, 1564.]

and which will be bound within the compass of none, neither old nor new, [Part V.] nor their own, nor other folks', nor man's law, nor God's law; then it is out of all question that the Romish church hath not only had power to err, but that it hath shamefully and most wickedly erred in very deed.

But, say they, ye have been once of our fellowship, but now ye are become [Chap. xii. Div. 2.] forsakers of your profession, and have departed from us. It is true we have departed from them, and for so doing we both give thanks to almighty God, and greatly rejoice on our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the primitive church, from the apostles, and from Christ, we have not departed. True it is, we were brought up with these men in darkness, and in the lack of knowledge of God, as Moses was taught up in the learning and the bosom of the Egyptians. "We have been of your company," saith Tertullian, "I confess it, and no marvel at all; for," saith he, "men be made and not born Christians." But wherefore, I pray you, have they themself, the citi- [Chap. xiii. Div. 1.] zens and dwellers of Rome, removed and come down from those seven hills, whereupon Rome sometime stood, to dwell rather in the plain called Mars his field? They will say peradventure, because the conducts of water, wherewithout men cannot commodiously live, have now failed and are dried up in those hills. Well then, let them give us like leave in seeking the water of eternal life, that they give themselves in seeking the water of the well. For the water verily failed amongst them. "The elders of the Jews," saith Jeremy, "sent their little ones to the waterings; and they, finding no water, being in a miserable case, and utterly marred for thirst, brought home again their vessels empty." "The needy and poor folk," saith Esay, "sought about for water, but no where found they any; their tongue was even withered for thirst." Even so these men have broken in pieces all the pipes and conduits: they have stopped up all the springs, and choked up the fountain of living water with dirt and mire. And, as Caligula many years past locked fast up all the storehouses of corn in Rome, and thereby brought a general dearth and famine amongst the people; even so these men, by damming up all the fountains of God's word, have brought the people into a pitiful thirst. They have brought into the world, as saith the prophet Amos, "a hunger and a thirst: not the hunger of bread, nor the thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God." With great distress went they scattering about, seeking some spark of heavenly light to refresh their consciences withal; but that light was already thoroughly quenched out, so that they could find none. This was a rueful state: this was a lamentable form of God's church. It was a misery to live therein, without the gospel, without light, and without all comfort.

Wherefore, though our departing were a trouble to them, yet ought they [Chap. xiii. Div. 2.] to consider withal how just cause we had of our departure. For if they will [Chap. xiv. Div. 1.] say, it is in no wise lawful for one to leave the fellowship wherein he hath been brought up, they may as well in our names, and upon our heads, condemn both the prophets, the apostles, and Christ himself. For why complain they not also of this, that Lot went quite his way out of Sodom, Abraham out of Chaldee, the Israelites out of Egypt, Christ from the Jews, and Paul from the Pharisees? For, except it be possible there may be a lawful cause of departing, we see no reason why Lot, Abraham, the Israelites, Christ, and Paul, may not be accused of sects and sedition, as well as others.

And, if these men will needs condemn us for heretics, because we do not [Chap. xiv. Div. 2.] all things at their commandment, whom (in God's name) or what kind of men ought they themselves to be taken for, which despise the commandment of Christ and of the apostles? If we be schismatics because we have left them, [Chap. xiv. Div. 3.] by what name shall they be called themselves, which have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received their faith, forsaken the primitive church, forsaken Christ himself, and the apostles, even as children should forsake their parents? For though those Greeks, who at this day profess religion [Chap. xv. Div. 1.] and Christ's name, have many things corrupted amongst them, yet hold they still a great number of those things which they received from the apostles. They have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons. And as for the titles of high bishops, and those glorious names,

[Part V.] they esteem them so as, whosoever he were that would take upon him the same, and would be called either universal bishop, or the head of the universal church, they make no doubt to call such a one both a passing proud man, a man that worketh despite against all the other bishops his brethren, and a plain heretic.

[Chap. xv. Div. 2.] Now then, since it is manifest, and out of all peradventure, that these men are fallen from the Greeks, of whom they received the gospel, of whom they received the faith, the true religion, and the church; what is the matter, why they will not now be called home again to the same men, as it were to their originals and first founders? And why be they afraid to take a pattern of the apostles' and old fathers' times, as though they all had been void of understanding? Do these men, ween ye, see more, or set more by the church of God, than they did, who first delivered us these things?

[Chap. xv. Div. 3.] We truly have renounced that church, wherein we could neither have the word of God sincerely taught, nor the sacraments rightly administered, nor the name of God duly called upon; which church also themselves confess to be faulty in many points; and wherein was nothing able to stay any wise man, or one that hath consideration of his own safety. To conclude, we have forsaken the church as it is now, not as it was in old time, and have so gone from it, as Daniel went out of the lions' den, and the three children out of the furnace; and to say truth, we have been cast out by these men (being cursed of them, as they use to say, with book, bell, and candle), rather than have gone away from them of ourselves.

[Chap. xv. Div. 4.]

[Chap. xv. Div. 5.] And we are come to that church, wherein they themselves cannot deny (if they will say truly, and as they think in their own conscience) but all things be governed purely and reverently, and, as much as we possibly could, very near to the order used in the old time.

[Chap. xvi. Div. 1.] Let them compare our churches and theirs together, and they shall see, that themselves have most shamefully gone from the apostles, and we most justly have gone from them. For we, following the example of Christ, of the apostles, and the holy fathers, give the people the holy communion whole and perfite; but these men, contrary to all the fathers, to all the apostles, and contrary to Christ himself, do sever the sacraments, and pluck away the one part from the people, and that with most notorious sacrilege, as Gelasius termeth it.

We have brought again the Lord's supper unto Christ's institution, and will have it to be a communion[1] in very deed, common and indifferent to a great number, according to the name. But these men have changed all things, contrary to Christ's institution, and have made a private mass of the holy communion. And so it cometh to pass, that we give the Lord's supper unto the people, and they give them a vain pageant to gaze on.

We affirm, together with the ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is not eaten but of the good and faithful, and of those that are endued with the Spirit of Christ. Their doctrine is, that Christ's very body effectually, and, as they speak, really and substantially, may not only be eaten of the wicked and unfaithful men, but also (which is monstrous to be spoken[2]) of mice and dogs.

We use to pray in churches after that fashion, as, according to Paul's lesson, the people may know what we pray, and may answer Amen with a general consent. These men, like sounding metal, yell out in the churches unknown and strange words without understanding, without knowledge, and without devotion; yea, and do it of purpose, because the people should understand nothing at all.

1 Cor. xiv.

[Chap. xvi. Div. 2.] But, not to tarry about rehearsing all points wherein we and they differ, (for they have well nigh no end,) we turn the scriptures into all tongues: they scant suffer them to be had abroad in any tongue. We allure the people to read and to hear God's word: they drive the people from it. We desire to have our cause known to all the world: they flee to come to any

[Chap. xvi. Div. 3.]

[Chap. xvi. Div. 4.]

[1 Have made it a communion, Def.]

[2 Monstrous and horrible to be spoken, Def.]

trial. We lean unto knowledge; they unto ignorance. We trust unto light; they unto darkness. We reverence, as it becometh us, the writings of the apostles and prophets; and they burn them. Finally, we in God's cause desire to stand to God's only judgment: they will stand only to their own. Wherefore, if they will weigh all these things with a quiet mind, and fully bent to hear and to learn, they will not only allow this determination of ours, who have forsaken errors, and followed Christ and his apostles, but themselves also will forsake their own selves, and join of their own accord to our side[3]. [Part V.] [Chap. xvi. Div. 5.] [Chap. xvi. Div. 6.] [Chap. xvi. Div. 7.] [Chap. xvi. Div. 8.]

But peradventure they will say, it was treason to attempt these matters without a sacred general council; for in that consisteth the whole force of the church: there Christ hath promised he will ever be a present assistant. Yet they themselves, without tarrying for any general council, have broken the commandments of God and the decrees of the apostles; and, as we said a little above, they have spoiled and disannulled almost all, not only ordinances, but even the doctrine of the primitive church. And, where they say it is not lawful to make a change without a council, what was he that made[4] us these laws, or from whence had they this injunction? [Part VI.] [Chap. i. Div. 1.]

King Agesilaus truly did but fondly, who, when he had a determinate answer made him of the opinion and will of mighty Jupiter, would afterward bring the whole matter before Apollo, to know whether he allowed thereof, as his father Jupiter did, or no. But yet should we do much more fondly, when we may hear God himself plainly speak to us in the most holy scriptures, and may understand by them his will and meaning, if we would afterward (as though this were of none effect) bring our whole cause to be tried by a council; which were nothing else but to ask whether men would allow as God did, and whether men would confirm God's commandment by their authority. Why, I beseech you, except a council will and command, shall not truth be truth, or God be God? If Christ had meant to do so from the beginning, as that he would preach or teach nothing without the bishops' consent, but refer all his doctrine over to Annas and Caiphas, where should now have been the christian faith? or who at any time should have heard the gospel taught? Peter verily, whom the pope hath oftener in his mouth, and more reverently useth to speak of, than he doth of Jesu Christ, did boldly stand against the holy council, saying, "It is better to obey God than men." And after Paul had once entirely embraced the gospel, and had received it, "not from men, nor by man, but by the only will of God, he did not take advice therein of flesh and blood," nor brought the case before his kinsmen and brethren, but went forthwith into Arabia, to preach God's divine mysteries by God's only authority. [Chap. i. Div. 2.] Plutarchus. [Chap. i. Div. 3.]

Yet truly we do not despise councils, assemblies, and conferences of bishops and learned men; neither have we done that we have done altogether without bishops or without a council. The matter hath been treated in open parliament, with long consultation, and before a notable synod and convocation. [Chap. ii. Div. 1.]

But touching this council, which is now summoned by the pope Pius, wherein men so lightly are condemned, which have been neither called, heard, nor seen, it is easy to guess what we may look for or hope of it. In times past, when Nazianzene saw in his days how men in such assemblies were so blind and wilful, that they were carried with affections, and laboured more to get the victory than the truth, he pronounced openly that he never had seen a good end of any council. What would he say now, if he were alive at this day, and understood the heaving and shoving of these men? For at that time, though the matter were laboured on all sides, yet the controversies were well heard, and open errors were put clean away by the general voice of all parts. But these men will neither have the case to be freely disputed, nor yet, how many errors soever there be, suffer they any to be [Chap. iii. Div. 1.] [Chap. iii. Div. 2.]

[3 Def. adds, *to go with us.*]

[4 Gave, Def.]

[Part VI.] changed. For it is a common custom of theirs, often and shamelessly to boast that their church cannot err; that in it there is no fault; and that they must give place to us in nothing. Or if there be any fault, yet must it be tried by bishops[1] and abbots only, because they be the directors and rulers of matters; and they be the church of God. Aristotle saith that a "city cannot consist of bastards;" but, whether the church of God may consist of these men, let their own selves consider. For doubtless, neither be the abbots legitimate abbots, nor the bishops natural right bishops[2]. But grant they be the church; let them be heard speak in councils; let them alone have authority to give consent: yet in old time, when the church of God (if ye will compare it with their church) was very well governed, both elders and deacons, as saith Cyprian, and certain also of the common people, were called thereunto, and made acquainted with ecclesiastical matters.

[Chap. iii. Div. 3.]

[Chap. iii. Div. 4.] But I put case, these abbots and bishops have no knowledge: what if they understand nothing what religion is, nor how we ought to think of God? I put case, the pronouncing and ministering of the law be decayed in priests, and good counsel fail in the elders, and, as the prophet Micheas saith, "the night be unto them instead of a vision, and darkness instead of prophesying;" or, as Esaias saith, what if all "the watchmen of the city are become blind?" What "if the salt have lost his proper strength and savouriness," and, as Christ saith, "be good for no use, scant worth the casting on the dunghill?"

[Chap. iv. Div. 2.] Well, yet then, they will bring all matters before the pope, who cannot err. To this I say, first, it is a madness to think that the Holy Ghost taketh his flight from a general council to run to Rome, to the end, if he doubt or stick in any matter, and cannot expound it of himself, he may take counsel of some other spirit, I wot not what, that is better learned than himself. For, if this be true, what needed so many bishops, with so great charges and so far journeys, have assembled their convocation at this present at Trident? It had been more wisdom and better, at least it had been a much nearer way and handsomer, to have brought all things rather before the pope, and to have come straight forth, and have asked counsel at his divine breast. Secondly, it is also an unlawful dealing to toss our matter from so many bishops and abbots, and to bring it at last to the trial of one only man, specially of him who himself is appeached by us of heinous and foul enormities, and hath not yet put in his answer; who hath also aforehand condemned us without judgment by order pronounced, and or ever we were called to be judged.

[Chap. iv. Div. 3.] How say ye, do we devise these tales? Is not this the course of the councils in these days? Are not all things removed from the whole holy council, and brought before the pope alone; that, as though nothing had been done to purpose by the judgments and consents of such a number, he alone may add, alter, diminish, disannul, allow, remit, and qualify whatsoever he list? Whose words be these then? and why have the bishops and abbots, in the last council at Trident, but of late concluded with saying thus in the end: "Saving always the authority of the see apostolic in all things?" Or why doth pope Paschal write so proudly of himself? "As though," saith he, "there were any general council able to prescribe a law to the church of Rome; whereas all councils both have been made and have received their force and strength by the church of Rome's authority; and in ordinances made by councils is ever plainly excepted the authority of the bishop of Rome." If they will have these things allowed for good, why be councils called? But if they command them to be void, why are they left in their books as things allowable?

De Elect. et Elect. Potest. Significasti.

[Chap. v. Div. 1.] But be it so: let the bishop of Rome alone be above all councils, that is to say, let some one part be greater than the whole, let him be of greater power, let him be of more wisdom than all his; and, in spite of Hierome's head, let the authority of one city be greater than the authority of the whole world. How then, if the pope have seen none of these things, and have never read either the scriptures, or the old fathers, or yet his own councils? How if he favour the

Hieron. ad Evag.

[Chap. v. Div. 2.]

[1 Their bishops, Def.]

[2 Neither be their abbots abbots indeed, nor their bishops natural right bishops, Def.]

Arians, as once pope Liberius did? or have a wicked and a detestable opinion of the life to come, and of the immortality of the soul, as pope John had but few years since? or, to increase now his own dignity, do corrupt other councils, as pope Zosimus corrupted the council holden at Nice in times past; and do say that those things were devised and appointed by the holy fathers, which never once came into their thought; and, to have the full sway of authority, do wrest the scriptures, as[3] Camotensis saith is an usual custom with the popes? How if he have renounced the faith in Christ, and become an apostata, as Lyranus saith many popes have been? And yet, for all this, shall the Holy Ghost with turning of a hand knock at his breast, and even whether he will or no, yea, and wholly against his will, kindle him a light, so as he may not err? Shall he straightway be the head-spring of all right, and shall all treasure of wisdom and understanding be found in him, as it were laid up in store? or, if these things be not in him, can he give a right and apt judgment of so weighty matters? or, if he be not able to judge, would he have that all those matters should be brought before him alone? [Part VI.]

What will ye say, if the pope's advocates, abbots and bishops, dissemble not the matter, but shew themselves open enemies to the gospel, and though they see, yet they will not see, but wry the scriptures, and wittingly and knowingly corrupt and counterfeit the word of God, and foully and wickedly apply to the pope all the same things which evidently and properly be spoken of the person of Christ only, nor by no means can be applied to any other? And what though they say "the pope is all and above all?" or that "he can do as much as Christ can?" and that "one judgment-place and one council-house serve for the pope and for Christ both together?" or "that the pope is the same light which should come into the world," which words Christ spake of himself alone; and that "whoso is an evil-doer hateth and flieth from that light?" or that "all the other bishops have received of the pope's fulness?" Shortly, what though they make decrees expressly against God's word, and that not in hucker-mucker or covertly, but openly and in the face of the world; must it needs yet be gospel straight whatsoever these men say? Shall these be God's holy army? or will Christ be at hand among them there? Shall the Holy Ghost flow in their tongues, or can they with truth say, We and the Holy Ghost have thought good so? Indeed Peter Asotus and his companion Hosius stick not to affirm that the same council, wherein our Saviour Jesu Christ was condemned to die, had both the spirit of prophesying, and the Holy Ghost, and the spirit of truth in it; and that it was neither a false nor a trifling saying, when those bishops said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die;" and that "they, so saying, did light upon the very truth of judgment;" for so be Hosius' words; and that the same plainly was a just decree, whereby they pronounced that Christ was worthy to die. This, methinketh, is strange, that these men are not able to speak for themselves, and defend their own cause, but they must also take part with Annas and Caiphas. For, if they will call that a lawful and a good council wherein the Son of God was most shamefully condemned to die, what council will they then allow for false and naught? And yet (as all their councils, to say truth, commonly be) necessity compelled them to pronounce these things of the council holden by Annas and Caiphas.

[Chap. vi. Div. 1.] Host. cap. Quanto. Abb. Pan. de Elect. cap. Venerabilis. Corn. Episc. in Conc. Trid. Durandus. [Chap. vi. Div. 2.] [Chap. vi. Div. 3.] Hos. contr. Brent. Lib. ii.

But will these men (I say) reform us the church, being themselves both the persons guilty, and the judges too? Will they abate their own ambition and pride? Will they overthrow their own matter[4], and give sentence against themselves that they must leave off to be unlearned bishops, slow bellies, heapers together of benefices, takers upon them as princes and men of war? Will the abbots, the pope's dear darlings, judge that monk for a thief which laboureth not for his living? and that it is against all law to suffer such a one to live and to be found either in city or in country, or yet[5] of other men's charges? or else, that a monk ought to lie on the ground, to live hardly with herbs and peason, to study earnestly, to argue, to pray, to work with hand, and fully to bend himself to come to the ministry of the church? In faith, as soon will the Pharisees and [Chap. vii. Div. 1.]

[3 Which thing as, Def.] [4 Causes, Def.] [5 All, Def.]

[Part VI.] scribes repair again the temple of God, and restore it unto us a house of prayer instead of a thievish den.

[Chap. vii. Div. 2.] There have been, I know, certain of their own selves[1] which have found fault with many errors in the church, as pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, cardinal Poole, Pighius and others, as is aforesaid: they held afterwards their council at Trident, in the self-same place where it is now appointed. There assembled many bishops and abbots, and others whom it behoved for that matter. They were alone by themselves; whatsoever they did nobody gainsaid it, for they had quite shut out and barred our side from all manner of assemblies; and there they sat six years feeding folks with a marvellous expectation of their doings. The first six months, as though it were greatly needful, they made many determinations of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, which were godly things indeed, but not so necessary for that time. Let us see, in all that while, of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, and so evident errors, what one error have they amended? From what kind of idolatry have they reclaimed the people? What superstition have they taken away? What piece of their tyranny and pomp have they diminished? As though all the world may not now see, that this is a conspiracy and not a council; and that these bishops, whom the pope hath now called together, be wholly sworn and become bound to bear him their faithful allegiance, and will do no manner of thing but that they perceive pleaseth him and helpeth to advance his power, and as he will have it; or that they reckon not of the number of men's voices rather than have weight and consideration of the same[2]; or that might doth not oftentimes overcome the right.

[Chap. vii. Div. 3.] And therefore we know that divers times many good men and catholic bishops did tarry at home, and would not come when such councils were called, wherein men so apparently laboured to serve factions and to take parts, because they knew they should but lose their travail and do no good, seeing whereunto their enemies' minds were so wholly bent. Athanasius denied to come when he was called by the emperor to his council at Cæsarea, perceiving plain he should but come among his enemies which deadly hated him. The same Athanasius, when he came afterward to the council at Syrmium, and foresaw what would be the end, by reason of the outrage and malice of his enemies, he packed up his carriage, and went away immediately. John Chrysostom, although the emperor Constantius commanded him by four sundry letters to come to the Arians' council, yet kept he himself at home still. When Maximus, the bishop of Hierusalem, sat in the council at Palestine, the old father Paphnutius took him by the hand and led him out at the doors, saying, "It is not leeful for us to confer of these matters with wicked men." The bishops of the east would not come to the Syrmian council, after they knew Athanasius had gotten himself thence again. Cyril called men back by letters from the council of them which were named Patropassians. Paulinus bishop of Trier, and many others more, refused to come to the council at Milan, when they understood what a stir and rule Auxentius kept there; for they saw it was in vain to go thither, where not reason but faction should prevail, and where folk contended not for the truth and right judgment of the matter, but for partiality and favour.

Tripart. Hist. Lib. x. cap. xiii.

Eus. Lib. i. cap. xvii.

[Chap. viii. Div. 1.] And yet, for all those fathers had such malicious and stiff-necked enemies, yet if they had come they should have had free speech at least in the councils. But now, sithence none of us may be suffered so much as to sit, or once to be seen in these men's meetings, much less suffered to speak freely our mind; and seeing the pope's legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, all being conspired together, all linked together in one kind of fault, and all bound by one oath, sit alone by themselves, and have power alone to give their consent; and at last, when they have all done, as though they had done nothing, bring all their opinions to be judged at the will and pleasure of the pope, being but one man, to the end he may pronounce his own sentence of himself, who ought rather to have answered to his complaint; sithence also the same ancient and christian liberty, which of all right should specially be in christian councils, is now utterly taken away from the council—for these causes, I say, wise and good men ought not to

[1 Companions, Def.] [2 Than of the weight and value of the same, Def.]

marvel at this day, though we do the like now, that they see was done in times past in like case of so many fathers and catholic bishops; which as though[3] we choose rather to sit at home and leave our whole cause to God than to journey thither; where as we neither shall have place nor be able to do any good; where as we can obtain no audience; where as princes' embassadors be but used as mocking-stocks; and where as also all we be condemned already, before trial; as though the matter were aforehand dispatched and agreed upon. [Part VI.]

Nevertheless, we can bear patiently and quietly our own private wrongs. But wherefore do they shut out christian kings and good princes from their convocation? Why do they so uncourteously, or with such spite, leave them out, and, as though they were not either christian men, or else could not judge, will not have them made acquainted with the cause of christian religion, nor understand the state of their own churches? [Chap. ix. Div. 1. & 2.]

Or, if the said kings and princes happen to intermeddle in such matters, and take upon them to do that they may do, that they be commanded to do, and ought of duty to do, and the same things that we know both David and Salomon and other good princes have done, that is, if they, whiles the pope and his prelates slug and sleep, or else mischievously withstand them, do bridle the priests' sensuality, and drive them to do their duty, and keep them still to it, if they do overthrow idols, if they take away superstition, and set up again the true worshipping of God; why do they by and by make an outcry upon them, that such princes trouble all, and press by violence into another body's office, and do thereby wickedly and malapertly? What scripture hath at any time forbidden a christian prince to be made privy to such causes? Who but themselves alone made ever any such law?

They will say to this, I guess, Civil princes have learned to govern a commonwealth, and to order matters of war; but they understand not the secret mysteries of religion. If that be so, what is the pope, I pray you, at this day other than a monarch or a prince? or what be the cardinals, who must be no nother now-a-days but princes and kings' sons? What else be the patriarchs, and, for the most part, the archbishops, the bishops, the abbots? What be they else at this present in the pope's kingdom but worlikely princes, but dukes and earls, gorgeously accompanied with bands of men whithersoever they go; oftentimes also gaily arrayed with chains and collars of gold? They have at times too certain ornaments by themselves, as crosses, pillars, hats, mitres, and palls; which pomp the ancient bishops, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose, never had. Setting these things aside, what teach they? what say they? what do they? how live they—I say not, as may become a bishop, but as may become even a christian man? Is it so great a matter to have a vain title, and by changing a garment only to have the name of a bishop? [Chap. ix. Div. 3.]

Surely to have the principal stay and effect of all matters committed wholly to these men's hands, who neither know nor will know these things, nor yet set a jot by any point of religion, save that which concerns their belly and riot; and to have them alone sit as judges, and to be set up as overseers in the watch-tower, being no better than blind spies; of the other side, to have a christian prince of good understanding and of a right judgment to stand still like a block or a stake, not to be suffered nother to give his voice nor to shew his judgment, but only to wait what these men shall will and command, as one which had neither ears, nor eyes, nor wit, nor heart; and, whatsoever they give in charge, to allow it without exception, blindly fulfilling their commandments, be they never so blasphemous and wicked, yea, although they command him quite to destroy all religion, and to crucify again Christ himself—this surely, besides that it is proud and spiteful, is also beyond all right and reason, and not to be endured of christian and wise princes. Why, I pray you, may Caiphas and Annas understand these matters, and may not David and Ezekias do the same? Is it lawful for a cardinal, being a man of war, and delightious in blood, to have place in a council? and is it not lawful for a christian emperor or a king? We truly grant no fur- [Chap. x. Div. 1.] [Chap. xi. Div. 1.]

[3] Which is as though, Conf.; which is though, Def.]

[Part VI.] ther liberty to our magistrates than that we know hath both been given them by the word of God, and also confirmed by the examples of the very best-governed commonwealths. For, besides that a christian prince hath the charge of both tables committed to him by God, to the end he may understand that not temporal matters only, but also religious and ecclesiastical causes, pertain to his office; besides also that God by his prophets often and earnestly commandeth the king to cut down the groves, to break down the images and altars of idols, and to write out the book of the law for himself; and besides that the prophet Esaias saith, "A king ought to be a patron and nurse of the church;" I say, besides all these things, we see by histories and by examples of the best times, that good princes ever took the administration of ecclesiastical matters to pertain to their duty.

[Chap. xi. Div. 2.] [Chap. xi. Div. 3.] [Chap. xi. Div. 4. & 5.]

Moses, a civil magistrate, and chief guide of the people, both received from God and delivered to the people all the order for religion and sacrifices, and gave Aaron the bishop a vehement and sore rebuke for making the golden calf, and for suffering the corruption of religion. Josua also, though he were no nother than a civil magistrate, yet as soon as he was chosen by God, and set as a ruler over the people, he received commandments specially touching religion and the service of God. King David, when the whole religion was altogethers brought out of frame by wicked king Saul, brought home again the ark of God, that is to say, he restored religion again; and was not only amongst them himself as a counsellor and furtherer of the work, but he appointed also hymns and psalms, put in order the companies, and was the only doer in setting forth that whole solemn shew[1], and in effect ruled the priests. King Salomon built unto the Lord the temple which his father David had but purposed in his mind to do; and, after the finishing thereof, he made a goodly[2] oration to the people concerning religion and the service of God: he afterward displaced Abiathar the priest, and set Sadok in his place. After this, when the temple of God was in shameful wise polluted through the naughtiness and negligence of the priests, king Ezekias commanded the same to be cleansed from the rubble and filth, the priests to light up candles, to burn incense, and to do their divine service according to the old allowed custom. The same king also commanded the brasen serpent, which then the people wickedly worshipped, to be taken down and beaten to powder. King Jehoshaphat overthrew and utterly made away the hill-altars and groves, whereby he saw God's honour hindered, and the people holden back with a private superstition from the ordinary temple which was at Jerusalem, whereto they should by order have resorted yearly from every part of the realm. King Josias with great diligence put the priests and bishops in mind of their duty: king Johas bridled the riot and arrogancy of the priests: Jehu put to death the wicked prophets.

Exod. xxxii. [Chap. xi. Div. 6.] Josh. i. [Chap. xi. Div. 7.] 1 Chron. xiii. [Chap. xi. Div. 8.] 2 Chron. vi. 1 Kings viii. [Chap. xi. Div. 9.] 2 Chron. xxix. 2 Kings xviii. [Chap. xi. Div. 10.] 2 Chron. xvii. [Chap. xi. Div. 11.] 2 Kings xxiii. 2 Kings xii. 2 Kings x.

And, to rehearse no more examples out of the old law, let us rather consider, since the birth of Christ, how the church hath been governed in the gospel's time. The christian emperors in old time appointed the councils of the bishops. Constantine called the council at Nice: Theodosius the first called the council at Constantinople: Theodosius the second, the council at Ephesus: Martian, the council at Chalcedon. And, when Ruffine the heretic had alleged for authority a council, which, as he thought, should make for him, Hierome his adversary, to confute him, "Tell us," quod he, "what emperor commanded that council to be called?" The same Hierome again, in his epitaph upon Paula, maketh mention of the emperor's letters, which gave commandment to call the bishops of Italy and Grecia to Rome to a council. Continually, for the space of five hundred years, the emperor alone appointed the ecclesiastical assemblies, and called the councils of the bishops together.

[Chap. xii. Div. 1.] [Chap. xii. Div. 2.] [Chap. xii. Div. 3.] [Chap. xii. Div. 4.]

We now therefore marvel the more at the unreasonable dealing of the bishop of Rome, who, knowing what was the emperor's right, when the church was well ordered, knowing also that it is now a common right to all princes, forsomuch as kings are now fully possessed in the several parts of the whole empire, doth so without consideration assign that office alone to himself, and taketh it suffi-

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[1 Triumph, Def.] [2 Godly, Def.]

cient, in summoning a general council, to make a man that is prince of the whole [Part VI.] world no otherwise partaker thereof than he would make his own servant. And Pius IV. in Bulla sua ad although the modesty and mildness of the emperor Ferdinando be so great, that Imp. Ferdin. [Chap. xii. he can bear this wrong, because peradventure he understandeth not well the Div. 5.] pope's packing; yet ought not the pope of his holiness to offer him that wrong, nor to claim as his own another man's right.

But hereto some will reply, The emperor indeed called councils at that time [Chap. xiii. ye speak of, because the bishop of Rome was not yet grown so great as he is now; Div. 1.] but yet the emperor did not then sit together with the bishops in council, or once bare any stroke with his authority in their consultation. I answer, Nay, that it is not so; for, as witnesseth Theodoret, the emperor Constantine sat not only Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. v. together with them in the council at Nice, but gave also advice to the bishops how it was best to try out the matter by the apostles' and prophets' writings, as appeareth by these his own words: "In disputation," saith he, "of matters of divinity, we have set before us to follow the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. For the evangelists' and the apostles' works, and the prophets' sayings, shew us sufficiently what opinion we ought to have of the will of God." The emperor [Chap. xiii. Div. 2.] Theodosius (as saith Socrates) did not only sit amongst the bishops, but also Socrat. Lib. v. cap. x. ordered the whole arguing of the cause, and tare in pieces the heretics' books, and allowed for good the judgment of the catholics. In the council at Chalcedon [Chap. xiv. Div. 1.] a civil magistrate condemned for heretics, by the sentence of his own mouth, the bishops Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Thalasius, and gave judgment to put them Socrat. Lib. v. cap. x. down from that promotion[3] in the church. In the third council at Constantinople [Chap. xiv. Div. 2.] Constantine, a civil magistrate, did not only sit amongst the bishops, but did also Conc. II. subscribe with them: for saith he, "we have both read and subscribed." In [Chap. xiv. Div. 3.] the second council called Arausicanum the princes' embassadors, being noblemen born, not only spake their mind touching religion, but set to their hands also, as well as the bishops. For thus is it written in the later end of that council: "Petrus, Marcellinus, Felix, and Liberius, being most noble men, and the famous lieutenants and capitains of France, and also peers of the realm, have given their consent, and set to their hands." Further: "Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariattho, and Marcellus, men of very great honour, have subscribed." If it be so then, that lieutenants, chief capitains, and peers have had [Chap. xiv. Div. 4.] authority to subscribe in council, have not emperors and kings the like authority?

Truly there had been no need to handle so plain a matter as this is with so [Chap. xiv. Div. 5.] many words, and so at length, if we had not to do with those men, who, for a desire they have to strive and to win the mastery, use of course to deny all things, be they never so clear, yea, the very same which they presently see and behold with their own eyes. The emperor Justinian made a law to correct the [Chap. xiv. Div. 6.] behaviour of the clergy, and to cut short the insolency[4] of the priests: and albeit he were a christian and a catholic prince, yet put he down from their papal throne two popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, notwithstanding they were Peter's successors and Christ's vicars.

Let us see then, such men as have authority over the bishops, such men as [Chap. xv. Div. 1.] receive from God commandments concerning religion, such as bring home again the ark of God, make holy hymns, oversee the priests, build the temple, make orations touching divine service, cleanse the temples, destroy the hill-altars, burn the idols' groves, teach the priests their duty, write them out precepts how they should live, kill the wicked prophets, displace the high priests, call together the councils of bishops, sit together with the bishops, instructing them what they ought to do, condemn and punish an heretical bishop, be made acquainted with matters of religion, which subscribe and give sentence, and do all these things not by another man's commission, but in their own name, and that both uprightly and godly; shall we say it pertaineth not to such men to have to do with religion? or shall we say, a christian magistrate, which dealeth amongst others in these matters, doth either naughtily, or presumptuously, or wickedly? The most ancient and christian emperors and kings that ever were

[3 Their dignities, Def.] [4 Insolent lewdness, Def.]

[Part VI.] did busy themselves with these matters, and yet were they never for this cause noted either of wickedness or of presumption. And what is he, that can find out either more catholic princes, or more notable examples?

[Chap. xv. Div. 2.] Wherefore, if it were lawful for them to do thus, being but civil magistrates, and having the chief rule of commonweals, what offence have our princes at this day made, which may not have leave to do the like, being in the like degree? or what especial gift of learning, or of judgment, or of holiness have these men now, that, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who used to confer with princes and peers concerning religion, they do now thus reject and cast off christian princes from knowing of the cause, and from their meetings?

[Chap. xv. Div. 3.] Well, thus doing, they wisely and warily provide for themselves, and for their kingdom, which otherwise they see is like shortly to come to nought. For if so be they, whom God hath placed in greatest dignity, did see and perceive these men's practices, how Christ's commandments be despised by them, how the light of the gospel is darkened and quenched out by them, and how themselves also be subtlely beguiled and mocked, and unwares be deluded by them, and the way to the kingdom of heaven stopped up before them; no doubt they would never so quietly suffer themselves neither to be disdained after such a proud sort, nor so despitefully to be scorned and abused by them. But now, through their own lack of understanding, and through their own blindness, these men have them fast yoked and in their danger.

[Chap. xvi. Div. 1.] We truly for our parts, as we have said, have done nothing in altering religion, either upon rashness or arrogancy; nor nothing but with good leisure and great consideration. Neither had we ever intended to do it, except both the manifest and most assured will of God, opened to us in his holy scriptures, and the regard of our own salvation, had even constrained us thereunto. For, though we have departed from that church, which these men call catholic, and by that means get us envy amongst them that want skill to judge, yet is this enough for us, and it ought to be enough for every wise and good man, and one that maketh account of everlasting life, that we have gone from that church which had power to err; which Christ, who cannot err, told so long before it should err; and which we ourselves did evidently see with our eyes to have gone both from the holy[1] fathers, and from the apostles, and from Christ his own self, and from the primitive and catholic church[2]; and we are come, as near as we possibly could, to the church of the apostles and of the old catholic bishops and fathers; which church we know hath hitherunto been sound and perfite, and, as Tertullian termeth it, a pure virgin, spotted as yet with no idolatry, nor with any foul or shameful fault; and have directed according to their customs and ordinances not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer.

[Chap. xvi. Div. 2.] And, as we know both Christ himself and all good men heretofore have done, we have called home again to the original and first foundation that religion which hath been foully foreslowed[3] and utterly corrupted by these men. For we thought it meet thence to take the pattern of reforming religion, from whence the ground of religion was first taken; because this one reason, as saith the most ancient father Tertullian, hath great force against all heresies: "Look, whatsoever was first, that is true; and, whatsoever is latter, that is corrupt." Irenæus oftentimes appealed to the oldest churches, which had been nearest to Christ's time, and which it was hard to believe had erred. But why at this day is not the same respect[4] and consideration had? Why return we not to the pattern of the old churches? Why may not we hear at this time amongst us the same saying, which was openly pronounced in times past in the council at Nice by so many bishops and catholic fathers, and nobody once speaking against it, ἔθη ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω: that is to say, "hold still the old customs?" When Esdras went about to repair the ruins of the temple of God, he sent not to Ephesus, although the [Chap. xvii. Div. 1. & 2.]

[1] Gone from the old holy, Def.]
[2] Church of God, Def.]
[3] Neglected, Def.]
[4] Common regard, Def.]

most beautiful and gorgeous temple of Diana was there; and when he purposed [Part VI.]
to restore the sacrifices and ceremonies of God, he sent not to Rome, although peradventure he had heard in that place were the solemn sacrifices called Hecatombæ, and other called Solitaurilia, Lectisternia, and Supplications, and Numa Pompilius' ceremonial books[5]. He thought it enough for him to set before his eyes, and to follow the pattern of the old temple, which Salomon at the beginning builded according as God had appointed him, and also those old customs and ceremonies, which God himself had written out by special words for Moses.

The prophet Aggeus, after the temple was repaired again by Esdras, and the people might think they had a very just cause to rejoice on their own behalf for so great a benefit received of almighty God, yet made he them all burst out in tears, because that they which were yet alive, and had seen the former building of the temple, before the Babylonians destroyed it, called to mind how far off it was yet from that beauty and excellency which it had in the old times past before: for then indeed would they have thought the temple worthily repaired, if it had answered to the ancient pattern, and to the majesty of the first temple. Paul, because he would amend the abuse of the Lord's supper which the Corinthians even then begun to corrupt, he set before them Christ's institution to follow, saying: "I have delivered unto you that which I first received of the Lord." And when Christ did confute the error of the Pharisees, "Ye must," saith he, "return to the first beginning; for from the beginning it was not thus." And when he found great fault with the priests for their uncleanness of life and covetousness, and would cleanse the temple from all evil abuses, "This house," saith he, "at the first beginning was a house of prayer," wherein all the people might devoutly and sincerely pray together; and so were your parts to use it now also at this day; for it was not builded to the end it should be a "den of thieves." Likewise all the good and commendable princes mentioned of in the scriptures were praised specially by those words, that they had walked in the ways of their father David; that is, because they had returned to the first and original foundation, and had restored religion even to the perfection wherein David left it.

And therefore, when we likewise saw all things were quite trodden under foot of these men, and that nothing remained in the temple of God but pitiful spoils and decays, we reckoned it the wisest and the safest way to set before our eyes those churches, which we knew for a surety that they never had erred, nor never had private mass[6], nor prayers in strange and barbarous language, nor this corrupting of sacraments, and other toys.

And, forsomuch as our desire was to have the temple of the Lord restored anew, we would seek no other foundation than the same which we knew was long agone laid by the apostles, that is to wit, our Saviour Jesu Christ.

And forsomuch as we heard God himself speaking unto us in his word, and saw also the notable examples of the old and primitive church; again, how uncertain a matter it was to wait for a general council, and that the success thereof would be much more uncertain; but specially, forsomuch as we were most ascertained of God's will, and counted it a wickedness to be too careful and over-cumbered about the judgments of mortal men; we could no longer stand taking advice with flesh and blood, but rather thought good to do the same thing that both might rightly be done, and hath also many a time been done, as well of good men, as of many catholic bishops; that is, to remedy our own churches by a provincial synod. For thus know we the old fathers used to put in[7] experience, before they came to the public universal council. There remain yet at this day canons, written in councils of free cities, as of Carthage under Cyprian, as of Ancyra, of Neocæsarea, and of Gangra, which is in Paphlagonia, as some think, before that the name of the general council at Nice was ever heard of. After this fashion in old time did they speedily meet with and cut short those heretics the Pelagians, and the Donatists, at home, with private disputation, without any general council. Thus

[5 Def. adds, *or manuals or portuises.*]
[6 And yet never had neither private mass, Def.]
[7 Put matters in, Def.]

[Part VI.] also, when the emperor Constantius evidently and earnestly took part with Auxentius the bishop of the Arians' faction, Ambrose, the bishop of the Christians, appealed not unto a general council, where he saw no good could be done by reason of the emperor's might and great labour; but appealed to his own clergy and people, that is to say, to a provincial synod. And thus it was decreed in the council at Nice, that the bishops should assemble twice every year: and in the council at Carthage it was decreed that the bishops should meet together in each of their provinces, at least once in the year: which was done, as saith the council at Chalcedon, of purpose that, if any errors and abuses had happened to spring up any where, they might immediately at the first entry be destroyed where they first begun. So likewise, when Secundus and Palladius rejected the council at Aquila, because it was not a general and a common council, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, made answer that no man ought to take it for a new or strange matter, that the bishops of the west part of the world did call together synods, and make private assemblies in their provinces; for that it was a thing before then used by the west bishops no few times, and by the bishops of Grecia used oftentimes and commonly to be done. And so Charles the great, being emperor, held a provincial council in Germany for putting away images, contrary to the second council at Nice. Neither pardy even amongst us is this so very a strange and new a trade. For we have had ere now in England provincial synods, and governed our churches by home-made laws. What should one say more? Of a truth, even those greatest councils, and where most assembly of people ever was (whereof these men use to make such an exceeding reckoning), compare them with all the churches which throughout the world acknowledge and profess the name of Christ, and what else, I pray you, can they seem to be but certain private councils of bishops and provincial synods? For admit peradventure Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland meet togethers; if there want Asia, Grecia, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there be both many christian men, and also bishops, how can any man, being in his right mind, think such a council to be a general council? or, where so many parts of the world do lack, how can they truly say they have the consent of the whole world? Or what manner of council, ween you, was the same last at Trident? or how might it be termed a general council, when out of all christian kingdoms and nations there came unto it but only forty bishops, and of those some so cunning, that they might be thought meet to be sent home again to learn their grammar, and so well learned, that they had never studied divinity?

[Chap. xviii. Div. 1.] Whatsoever it be, the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ dependeth not upon councils, nor, as St Paul saith, upon mortal creatures' judgments. And if they which ought to be careful for God's church will not be wise, but slack their duty, and harden their hearts against God and his Christ, going on still to pervert the right ways of the Lord, God will stir up the very stones, and make children and babes cunning, whereby there may ever be some to confute these men's lies.

[Chap. xviii. Div. 2.] For God is able (not only without councils, but also, will the councils, nill the councils) to maintain and avance his own kingdom. "Full many be the thoughts of man's heart," saith Salomon; "but the counsel of the Lord abideth stedfast:" "There is no wisdom, there is no knowledge, there is no counsel against the Lord." "Things endure not," saith Hilarius, "that be set up with men's workmanship: by another manner of means must the church of God be builded and preserved; for that church is grounded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and is holden fast together by one corner-stone, which is Christ Jesu."

[Chap. xix. Div. 1.] Hieron. in Naum. cap. iii. But marvellous notable, and to very good purpose for these days, be Hierome's words: "Whosoever," saith he, "the devil hath deceived, and enticed to fall asleep, as it were, with the sweet and deathly enchantments of the mermaids the sirens, those persons doth God's word awake up, saying unto them, Arise thou that sleepest: lift up thyself; and Christ shall give thee light. Therefore at the coming of Christ, of God's word, of the ecclesiastical doctrine, and of the full destruction of Ninive and of that most beautiful harlot, then shall the people,

which heretofore had been cast in a trance under their masters, be raised up, and shall make haste to go to the mountains of the scripture; and there shall they find hills, Moses verily, and Josua the son of Nun; other hills also, which are the prophets; and hills of the new testament, which are the apostles and the evangelists. And, when the people shall flee for succour to such hills, and shall be exercised in the reading of those kind of mountains, though they find not one to teach them (for the harvest shall be great, but the labourers few), yet shall the good desire of the people be well accepted, in that they have gotten them to such hills, and the negligence of their masters shall be openly reproved." These be Hierome's sayings, and that so plain, as there needeth no interpreter. For they agree so just with the things we now see with our eyes have already come to pass, that we may verily think he meant to foretell, as it were, by the spirit of prophecy, and to paint before our face the universal state of our time, the fall of the most gorgeous harlot Babylon, the repairing again of God's church, the blindness and sloth of the bishops, and the good will and forwardness of the people. For who is so blind, that he seeth not these men be the masters, by whom the people, as saith Hierome, hath been led into error and lulled asleep? Or who seeth not Rome, that is their Ninive, which sometime was painted with fairest colours, but now, her visor being pulled off, is both better seen and less set by? Or who seeth not that good men, being awaked as it were out of their dead sleep, at the light of the gospel, and at the voice of God, have resorted to the hills of the scriptures, waiting not at all for the councils of such masters? [Part VI.]

But by your favour, some will say, these things ought not to have been attempted without the bishop of Rome's commandment; forsomuch as he only is the knot and band of christian society. He only is that priest of Levi's order, whom God signified in the Deuteronomy, from whom counsel in matters of weight and true judgment ought to be fetched[1]; and, whoso obeyeth not his judgment, the same man ought to be killed in the sight of his brethren; and that no mortal creature hath authority to be judge over him[2], whatsoever he do; that Christ reigneth in heaven, and he[2] in earth; that he[2] alone can do as much as Christ or God himself can do, because Christ and he[2] have but one council-house; that without him is no faith, no hope, no church; and whoso goeth from him quite casteth away and renounceth his own salvation. Such talk have the canonists, the pope's parasites, surely but with small discretion or soberness; for they could scant say more, at least they could not speak more highly, of Christ himself. [Chap. xx. Div. 1.]

As for us, truly we have fallen from the bishop of Rome upon no manner of worldly respect or commodity. And would to Christ he so behaved himself, as this falling away needed not; but so the case stood that, unless we left him, we could not come to Christ. Neither will he now make any other league with us, than such a one as Nahas the king of the Ammonites would have made in times past with them of the city of Jabes, which was to put out the right eye of each one of the inhabitants. Even so will the pope pluck from us the holy scripture, the gospel of our salvation, and all the confidence which we have in Christ Jesu: and upon other condition can he not agree upon peace with us. [Chap. xx. Div. 2.] 1 Sam. xi.

For, whereas some use to make so great a vaunt, that the pope is only Peter's successor, as though thereby he carried the Holy Ghost in his bosom, and cannot err, this is but a matter of nothing, and a very trifling tale. God's grace is promised to a good mind, and to one that feareth God, not unto sees and successions. "Riches," saith Jerome, "may make a bishop to be of more might than the rest; but all the bishops, whosoever they be, are the successors of the apostles." If so be the place and consecrating only be sufficient, why then Manasses succeeded David, and Caiphas succeeded Aaron. And it hath been often seen, that an idol hath stand[3] in the temple of God. In old time Archidamus the Lacedæmonian boasted much of himself, how he came of the blood of Hercules: but one Nicostratus in this wise abated his pride: "Nay," quod he, "thou seemest not to descend [Chap. xx. Div. 3.]

[1 Fette, Def.] [2 The pope, Def.] [3 Hath been placed, Def.]

[Part VI.] from Hercules; for Hercules destroyed ill men, but thou makest good men evil." And when the Pharisees bragged of their lineage, how they were of the kindred and blood of Abraham, "Ye," saith Christ, "seek to kill me, a man which have told you the truth, as I heard it from God. Thus Abraham never did. Ye are of your father the devil, and will needs obey his will."

[Chap. xxi. Div. 1.] Yet notwithstanding, because we will grant somewhat to succession, tell us, hath the pope alone succeeded Peter? and wherein, I pray you? In what religion? in what office? in what piece of his life hath he succeeded him? What one thing (tell me) had Peter ever like unto the pope, or the pope like unto Peter? Except peradventure they will say thus; that Peter, when he was at Rome, never taught the gospel, never fed the flock, took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hid the treasures of his Lord, sat him down only in his castle in St John Lateran, and pointed out with his finger all the places of purgatory and kinds of punishments, committing some poor souls to be tormented, and other some again suddenly releasing thence at his own pleasure, taking money for so doing; or that he gave order to say private masses in every corner; or that he mumbled up the holy service with a low voice, and in an unknown language; or that he hanged up the sacrament in every temple and on every altar, and carried the same about before him whithersoever he went, upon an ambling jennet, with lights and bells; or that he consecrated with his holy breath oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, churches, and altars; or that he sold jubilees, graces, liberties, advowsons, preventions, first-fruits, palls, the wearing of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons; or that he called himself by the name of the head of the church, the highest bishop, bishop of bishops, alone most holy; or that by usurping he took upon himself the right and authority over other folk's[1] churches; or that he exempted himself from the power of any civil government; or that he maintained wars, set princes together at variance; or that he, sitting in his chair, with his triple crown full of labels, with sumptuous and Persian-like gorgeousness, with his royal sceptre, with his diadem of gold, and glittering with stones, was carried about, not upon palfrey, but upon the shoulders of noblemen. These things, no doubt, did Peter at Rome in times past, and left them in charge to his successors, as you would say, from hand to hand; for these things be now-a-days done at Rome by the popes, and be so done, as though nothing else ought to be done.

[Chap. xxi. Div. 2.] Or contrariwise, peradventure they had rather say thus; that the pope doth now all the same things, which we know Peter did many a day ago; that is, that he runneth up and down into every country to preach the gospel, not only openly abroad, but also privately from house to house; that he is diligent, and applieth that business in season and out of season, in due time and out of due time; that he doth the part of an evangelist, that he fulfilleth the work and ministry of Christ, that he is the watchman of the house of Israel, receiveth answers and words at God's mouth, and, even as he receiveth them, so delivereth them over to the people; that he is the salt of the earth; that he is the light of the world; that he doth not feed his own self, but his flock; that he doth not entangle himself with the worldly cares of this life; that he doth not use a sovereignty over the Lord's people; that he seeketh not to have other men minister to him, but himself rather to minister unto others; that he taketh all bishops as his fellows and equals; that he is subject to princes, as to persons sent from God; that he giveth to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's; and that he, as the old bishops of Rome did (without any question[2]), calleth the emperor his lord. Unless therefore the popes do the like now-a-days, and[3] Peter did the things aforesaid, there is no cause at all why they should glory so of Peter's name and of his succession.

[Chap. xxii. Div. 1.] Much less cause have they to complain of our departing, and to call us again to be fellows and friends with them, and to believe as they believe. Men say that one Cobilon a Lacedæmonian, when he was sent embassador to the king of the Persians to treat of a league, and found by chance them of the court playing

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[1 Bishops, Def.] [2 Without contradiction, Def.] [3 As, Conf. and Def.]

at dice, he returned straightway home again, leaving his message undone: and when he was asked why he did slack to do the things which he had received by public commission to do, he made answer, he thought it should be a great reproach to his commonwealth to make a league with dicers. But if we should content ourselves to return to the pope and his popish errors[4], and to make a covenant not only with dicers, but also with men far more ungracious and wicked than any dicers be; besides that this should be a great blot to our good name, it should also be a very dangerous matter, both to kindle God's wrath against us, and to clog and condemn our own souls for ever. For of very truth we have departed from him, whom we saw had blinded the whole world this many an hundred year; from him, who too far presumptuously was wont to say he could not err, and, whatsoever he did, no mortal man had power to condemn him, neither kings, nor emperors, nor the whole clergy, nor yet all the people in the world together, no, and though he should carry away with him to hell a thousand souls; from him who took upon him power to command, not only men, but even God's angels, to go, to return, to lead souls into purgatory, and to bring them back again when he list himself; whom Gregory said, without all doubt, is the very forerunner and standard-bearer of antichrist, and hath utterly forsaken the catholic faith; from whom also those ringleaders of ours, who now with might and main resist the gospel, and the truth, which they know to be the truth, have or this departed every one of their own accord and good will, and would even now also gladly depart from him, if the note of inconstancy and shame, and their own estimation among the people, were not a let unto them. In conclusion, we have departed from him, to whom we were not bound, and who had nothing to lay for himself, but only I know not what virtue or power of the place where he dwelleth, and a continuance of succession.

[Part VI.]

[Chap. xxii. Div. 2.]

And as for us, we of all others most justly have left him. For our kings, yea, even they which with greatest reverence did follow and obey the authority and faith of the bishops of Rome, have long since found and felt well enough the yoke and tyranny of the pope's kingdom. For the bishops of Rome took the crown off from the head of our king Henry the second, and compelled him to put aside all majesty, and, like a mere private man, to come unto their legate with great submission and humility, so as all his subjects might laugh him to scorn. More than this, they caused bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, to be in the field against our king John, and set all the people at liberty from their oath, whereby they ought allegiance to their king; and at last, wickedly, and most abominably, they bereaved the king[5], not only of his kingdom, but also of his life. Besides this, they excommunicated and cursed king Henry the eighth, the most famous prince, and stirred up against him, sometime the emperor, sometime the French king; and, as much as in them was, put in adventure our realm, to have been a very prey and spoil[6]. Yet were they but fools and mad, to think that either so mighty a prince could be scared with bugs and rattles; or else, that so noble and great a kingdom might so easily, even at one morsel, be devoured and swallowed up.

[Chap. xxiii. Div. 1.]

And yet, as though all this were too little, they would needs make all the realm tributary to them, and exacted thence yearly most unjust and wrongful taxes. So dear cost us the friendship of the city of Rome. Wherefore, if they have gotten these things of us by extortion, through their fraud and subtle sleights, we see no reason why we may not pluck away the same from them again by lawful ways and just means. And if our kings, in that darkness and blindness of former times, gave them these things of their own accord and liberality, for religion sake, being moved with a certain opinion of their feigned holiness; now, when ignorance and error is spied out, may the kings, their successors, take them away again, seeing they have the same authority the kings their ancestors had before: for the gift is void, except it be allowed by the will

[Chap. xxiii. Div. 2.]

[4 And to his errors, Def.]
[5 The same king, Def.]
[6 Put our realm in hazard to have been a very prey and spoil unto the enemy, Def.]

of the giver; and that cannot seem a perfit will, which is dimmed and hindered by error[1].

THUS ye see, good christian reader, how it is no new thing, though at this day the religion of Christ be entertained with despites and checks, being but lately restored, and as it were coming up again anew; forsomuch as the like hath chanced both to Christ himself and to his apostles: yet nevertheless, for fear ye may suffer yourself to be led amiss, and seduced with those exclamations of our adversaries, we have declared at large unto you the very whole manner of our religion, what our opinion[2] is of God the Father, of his only Son Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, of the church, of the sacraments, of the ministry, of the scriptures, of ceremonies, and of every part of christian belief. We have said that we abandon and detest, as plagues and poisons, all those old heresies, which either the sacred scriptures or the ancient councils have utterly condemned; that we call home again, as much as ever we can, the right discipline of the church, which our adversaries have quite brought into a poor and weak case; that we punish all licentiousness of life and unruliness of manners by the old and long-continued laws, and with as much sharpness as is convenient and lieth in our power; that we maintain still the state of kingdoms in the same condition and plight[3] wherein we have found them, without any diminishing or alteration, reserving unto our princes their majesty and worldly pre-eminence, safe and without impairing, to our possible power; that we have so gotten ourselves away from that church, which they had made a den of thieves, and wherein nothing was in good frame, or once like to the church of God, and which, themselves confessed, had erred many ways, even as Lot in times past gat him out of Sodom, or Abraham out of Chaldee, not upon a desire of contention, but by the warning of God himself; and that we have searched out of the holy bible, which we are sure cannot deceive, one sure form of religion, and have returned again unto the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to say, to the first ground and beginning of things, as unto the very foundations and head-springs of Christ's church. And in very troth we have not tarried for, in this matter, the authority or consent of the Trident council, wherein we saw nothing done uprightly, nor by good order; where also every body was sworn to the maintenance of one man; where our princes' embassadors were contemned; where not one of our divines could be heard, and where parts-taking and ambition was openly and earnestly procured and wrought; but, as the holy fathers in former time, and as our predecessors have commonly done, we have restored our churches by a provincial convocation, and have clean shaken off, as our duty was, the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, to whom we were not bound, who also had no manner of thing like neither to Christ, nor to Peter, nor to an apostle, nor yet like to any bishop at all. Finally, we say that we agree amongst ourselves touching the whole judgment and chief substance of christian religion, and with one mouth and with one spirit do worship God and the Father of our Lord Jesu Christ.

Wherefore, O christian and godly reader, forsomuch as thou seest the reasons and causes, both why we have restored religion, and why we have forsaken these men, thou oughtest not to marvel, though we have chosen to obey our Master Christ, rather than men. Paul hath given us warning, how we should not suffer ourselves to be carried away with such sundry learnings, and to fly their companies, in especial, which would sow debate and variances, clean contrary to the doctrine which they had received of Christ and the apostles. Long since have these men's crafts and treacheries decayed, and vanished, and fled away at the sight and light of the gospel, even as the owl doth at the sun-rising. And albeit their trumpery be built up, and reared as high as the sky, yet even in a moment, and as it were of the own self, falleth it down again to the ground and cometh

[1 Here Conf. introduces the heading "The recapitulation of the Apology;" which also Def. adopts.]

[2 Faith, Def.]

[3 State of honour, Def.]

to nought. For you must not think that all these things have come to pass rashly[4], or at adventure: it hath been God's pleasure, that, against all men's wills well-nigh, the gospel of Jesu Christ should be spread abroad throughout the whole world at these days. And therefore men, following God's biddings[5], have of their own free will resorted unto the doctrine of Jesus Christ.

And for our parts, truly we have sought hereby neither glory, nor wealth, nor pleasure, nor ease. For there is plenty of all these things with our adversaries; and when we were of their side, we enjoyed such worldly commodities much more liberally and bountifully than we do now. Neither do we eschew concord and peace, but to have peace with man we will not be at war with God. "The name of peace is a sweet and pleasant thing," saith Hilarius; but yet beware, saith he, "peace is one thing, and bondage is another." For if it should so be, as they seek to have it, that Christ should be commanded to keep silence, that the truth of the gospel should be betrayed, that horrible errors should be cloked, that christian men's eyes should be bleared, and that they might be suffered to conspire openly against God; this were not a peace, but a most ungodly covenant of servitude. "There is a peace," saith Nazianzene, "that is unprofitable; again, there is a discord," saith he, "that is profitable." For we must conditionally desire peace, so far as is lawful before God, and so far as we may conveniently: for otherwise Christ himself brought not peace into the world, but a sword. Wherefore, if the pope will have us reconciled to him, his duty is first to be reconciled to God. "For from thence," saith Cyprian, "spring schisms and sects, because men seek not the head, and have not their recourse to the fountain of the scriptures, and keep not the rules given by the heavenly Teacher." "For," saith he, "that is not peace, but war; neither is he joined unto the church, which is severed from the gospel." As for these men, they use to make a merchandise of the name of peace. For that peace, which they so fain would have, is only a rest of idle bellies. They and we might easily be brought to atonement touching all these matters, were it not that ambition, gluttony, and excess did let it. Hence cometh their whining: their heart is on their half-penny. Out of doubt their clamours and stirs be to none other end, but to maintain more shamefully and naughtily ill-gotten things. Now-a-days the pardoners complain of us, the dataries, the pope's collectors, the bawds, and others which take gain to be godliness, and serve not Jesu Christ, but their own bellies. Many a day ago, and in the old world, a wonderful great advantage grew hereby to these kind of people; but now they reckon all is loss unto them, that Christ gaineth. The pope himself maketh great complaint at this present, that charity in people is waxen cold. And why so, trow ye? Forsooth, because his profits decay more and more. And for this cause doth he hale us into hatred, all that ever he may, laying load upon us with despiteful railings, and condemning us for heretics, to the end they that understand not the matter may think there be no worse men upon earth than we be. Notwithstanding, we in the mean season are never the more ashamed for all this; neither ought we to be ashamed of the gospel. For we set more by the glory of God, than we do by the estimation of men. We are sure all is true that we teach, and we may not either go against our own conscience, or bear any witness against God. For, if we deny any part of the gospel of Jesu Christ before men, he on the other side will deny us before his Father. And, if there be any that will still be offended, and cannot endure Christ's doctrine, such, say we, be blind, and leaders of the blind: the truth nevertheless must be preached and preferred above all; and we must with patience wait for God's judgment. Let these folk in the mean-time take good heed what they do, and let them be well advised of their own salvation, and cease to hate and persecute the gospel of the Son of God, for fear lest they feel him once a redresser and revenger of his own cause. God will not suffer himself to be made a mocking-stock. The world espieth a good while agone what there is a doing abroad. This flame, the more it is kept down, so much the more with greater force and strength doth it break out and fly abroad. Their unfaithfulness

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[4 By chance, Def.] [5 Commandment, Def.]

shall not disappoint God's faithful promise. And, if they shall refuse to lay away this their hardness of heart, and to receive the gospel of Christ, then shall publicans and sinners go before them into the kingdom of heaven.

God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open the eyes of them all, that they may be able to see that blessed hope, whereunto they have been called; so as we may altogether in one glorify him alone, who is the true God, and also that same Jesus Christ, whom he sent down to us from heaven; unto whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be given all honour and glory everlastingly. So be it.

The ende of the Apologie
of the Churche of
Englande.

[The following account of the church and of the universities is appended to lady Bacon's translation of the Apology. It is a curious piece: it has therefore appeared desirable to reprint it here.]

[THE manner how the Church of England is administered and governed.

The Church of England is divided into two provinces { Canterbury and York.

The province of Canterbury hath

The archbishop of the same, who is primate of all England and metropolitan.

The bishop of London.

The bishop of { Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Hereford, Salisbury, Worcetor, Lincoln, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Exeter, Rochester, Peterborough, St Davies, St Asaph

The bishop of { Llandaff, Bangor, Oxford, Gloucester, and Bristowe.

The province of York hath

The archbishop of the same, who is also primate of England and metropolitan.

The bishop of { Durham, Carlisle, and Chester.

Amongst us here in England no man is called or preferred to be a bishop, except he have first received the orders of priesthood, and be well able to instruct the people in the holy scriptures.

Every one of the archbishops and bishops have their several cathedral churches: wherein the deans bear chief rule, being men specially chosen both for their learning and godliness, as near as may be.

These cathedral churches have also other dignities and canonries, whereunto be assigned no idle or unprofitable persons, but such as either be preachers, or professors of the sciences of good learning.

In the said cathedral churches, upon Sundays and festival days, the canons make ordinarily special sermons, whereunto duly resort the head officers of the cities and the citizens; and upon the workendays thrice in the week one of the canons doth read and expound some piece of holy scripture.

Also the said archbishops and bishops have under them their archdeacons, some two, some four, some six, according to the largeness of the diocese; the

which archdeacons keep yearly two visitations, wherein they make diligent inquisition and search both of the doctrine and behaviour as well of the ministers as of the people. They punish the offenders; and, if any errors in religion and heresies fortune to spring, they bring those and other weighty matters before the bishops themselves.

There is nothing read in our churches but the canonical scriptures, which is done in such order, as that the psalter is read over every month, the new testament four times in the year, and the old testament once every year. And, if the curate be judged of the bishop to be sufficiently seen in the holy scriptures, he doth withal make some exposition and exhortation unto godliness.

And, forsomuch as our churches and universities have been wonderfully marred, and so foully brought out of all fashion in time of papistry, as there cannot be had learned pastors for every parish, there be prescribed unto the curates of meaner understanding certain homilies devised by learned men, which do comprehend the principal points of christian doctrine; as of original sin, of justification, of faith, of charity, and such-like, for to be read by them unto the people.

As for common prayer, the lessons taken out of the scriptures, the administering of the sacraments, and the residue of service done in the churches, are every whit done in the vulgar tongue which all may understand.

Touching the universities,

Moreover, this realm of England hath two universities, { Cambridge and Oxford.

And the manner is not to live in these within houses that be inns or a receipt for common guests, as is the custom of some universities; but they live in colleges under most grave and severe discipline, even such as the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodame, being here amongst us about forty years past, was bold to prefer before the very rules of the monks.

In Cambridge be xiiii. colleges, these by name that follow:

Trinity College, founded by king Henry the eight.
The King's College.
St John's College.
Christ's College.
The Queens' College.
Jesus College.
Bennet College.
Pembroke College, or Pembroke Hall.
Peter College, or Peter House.
Gunwell and Caius College or Hall.
One other Trinity College, or Trinity Hall.
Clare College, or Clare Hall.
St Katherine's College, or Katherin Hall.
Magdalene College.

In Oxford likewise there be colleges, some greater some smaller, to the number of four and twenty, the names whereof be as followeth:

The Cathedral Church of Christ, wherein also is a great company of students.
Magdalene College.
New College.
Marten College.
All Souls' College.
Corpus Christi College.
Lincoln College.
Auriell College.
The Queen's College.
Baylie College, or Bailioll College.
St John's College.

Trinity College.
Exeter College.
Brasen Nose College.
The University College.
Gloucester College.
Brodegate Hall.
Heart Hall.
Magdalene Hall.
Alborne Hall.
St Mary Hall.
White Hall.
New Inn.
Edmond Hall.

And, besides these colleges that be in the universities, this realm hath also certain collegiate churches, as Westminster, Windsor, Eton, and Winchester. The two last whereof do bring up and find a great number of young scholars, the which, after they be once perfect in the rules of grammar and of versifying, and well entered in the principles of the Greek tongue and of rhetoric, are sent from thence unto the universities; as thus: out of Eton College they be sent unto the King's College at Cambridge, and out of Winchester unto the New College at Oxford.

The colleges of both the universities be not only very fair and goodly built through the exceeding liberality of the kings in old time and of late days, of bishops and of noble men, but they be also endowed with marvellous large livings and revenues.

In Trinity College at Cambridge, and in Christ's College at Oxford, both which were founded by king Henry the eight of most famous memory, are at the least found four hundred scholars; and the like number well near is to be seen in certain other colleges, as in the King's College and St John's College at Cambridge; in Magdalene College and New College of Oxford; besides the rest which we now pass over.

Every one of the colleges have their professors of the tongues and of the liberal sciences (as they call them), which do trade up youth privately within their halls, to the end they may afterward be able to go forth thence into the common schools as to open disputation, as it were into plain battle, there to try themself.

In the common schools of both the universities there are found at the king's charge, and that very largely, five professors and readers, that is to say,

The Reader of Divinity,
The Reader of the Civil Law,
The Reader of Physic,
The Reader of the Hebrew tongue, and
The Reader of the Greek tongue.

And for the other professors, as of philosophy, of logic, of rhetoric, and of the mathematicals, the universities themselves do allow stipends unto them. And these professors have the ruling of the disputations and other school-exercises which be daily used in the common schools; amongst whom they that by the same disputations and exercises are thought to be come to any ripeness in knowledge are wont, according to the use in other universities, solemnly to take degrees, every one in the same science and faculty which he professeth.

We thought good to annex these things, to the end we might confute and confound those that spread abroad rumours, how that with us nothing is done in order and as ought to be done, that there is no religion at all, no ecclesiastical discipline observed, no regard had of the salvation of men's souls; but that all is done quite out of order and seditiously, that all antiquity is despised, that liberty is given to all sensuality and lewd lusts of folks, that the livings of the church be converted to profane and worldly uses: whereas in very truth we seek nothing else but that, that God above all most good may have still his honour truly and purely reserved unto him, that the rule and way to everlasting salvation may be taken from out of his very word, and not from men's fantasies, that the sacraments may

be ministered not like a masquery or a stage-play, but religiously and reverently according to the rule prescribed unto us by Christ, and after the example of the holy fathers which flourished in the primitive church; that that most holy and godly form of discipline, which was commonly used amongst them, may be called home again; that the goods of the church may not be launched out amongst worldlings and idle persons, but may be bestowed upon the godly ministers and pastors which take pain both in preaching and teaching; that there may from time to time arise up out of the universities learned and good ministers, and others meet to serve the commonwealth; and finally, that all unclean and wicked life may be utterly abandoned and banished, as unworthy for the name of any Christian. And, albeit we are not as yet able to obtain this that we have said, fully and perfitly (for this same stable, as one may rightly call it, of the Romish Augias cannot so soon be thoroughly cleansed and rid from the long-grown filth and muck); nevertheless this is it whereunto we have regard: hither do we tend: to this mark do we direct our pain and travail, and that hitherto (thorough God his gracious favour) not without good success and plenteous increase; which thing may easily appear to every body, if either we be compared with our own selves, in what manner of case we have been but few years since, or else be compared with our false accusers or rather our malicious slanderers.

The Lord defend his church, govern it with his Holy Spirit, and bless the same with all prosperous felicity.

Amen.

Imprinted at London in Paules
churche yard, at the signe
of the Brasen serpent, by
Reginalde Wolfe.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXIIII.]

A

DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

A DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGIE of the Church of *England*,

Conteining an Answer to a certaine *Booke lately set forth by* M. HARDING, and entituled, *A Confutation of &c.*

Whereunto there is also newly added an Answer *vnto another like Booke, written by the said* M. HARDING, entituled, *A Detection of sundrie foule errours, &c.* Printed at *Louain, Anno* 1568, and inserted into the former Answer, as occasion and place required, as by speciall Notes added to the Margine it may appeare.

By IOHN IEVVEL Bishop of *Sarisburie.*

III. ESDR. IIII.

Magna est Veritas, & prœualet.
Great is the Truth, and preuaileth.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.
1611.

TO THE MOST VIRTUOUS AND NOBLE PRINCESS,

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD QUEEN OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

It had been greatly to be wished, most gracious sovereign lady, that, as God of his mercy hath given us, ever sithence the first time of your majesty's most happy government, such success in all civil affairs, such concord and quietness in all estates, as our fathers seldom have seen before; so our hearts with like felicity might thoroughly have consented in the profession of one undoubted truth, and all our wills, which now are so violently rent asunder and so far distracted, might fully have joined together in the will of God; that, all quarrels and contentions set apart, we might with one mouth and one mind glorify God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Howbeit, it appeareth by the continual story and whole discourse of the holy scriptures, that almighty God, of his deep judgments and secret providence, suffereth some men ofttimes to delight in darkness, to withstand the gospel, to seek occasions, and wilfully to set themselves against the knowledge and truth of God. I write not this, most gracious lady, to the intent to make them odious in your majesty's sight, that this day are the procurers of all these troubles. God is able even of the hard unsensible stones to raise up children unto Abraham, and to make them the vessels of his mercy. Nevertheless, as St Paul teacheth us, such men there have been in times past, that have had their consciences burnt with hot irons, speaking and maintaining lies in hypocrisy; that have given themselves over into reprobate and wilful minds, and have despised the wisdom of God within themselves. And, notwithstanding such battles and dissensions, specially in the church of God, which is called the house of unity, be offensive and grievous unto the godly, and therefore work great hindrance unto the due passage of the gospel of Christ, yet in the end the trouble hereof in God's elect is recompensed abundantly with great advantage. For God's truth is mighty, and shall prevail: Dagon shall fall down headlong before the ark: the darkness shall flee before the light; and, the more fiercely man's wisdom shall withstand, the more glorious shall God be in his victory.

1 Tim. iv.

Rom. i.

But, shortly to discourse unto your majesty the particular occasions hereof from the beginning; after it had pleased almighty God, at the first entry of your majesty's reign, by a most happy exchange, and by the means of your majesty's most godly travails, to restore unto us the light and comfort of his gospel, there was written and published by us a little book in the Latin tongue, entituled, "An Apology of the Church of England," containing the whole substance of the catholic faith now professed and freely preached throughout all your majesty's dominions; that thereby all foreign nations might understand the considerations and causes of your majesty's doings in that behalf. Thus in old times did Quadratus, Melito, Justinus Martyr, Tertullian, and other godly and learned fathers, upon like occasions, as well to make known the truth of God, and to open the grounds of their profession, as also to put the infidels to silence, and to stop the mouths of the wicked.

This Apology being thus written first in Latin, and afterward, upon the comfortable report of your majesty's most godly enterprises, translated into sundry other tongues, and so made common to the most part of all Europe, as it hath been well allowed of and liked of the learned and godly, as it is plain by their open testimonies touching the same, so hath it not hitherto, for ought that may appear, been any where openly reproved either in Latin or otherwise, either by any one man's private writing, or by the public authority of any nation.

Only one M. Harding, not long sithence your majesty's subject, now misliking the present state, and resiant in Lovaine, hath of late taken upon him, against the said Apology, with the whole doctrine and all the parts of the same, to publish an open confutation, and to offer the same unto your majesty; wherein he sheweth himself so vehement, and so sharp and busy in finding faults, that he doubteth not to seek quarrels against us, even in that we maintain the baptism of christian infants, the proceeding and Godhead of the Holy Ghost, the faith of the holy and glorious Trinity, and the general and catholic profession of the common creed. Thus, for that he hath once severed himself from us, he beareth now the world in hand we can believe nothing without an error.

Conf. fol. 334. b. Conf. fol. 285. a. Conf. fol. 324. b. Conf. fol. 204. b. Conf. fol. 306. b. Conf. fol. 180 a. & 305. b. Conf. fol. 247. b. Conf. fol. 248. b. Conf. fol. 178. b. Conf. fol. 178. b. Conf. fol. 182. a.

The main ground of his whole plea is this, that the bishop of Rome, whatsoever it shall like him to determine in judgment, can never err; that he is always undoubtedly possessed of God's holy Spirit; that at his only hand we must learn to know the will of God; that in his only holiness standeth the unity and safety of the church; that whosoever is divided from him must be judged an heretic; and that without the obedience of him there is no hope of salvation. And yet, as though it were not sufficient for him so vainly to smoothe[1] a man in open errors, he telleth us also, sadly and in good earnest, that the same bishop is not only a bishop, but also a king; that unto him belongeth the authority and right of both swords, as well temporal as spiritual; that all kings and emperors receive their whole power at his hand, and ought to swear obedience and fealty unto him. For these be his words, even in this book so boldly dedicate unto your majesty: "It is a great eyesore," saith M. Harding, "to the ministers of antichrist, to see the vicar of Christ above lords and kings of this world, and to see princes and emperors promise and swear obedience unto him." And, whereas pope Zachary, by the consent or conspiracy of the nobles of France, deposed Chilpericus, the true, natural, and liege prince of that realm, and placed Pipinus in his room; "Lo," saith M. Harding, "ye must needs confess that this was a divine power in the pope; for otherwise he could never have done it." Thus much he esteemeth the dishonours and overthrows of God's anointed.

Conf. fol. 182. b.

Whereas also pope Boniface the eighth, for that he could not have the treasury of France at his commandment, endeavoured with all his both ecclesiastical and worldly puissance to remove Philip the French king from his estate, and, under his bulls or letters patents, had conveyed the same solemnly unto Albertus the king of Romans; M. Harding here telleth your majesty that all this was very well done, "to the intent thereby to fray the king, and to keep him in awe, and to reclaim his mind from disobedience." Now, touching your majesty's most noble progenitors, the kings of this realm, whereas we, as our[2] loyalty and allegiance bindeth us, justly complain that pope Alexander the third by violence and tyranny forced king Henry the second to surrender his crown imperial into the hands of his legate, and afterward for a certain space to content himself in private estate, to the great indignation and grief of his loving subjects; and that likewise pope Innocentius the third stirred up the nobles and commons of this realm against king John, and gave the inheritance and possession of all his dominions unto Ludovicus the French king (as for the misusing of your majesty's most dear father of most noble memory, king Henry the eighth, forasmuch as the smart thereof is yet in fresh remembrance, I will say nothing); to these and all other like tyrannical injuries, and just causes of grief, M. Harding shortly and in light manner thinketh it sufficient to answer thus: "What though king Henry the second were ill-entreated of pope Alexander the third? What though king John were ill-entreated of that zealous and learned pope Innocentius the third? What though king Henry the eighth were likewise entreated of the popes in our time?" I know right well, most sovereign lady, the goodness of your gracious nature delighteth not in such rehearsals. Neither do I make report hereof for that such things sometimes have been done, but for that the same things even now at this time either so lightly are excused or so boldly are defended. Such humble affection and obedience these men, by their open and public writings, teach your majesty's true subjects to bear towards their natural prince. It shall

M. Harding, fol. 340. a.

[1 Soothe, 1567, 1570, 1609.] [2 Your, 1567.]

much warrant the honour and safety of your royal estate, if your majesty shall sometimes remember the dishonours and dangers that other your noble progenitors have felt before you.

But concerning the majesty and right of kings and emperors, M. Harding telleth us, "They have their first authority by the positive law of nations, and can have no more power than the people hath, of whom they take their temporal jurisdiction:" as if he would say, emperors and kings have none other right of government than it hath pleased their subjects by composition to allow unto them. Thus he saith, and saith it boldly; as if God himself had never said, *Per me reges regnant*, "By me and my authority kings bear rule over their subjects;" or as if Christ our Saviour had never said unto Pilate the lord lieutenant, "Thou shouldest have no power over me, were it not given thee from above;" or as if St Paul had not said, *Non est potestas nisi a Deo*, "There is no power, but only from God." And yet further, as if their whole study were fully bent, in respect of the pope[3], to deface the authority and majesty of all princes, even now one of the same company doubteth not to teach the world, that the pope is the head, and kings and emperors are the feet[4]: like as also another of the same faction saith: "The emperor's majesty is so far inferior in dignity to the pope as a creature is inferior unto God[5]." We devise not these things of malice, most gracious lady, but report the same truly, as we find them proclaimed and published this day by their vain and dangerous writings, which notwithstanding they would so fain have to be taken as catholic. If this doctrine may once take root, and be freely received amongst the subjects, it shall be hard for any prince to hold his right.

M. Hard. fol. 318. b.
Prov. viii.
John xix.
Rom. xiii.
Dorm. fol. 15.
Stanis. Orichov. in Chimæra, fol. 97.

As for your majesty, for that it hath pleased almighty God in his mercy to make you an instrument of his glory, as in old times he made many other godly and noble princes, to reform his church from that huge and loathsome heap of filth and rubbish[6], that either by violence or by negligence had been thrown into it; therefore M. Harding, even in this self-same book, under certain general threats, chargeth you with disordered presumption, by the example of Ozias the wicked king, upon whom, as he saith[7], God sent his vengeance for the like. For, be the abuses and errors of the church never so many, be the falls and dangers never so great, be the priests and bishops never so blind; yet by this doctrine it may never be lawful for the prince, be he never so learned, or so wise, or so zealous in God's cause, to attempt any manner of reformation. And therefore thus he saith unto your majesty, and with all his skill and cunning laboureth to persuade your majesty's subjects, if any one or other happily of simplicity will believe him, that the godly laws, which your majesty hath given us to live under, are no laws; that your parliaments are no parliaments; that your clergy is no clergy; our sacraments no sacraments; our faith no faith. The church of England, whereof your majesty is the most principal and chief, he calleth a malignant church, a new church erected by the devil, a Babylonical tower, a herd of antichrist, a temple of Lucifer, a synagogue and a school of Satan, full of robbery, sacrilege, schism, and heresy. And all this he furnisheth with such liberty of other uncourteous and unseemly talks, as if he had been purposely hired to speak dishonour of your majesty's most godly doings.

M. Hard. fol. 298. a.
Conf. 277. Conf. 328. a. Conf. 172. b. Rejoind. 314. Conf. 87. a. Conf. 269. b. Rejoind. 42. a. Conf. 43. a. Conf. 269. a. 323. b. 334. a. 338. a. 348. b.

Of all these and other like tragical fantasies, forasmuch as he hath so boldly adventured to make a present unto your majesty, we have great cause to rejoice in God, for that our controversies are brought to be debated before such a personage as is able so well and so[8] deeply to understand them. For I have no doubt but, as by your great learning and marvellous wisdom you shall soon see

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[3] 1567 omits *in respect of the pope.*]

[4] ...so is there in Christ's church an order taken that one shall be a head to rule and give counsel, some other in place of feet to go, some hands to work, other some ears to hear and eyes to see, &c.—Dorman, Proufe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Juell, Ant. 1564. fol. 15. 2. Conf. fol. 4; where he asserts that the bishop of Rome must be the head, and fol. 41. 2; where he calls kings the hands and arms.]

[5] Quantum Deus præstat sacerdoti, tantum sacerdos præstat regi.—Stan. Orichov. Chimær. Col. 1563. fol. 97. Conf. fol. 99.]

[6] Rubble, 1567, 1570.]

[7] He untruly saith, 1567, 1570.]

[8] 1570 omits *so.*]

the difference of our pleadings; so of your majesty's gracious inclination unto all godliness you will readily find out the falsehood[1], and give sentence with the truth. Verily, after that your majesty shall have thoroughly considered the manifest untruths and corruptions, together with the abuses and errors of the contrary side, the weakness of the cause, the boldness of the man, and the immoderate bitterness of his speech; I have good hope, the more advisedly you shall behold it, the less cause you shall find wherefore to like it.

For the discovery hereof, for my poor portion of learning, I have endeavoured to do that I was able; and the same here I humbly present unto your majesty, as unto my most gracious and sovereign liege lady, and as now the only nurse and mother of the church of God within these your majesty's most noble dominions. It may please your majesty graciously to weigh it, and to judge of it, not according to the skill and ability of the writer, which is but simple, but according to the weight and worthiness of the cause. The poor labours have been mine: the cause is God's. The goodness of the one will be always able to countervail the simplicity of the other.

God evermore inflame and direct your majesty with his holy Spirit, that the zeal of his house may thoroughly devour your gracious heart; that you may safely walk in the ways of your father David; that you may utterly abandon all groves and hill-altars; that you may live an old mother in Israel; that you may see an end of all dissensions, and stablish peace and unity in the church of God. Amen.

Your majesty's most humble subject and faithful orator,

JOHN SARISBURY.

[1 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER[2].

It pitieth me in thy behalf, good christian reader, to see thy conscience thus assaulted this day with so contrary doctrines of religion, and specially if thou have a zeal to follow, and seest not what; and wouldest fain please God, and knowest not how, nor findest thyself[3] sufficiently armed with God's holy Spirit, nor able either to discern thy meat from poison, or to unwind thyself[3] out of the snares. "For Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light." The wicked is more watchful and vehement than the godly; and falsehood[4] is oftentimes painted and beautified, and shineth more glorious than the truth. 2 Cor. xi.

These be the things that, as St Paul saith, "work the subversion of the hearers;" and by mean whereof, as Christ saith, "if it were possible, the very elect of God should be deceived." Howbeit, "God knoweth his own;" "and no power can pull them out of his hand." God is able to work comfort out of confusion, and to force his light to shine out of darkness. "All things work unto good unto them that be in Christ Jesus[5]." Be falsehood[4] never so freshly[6] coloured, yet in the end the truth will conquer. 2 Tim. ii. Matt. xxiv. 2 Tim. ii. John x. Rom. viii.

Notwithstanding, God in these days hath so amazed the adversaries of his gospel, and hath caused them so openly and so grossly to lay abroad their follies to the sight and face of all the world, that no man now, be he never so ignorant, can think he may justly be excused. They deal not now so subtilly as other heretics in old times were wont to do; they hide not the loathsomeness of their errors; they cloke not themselves in sheep-skins; they dissemble nothing; they excuse nothing; but, without either shame of man or fear of God, they rake up those things that before were buried, that themselves had forsaken, the wise had abhorred, the world had loathed. It had been more policy for them to have yielded in somewhat, and to have stayed in the rest. So there might have appeared some plainness in their dealings.

But this is God's just judgment, that they that wilfully withstand the truth should be given over to maintain lies, as being the "children of untruth, children that will not hear the law of God." Isai. xxx.

For trial whereof, I beseech thee, good reader, advisedly to peruse these few notes, truly taken out of M. Harding's[7] late Confutation. Judge thereof as thou shalt see cause. Let no affection or fantasy cause things to seem otherwise than they be.

The two principal grounds of this whole book are these: first, that "the pope, although he may err by personal error in his own private judgment as a man, and as a particular doctor in his own opinion, yet, as he is pope, as he is the successor of Peter, as he is the vicar of Christ in earth, and as he is the shepherd of the universal church, in public judgment, in deliberation, and definitive sentence, he never erreth, nor never erred, nor never can err." As if he would say, The pope walking in his gallery is one man, and sitting in his[8] consistory, or in judgment, is another. Which thing to hold, Alphonsus de Castro saith, it is mere folly[9]. Yet is this M. Harding's chiefest, or rather, as I might in manner say, his only ground. M. Hard. fol. 334. b. Alphons. Lib. i. cap. iv.

The second is this: "The church of Rome is the whole, and only catholic church of God; and whosoever is not obedient unto the same must be judged an Conf. fol. 16. b. fol. 261. b.

[2 This is the original preface prefixed to the first edition of 1567.]

[3 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Jesu, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Rashly, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[7 Harding, 1611.]

[8 1567 omits *his*.]

[9 Quod autem alii dicunt eum qui erraverit in fide obstinate, jam non esse papam, ac per hoc affirmant papam non posse esse hæreticum, est in re seria verbis velle jocari.—Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. IV. fol. 8.]

heretic." These two grounds being once well and surely laid, he may build at pleasure what him listeth.

Conf. fol. 48. b. As for the pope, the better to countenance his estate, he saith that Peter received power ordinary to himself and to his successors for ever, but his fellows Conf. fol. 335. a. & 48. b. had power only by dispensation; "that Peter was the shepherd, and the apostles the sheep;" and that the apostles were subject unto Peter, as the sheep are Conf. fol. 282. a. subject to the shepherd; and "that James[1] the apostle was a member of Peter." Leo, Epist. 89. For better warrant whereof pope Leo saith: *Petrum Christus in consortium individuæ unitatis assumptum, id quod ipse erat voluit nominari*[2]: "Christ, receiving Peter into the company of the indivisible unity, would him to be called the same that he was himself."

Upon affiance and trust of these words, M. Harding endoweth the pope with Conf. fol. 50. a. Christ's only prerogative, and calleth him by Christ's principal title, "The Prince Conf. 204. b. of pastors." And further he saith, of the pope hangeth the safety of the whole Conf. 248. b. church of God; that unto the pope is given all manner of power, as well in heaven as in earth; and that, if any man say the pope hath authority to command the angels and archangels of God to come, to go, to wait, to run[3], to carry, Conf. 250. a. to fetch, "we may not be scrupulous" (for these be his words) "in any such Conf. 248. b. matters;" that neither king, nor emperor, nor clergy, nor council, nor any power alive can have authority to judge the pope, be his life never so vile; that the Conf. 132. a. pope is endued with a divine, or a godly power, and that by the same he is able Conf. 247. b. & 305. b. to depose kings; that the pope, even by the institution of Christ, is a temporal prince, and hath the right and interest of both swords, as well temporal as Conf. 180. b. & 248. b. spiritual; that all kings and emperors, by the commandment of Christ, receive Conf. 250. a. their whole power and authority from the pope; that the pope in a right good Conf. 249. b. sense may be called the King of kings, and Lord of lords; like as also, in some good sense, he may be called our Lord and God (and therefore one of M. Harding's Dorm. p. 15. Conf. 312. b. fellows saith, "The pope is the head, and kings and princes are the feet[4]"); that the pope, whatsoever he be, is always a christian man "by the nature of his Hos. in Confess. Petr. cap. xxix. office." And therefore another of them saith: *Judasne sit, an Petrus, an Paulus, [Deus] attendi non vult; sed solum hoc, quod sedet in cathedra Petri*[5]: "Whether the pope be Judas (the traitor), or Peter or Paul, thereof God never bade us be careful. This only is sufficient for us, that he sitteth in Peter's chair." Likewise Conf. 192. a. M. Harding saith: "It shall be sufficient for us to do as Peter's successors bid Conf. 192. b. us to do:" "Christ," saith M. Harding[6], "now requireth not of us to obey Peter or Paul, but him that sitteth in their chair."

Conf. 283. b. Again he saith, the whole church of God is the pope's vineyard: the pope is Conf. 284. a. & 283. b. the head, and all the faithful of Christ be his members: the preservation of the Conf. 212. b. whole church standeth in the unity of the pope. And therefore Hosius saith: Hos. in Confess. Petr. cap. xxvii. *Absque uno (papa) ecclesia una esse non potest*[7]: "Without one pope the church Conf. 306. b. of God cannot be one." To conclude, M. Harding saith: "Without the obedience of the pope there is no hope of salvation." Thus much hath M. Harding taught us as most sound and most[8] catholic doctrine touching the authority of the pope.

Conf. 16. b. 262. b. Of the other side he saith, "The church of Rome is the universal and only church of God;" and that whatsoever doctrine hath been taught in the same ought to be taken as godly and catholic; and that all other churches of the Conf. 196. a. other apostles might err and fail; but the church of Rome, even by God's especial[9] promise, whatsoever she teach, can never err.

He fighteth as freely for his pardons and purgatories, as he could do for the 2 Sam. xii. faith of the holy Trinity. Nathan said unto David: "Our Lord hath put away Gal. vi. thy sin: thou shalt not die." Again St Paul saith: "Bear one of you another's

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[1 That St James, 1567.]

[2 Hunc enim in consortium, &c.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Episc. Vien. Prov. Epist. lxxxix. 1. col. 464.]

[3 Renne, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Dorman, Proufe of Certeyne Articles, Ant. 1564. fol. 15. 2. See before, page 117, note 4.]

[5 Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. xxix. Tom. I. p. 68.]

[6 1567 omits *saith M. Harding.*]

[7 Unum itaque toti præesse ecclesiæ usque eo necessarium est, ut absque hoc ecclesia una esse non possit.—Id. ibid. cap. xxvi. p. 55.]

[8 1567 omits *most.*]

[9 Special, 1567.]

burdens." "Hereby," saith M. Harding, "it is plain that the pope hath power to give pardons; and Christ gave St Peter special authority to bestow the same." But the determination and full discussion of these great matters, of pardons and purgatory[10], he saith, is very hard and marvellous intricate. Conf. 251. a. & b. Conf. 180. b. Conf. 252. b.

Whereas they, not without manifest blasphemy, have universally taught the people thus to call upon the blessed virgin, the mother of Christ, "Thou art the lady of angels: thou art the queen of heaven: give commandment unto thy Son: let him know thou art the mother[11];" whereas also another of them saith, "Our lady is God's most faithful fellow:" *Fidelissima* [*ejus*] *socia*[12]; thus making a creature equal in fellowship unto God; "All this," saith M. Harding, "is nothing else but a" pretty kind of "spiritual dalliance; and he is most impious and impudent that findeth fault with it." Conc. Trid. Sess. 2. Conf. 123. a.

And, notwithstanding even now they teach the people to fall down and to worship the image of Christ, not, as they were wont before to say, giving the whole honour unto Christ, that is signified by the image, but even with the selfsame honour that is due to Christ himself, and that without any scruple or doubt of conscience[13]; notwithstanding also some of his own company say, "The selfsame kind of devotion that is now done to images differeth but little from open wickedness[14];" yet M. Harding saith, "We know no kind of idolatry ever used in the church of Rome; neither is there any idolatry committed by us, in worshipping of saints, in praying to them, or in the reverence we exhibit unto their images." Notwithstanding sundry others, the best-learned and wisest of his side, have plainly confessed divers great errors and deformities in their church; notwithstanding the pope, his cardinals, and his bishops, slug and sleep and do nothing; notwithstanding God's everlasting light, as much as in them lieth, be hid under the bushel; notwithstanding the watchmen be blind, the dogs be dumb, the salt be unsavoury, the people of God sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and know neither their own profession, nor the use and meaning of their sacraments, nor what they believe, nor what they hope, nor what they worship, nor what they pray (as for his offering up of forms and accidents in a sacrifice unto God, for so fondly he writeth, I trow, to relieve both the quick and the dead, with other errors of greater importance, wherewith he may more easily astonne the people, I will say nothing); all this notwithstanding, M. Harding doubteth not to say, "If Christ himself or his apostles were alive again, the word, that is to say, the doctrine of our belief, now preached, and received in the catholic church" of Rome, "neither should be altered, nor could be bettered." Jacob. Nanclant. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i. Jacob. Payv. Lib. ix. Polyd. de Invent. Lib. vi. cap. xiii. Hæc Pars pietatis differt non multum ab impietate. Conf. fol. 292. b. Rejoind. fol. 23. b. Conf. 254. a.

And therefore he saith further: "Such wicked changes in religion as ye have made, it is lawful to make neither with a council nor without a council." Again: "Our doctrine hath been too long approved to be put in daying[15] in these days:" and therefore again, for a final conclusion, he saith thus: "Set your hearts at rest: it shall not be so." Conf. 274. a. Conf. 271. Conf. 331. a.

These be the special contents and implements of M. Harding's whole book of "Confutation;" which he wisheth us to receive, under his warrant, as the whole and only catholic faith of Christ; by force whereof he thinketh himself able to subdue and bind the whole world. If the things that he maintaineth be so fond, what may we then think of other things that he denieth?

Now what substance of learning, out of the scriptures, councils, and doctors, truly alleged, he hath brought us forth for better furniture of the same, I leave it wholly to be weighed by others. Verily, utterance, and eloquence, and sound of words, and boldness of speech, he wanteth none. Howbeit, oftentimes in the fairest rose thou mayest soonest find a canker.

But here, good christian reader, our books thus laid in the midst before thee,

[10] 1567 omits *of pardons and purgatory.*]

[11] See Vol. II. pages 899, 900.]

[12] Ambros. Catharin. Polit. Orat. in sec. Sess. Synod. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1007.]

[13] Jac. Naclant. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Venet. 1557. cap. i. fol. 42. See Vol. II. page 667, note 15.

...eadem certe pietate, cultu et religione ipsam [crucem], qua et Christum ipsum prosequi necesse est.—Jac. Payv. Andrad. Orthod. Explic. Libr. Decem. Col. 1564. Lib. IX. p. 706.]

[14] Pol. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. p. 423. See Vol. II. page 668, note 2.]

[15] Put in daying: submitted to arbitration.]

I beseech thee to consider with what indifferent judgment M. Harding would have thee to pass between us.

Rejoind. in the Preface to the Reader. *iii. b. *iv. a. *iv. b. **ii. a.

First he saith: "What should we seek for truth? Let us only behold the custom of the church." Again: "What arguments, what allegations, what shew of disproof soever he bring against these things, we ought to make small account thereof." Again: "I would bless myself[1] from him, as from the minister of Satan, and as from the disciple of antichrist, and as from God's open and professed enemy." Again: "M. Jewel's Reply, and other like heretical books, are unlawful to be read, by order of the church, without special licence, and are utterly forbidden to be read or kept under pain of excommunication." And again: "As for the Reply, none other way will serve, but to throw all into the fire."

Rejoind. in the Preface to M. Jewel. A. i.

Conf. 213. a. Rejoind. in the Preface to the Reader. M. Harding in his Answer, Art. 15. Div. 7.

Of the other side, touching the word of God, with most terrible words he frayeth thee from it, and biddeth thee to consider of other things, and to behold I know not what. "Ye prostitute the scriptures," he saith, "as bawds do their harlots, to the ungodly, unlearned, rascal people." Again: "Prentices, light persons, and the riffraff of the people." And again: "The unlearned people were kept from the reading of the scriptures by the special providence of God, that precious stones should not be thrown before swine." In such regard these men have as well the holy scriptures as also the people of God. The scriptures they resemble to common harlots, and the vilest creatures of the stews. The people of God they call ungodly, rascals, riffraff, and filthy swine.

Thus he suffereth thee not to read either my poor book, whereof thou shouldest judge, or the holy word of God, whereby thou mightest be able to judge; but only biddeth thee to follow him, and to say as he saith, and all is safe. Thus, first he blindeth thine eyes, and then willeth thee to look about, and to condemn the thing thou never knewest. So saith St Hierome: *Isti tantam sibi assumunt auctoritatem, ut, sive dextra doceant, sive sinistra, id est, sive bona, sive mala, nolint discipulos ratione discutere, sed se prœcessores sequi*[2]: "These men take so much upon themselves, that, whether they teach with the right hand or with the left, that is to say, whether they teach good things or bad, they will not have their hearers or learners to inquire causes wherefore they should do this or that, but only to follow them, being their leaders."

Hieron. in Esai. Lib. ix. cap. xxx.

But beware, I beseech thee, good christian reader. A simple eye is soon beguiled. It is very coarse wool that will take no colour. It is a desperate cause that with words and eloquence may not be smoothed. Be not deceived. Remember of what matters, and with what adversaries, thou hast to deal. With fear and reverence be careful of thine own salvation. Lay down all affection and favour of parties. Judge justly of that shall be alleged. Unless thou know, thou canst not judge: unless thou hear both sides, thou canst not know. If thou like ought, know why thou likest it. A wise man in each thing will search the cause. He that cannot judge gold by sound or in sight, yet may try it by the poise. If thou canst not weigh these matters for want of learning, yet, so sensible and so gross they are, thou mayest feel them with thy fingers. Thou mayest soon find a difference between gold and brass; between Jacob and Esau; between a face and a vizard; between a full body and an empty shadow.

Say not thou art settled in thy belief, before thou know it. Vain faith is no faith. St Augustine's counsel is good: "Believe no more of Christ than Christ hath willed thee to believe:" *Nemo de Christo credat, nisi quod de se credi voluit Christus*[3]. Likewise he saith: *Fides stulta non prodest, sed obest*[4]: "Fond faith is hurtful, and doth no good." St Hilary saith: *Non minus est, Deum fingere, quam negare*[5]: "To devise fantasies[6] of God, it is as horrible as[7] to say there is no

August. de Temp. Serm. 145. August. in Quæst. Vet. Test. Quæst. 43. Hilar. in Psal. i.

[1 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IX. in Isai. Proph. cap. XXX. Tom. III. col. 258; where *qui tantam, seu dextera*, and *seu sinistra*.]

[3 Nemo credat de Christo, nisi &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cexxxvii. 4. Tom. V. col. 995.]

[4 ...cum constet fidem stultam non solum minime prodesse, sed obesse.—Id. Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. xliii. Tom. III. Append. col. 56. This work is not genuine.]

[5 ...non minoris impietatis esse, Deum &c.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. i. 3. col. 18.]

[6 Fancies, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Is, 1611.]

God." The ancient father Tertullian, speaking of the enemies of the cross of Christ, that disdained to submit their wills to the will of God, saith thus: *Amant ignorare, cum alii gaudeant cognovisse!... Malunt nescire, quod jam oderunt. Adeo quod nesciunt, præjudicant id esse, quod, si scirent, odisse non possent*[8]: "They desire to be ignorant; whereas other folks desire to know. They would not know the truth, because they hate it. (Whatsoever it be) they imagine it to be the same thing that they hate. But, if they knew it indeed, they could not hate it." Tertul. in Apolog.

Let reason lead thee: let authority move thee: let truth enforce thee.

The wise man saith: "Whoso feareth the Lord will not be wilful against his word." God of his mercy confound all errors, give the victory to his truth, and glory to his holy name! Amen. Ecclus. ii.

From London, 17 *Octobris*, 1567.

[[8] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 1. p. 2; where *quia jam* and *sciant odisse non poterant.*]

A PREFACE TO THE READER,

CONTAINING

THE CAUSES OF THIS NEW IMPRESSION[1].

Good christian reader, I doubt not but the very title and first entry of M. Harding's last book is sufficient to astonne thy senses. For thus he beginneth: "A Detection of Lies, Cavils, Slanders, &c.[2]" As if Hercules Furens, or Ajax Mastigophorus, were newly turned into English. If I should quit him, either with number of books, or with courtesy of speech, I should be like unto him, and
1. encumber the world with needless labours. Wherefore, being moved eftsoons to print my late book, intituled, "The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England," I thought it good, by a short augmentation, to discharge all such quarrels as M. Harding in his said "Detection" hath moved against certain parcels of the same, and therein to use such temperance of words, not as may best answer M. Harding's eloquence, but as may be comely for the cause.

Now, if thou shalt vouchsafe to examine our doings, I beseech thee to judge uprightly, and not to suffer thyself[3] by shews and shifts to be beguiled. What man would seem to deal so plainly as a juggler? He will strike up his sleeves, and make bare his arms, and open his hands and fingers, and lay all things before thee, and bid thee behold; and thou wilt think him to be a good plain man, and marvel that thou shouldest possibly be deceived. And yet, indeed, his whole skill and seeking is nothing else but to deceive thee; and the more simply and plainly he would seem to deal, so much the sooner he will deceive thee: otherwise he were no juggler. Thou shalt think thou seest all, and yet seest nothing. Thou shalt think thou feelest it sensibly with thy fingers, that thou holdest it fast, and canst not lose[4] it; and yet shalt thou open thy hands, and find nothing. So easy a thing it is to inveigle thy senses.

When thou hearest a counsellor pleading for his client at the bar, perhaps thou wilt think it is all law that he speaketh, and that the case is plain, and nothing to be said to the contrary. But, when another counsellor shall stand forth, and reply against him, and rip up his tale, and weigh his reasons, and disclose the errors and weakness of his pleading, then wilt thou begin to mislike that thou likedst before, and wonder at thine own simplicity that ever thou wert[5] so fond to believe the former. Yea, the judge himself, notwithstanding upon some good likelihood of the cause he be inclined to favour the one side, yet sometimes, by weight and force of better reason, he changeth his opinion, and giveth sentence with the other. There is great darkness in man's wisdom. Oftentimes it is true that we take to be false. Our fantasy is no right measure of God's causes.

But M. Harding telleth thee that I falsify all that I take in hand; that I forge and counterfeit, and leave out either the beginning, or the middle, or the end, and report nothing as I find it; briefly, that all my writings are fraught[6] with lies. It is no hard matter for M. Harding thus to say: it were more marvel if
2. he would say otherwise. Chrysostom saith: *Qui mendax est, neminem putat verum dicere*[7]. He is a party, and would be loth to yield to any thing against himself.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 19.

[1 This preface appeared first in the edition of 1570.]

[2 This book was called "A Detection of Sundrie foule errovrs, lies, sclavnders, corrvptions, and other false dealinges, touching doctrine, and other matters, vttered and practized by M. Iewel, in a booke lately by him set foorth entituled, A Defence of the Apologie, &c. By Thomas Harding Doctor of Diuinitie." Lovanii. 1568.]

[3 Theeself, 1570.]

[4 Loose, 1570.]

[5 Were, 1570.]

[6 Freight, 1570.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. vii. Hom. xix. Tom. VI. p. xcvii.; where *dicere veritatem.*]

For thy better satisfaction in these cases, good reader, I have here laid forth before thee a few such examples as wherein M. Harding would seem to have found most advantage. This have I done in as few words and as briefly as the cause would bear; and yet, I trust, so openly and so plainly that thou mayest easily see the truth and uprightness of his dealing. And, although perhaps thou be his friend, and, for some particular affection, wish favourably unto his side, yet I will not refuse to make thee judge between us both.

First, therefore, to begin with that thing whereof M. Harding, and certain his well-willers, have made greatest triumph: Where I say that one Eupsychius, being within holy orders, and the bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, married a wife, and shortly after, being as yet but newly married, was put to death for the name of Christ, and died a martyr, M. Harding hereunto answereth thus: "M. Jewel most falsely corrupteth the reporter of this story. Behold the falsehood[8] of this man: Sozomenus nameth him Εὐψύχιον Καισαρέα Καππάδωκον τῶν εὐπατριδῶν: as much as, 'Eupsychius, one of the lords or one of the nobility of the city of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.' M. Jewel was so bold to falsify the place, and to put in of his own this word *episcopum*, to help his matter. Thus he taketh upon him to make him a bishop who was a layman, as well a bishop as he himself is," &c. Herein therefore, good reader, standeth the strife. I say Eupsychius was a bishop: M. Harding saith he was a mere layman, and no bishop. The issue is this, whether this Eupsychius were a bishop or no. And, as thou shalt find him true herein, so mayest thou trust him in the rest. First, in the second council of Nice this self-same Eupsychius is called *Eupsychius presbyter Cæsareæ*[9]: "Eupsychius, a priest of the church of Cæsarea." Here mayest thou see that Eupsychius was a priest, that is, I trow, somewhat more than a mere layman, and in some possibility to be a bishop, all M. Harding's waste words of lords and noblemen notwithstanding. If this authority suffice him not, let him further be advised by that ancient and godly-learned father Athanasius, whom Socrates called[10] the great star of Egypt[11]. He will tell him by plain words, that Eupsychius, and this self-same Eupsychius, in very deed was a bishop. Thus he saith of him: *Scripta Leontii et Eupsychii, episcoporum Cappadociæ*[12]: "The writings of Leontius and Eupsychius, bishops of the kingdom of Cappadocia." Mark, good reader, and tell M. Harding, Athanasius saith not, Eupsychius the lord or nobleman, but Eupsychius the bishop. He was the bishop of Cæsarea; and Cæsarea was the chief city of Cappadocia. This is plain dealing. I lead thee not about, as M. Harding doth, with conjectures and guesses. I shew thee by express and plain words, that Eupsychius was a bishop, and that I prove by sufficient authority of ancient fathers. Here thou hast the same country Cappadocia, the same city of Cæsarea, the same time of persecution under Julianus Apostata, the same man, the same martyr, and the same name. If this be true, as indeed it is, what mayest thou then think of M. Harding, that saith it is false? what mayest thou then think of him that so boldly telleth thee that this Eupsychius was never neither bishop of Cæsarea nor of any other place else; no, not so much as a priest or deacon or subdeacon[13]? What mayest thou then think of him that blusheth not thus vainly to blot his papers, and thus to tell the world, "M. Jewel hath fathered a shameful lie upon Cassiodorus: M. Jewel hath belied and falsified Sozomenus and his translator?" What mayest thou then think of him that so impatiently crieth out without cause, "Fie upon such shameless liars: O lamentable state, where the people of God is compelled to hear such prophets?" It were better for M. Harding to be wise and sober than thus to fare.

M. Hard. in Præf. ad Lect. ***iii.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6. p. 582.

Socrat. Lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

Athanas. in Orat. I. contr. Arian.

M. Hard. Detect. fol. 302. a.

M. Hard. Detect. fol. 185. a.

Whereas against the inordinate ambition and pride of the bishops of Rome I allege these words out of the book called *Opus Imperfectum*, bearing the name of Chrysostom, "Whoso desireth primacy in earth shall in heaven find confusion;" M. Harding answereth, "These words are not neither in *Opere Imperfecto*, nor in

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[8 Falsehead, 1570.]

[9 ...alia enim docet [Athanasius] in dogmatica ad Eupsychium presbyterum Cæsareæ epistola.—Synod. Nic. Sec. Act. Sext. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 582.]

[10 Calleth, 1570.]

[11 Τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁ ἅγιος φωστὴρ Ἀθανάσιος.—Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. p. 194.]

[12 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Episc. Ægypt. et Lib. Epist. Contr. Arian. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 278.]

[13 Or a deacon, or a subdeacon, 1570.]

any other book of Chrysostom: Chrysostom hath no such saying. It is a forgery; and that you know well enough; yet ye are not ashamed to deceive the ignorant." Here have we a very peremptory negative boldly presumed. And a man would think that a doctor of divinity would not so stoutly warrant a matter, unless he knew it; for so perhaps he might be found ignorant, and be deceived. But, good reader, if thou happen at any time to have access unto him, I beseech thee, even as thou hast affiance in his word, and tenderest his credit, desire him to open his book called *Opus Imperfectum*, and to turn to the five and thirtieth[1] homily of the same. There shalt thou find these self-same words which

3. he so constantly telleth thee can never be found in all the world: *Quicunque... desideraverit primatum in terra, inveniet in cœlo confusionem*[2]: "Whosoever ambitiously desireth primacy in earth, he in heaven shall find confusion." These words, I say, M. Harding shall find, not only in his own Gratian, which thing unto him had been sufficient, but also in the author himself. Ask him therefore what he meant, so out of season to talk of forgery. Ask him what so heinous offence M. Jewel hath committed herein, whereof he ought to be ashamed.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 35. Dist. 40. Multi.

4. Where I say, pope Zosimus, the better to maintain his ambitious claim, corrupted the holy council of Nice, M. Harding answereth: "Never did any honest man say so from the beginning of the world." Good reader, I beseech thee, even for the truth's sake, hearken advisedly what I shall say. The case is clear; thus it standeth: About eleven hundred years ago pope Zosimus began to claim superiority and jurisdiction over all the churches and bishops of Africa. The bishops of that country, to the number of two hundred and seventeen, assembled together in the African council, misliked the strangeness of his attempt, and openly refused him, and told him plainly they knew of no such authority that he had over them. Pope Zosimus, for his warrant, alleged a decree or canon, that he himself, or some other his predecessor, had forged under the name of the council of Nice. The bishops answered him, that they themselves also had copies of the same Nicene council; but any such canon, touching such superiority of the pope, they found none there. The pope said their copies were corrupted; and they said the like of the pope's. For trial of the matter, they agreed together to send unto the most famous churches of all the east, unto Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch; and from thence they received the true copies of the Greek originals, under the authentical seals of the patriarchs there: by conference whereof it was evident unto all the world, that the pope's only copy disagreed from all the rest, and was foully corrupted to serve his turn; and so consequently, that the pope was a falsifier and a forger of councils. Thus standeth the very true story of this whole matter, as it is evident by the council of Africa[3].

M. Hard. Detect. fol. 249. a.

Concil. Aphric. cap. cii. ciii. in Græc. p. 82.

And therefore Marcus the archbishop of Ephesus, together with Josephus the patriarch of Constantinople, Bessarion the archbishop of Nice, and Isidorus the metropolitan of Syria, with others more, archbishops and metropolitans of great provinces and countries, and a great number of other inferior bishops, said thus openly in the late council of Florence, by way of protestation against the pope: *Nonne vides, reverende pater, summum pontificem (Zosimum) falsum decretum, et non in synodo promulgatum, ad tantum concilium pro re tam magna misisse*[4]? "And see you not, reverend father, that pope Zosimus, being then the highest bishop, for a[5] matter of great weight, sent unto that worthy council of Africa a false or a falsified canon, such as never was published in the council of Nice?" Bid M. Harding mark well these words. "This canon," say they, "is false and falsified, and such as never was decreed in the council of Nice." As if they would say, Will you bear us down or advance[6] your authority by this canon? It is well known to be a forgery. What can there be more plainly spoken? They say expressly, even as we say, this new canon was forged and

Concil. Florent. Sess. 20.

[1 Thirty, 1570.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. xx. Hom. xxxv. Tom. VI. p. cliii.; where *desiderat*, and *confusionem in cœlo*.

Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 198.]

[3 Concil. Aphric. capp. 102, 3. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 521. These two chapters contain the replies of Cyril of Alexandria and Atticus of Constantinople to the African bishops.]

[4 Gen. VIII. Synod. Florent. Sess. xx. in eod. Tom. III. p. 440; where *pater reverende*, and *decretum falsum*.]

[5 1570 omits *a*.]

[6 Avaunce, 1570.]

falsified, and that either by pope Zosimus, or by some other pope his predecessor. And yet can M. Harding so sadly tell us that "never honest man said so from the beginning of the world?" Or can he make us believe, that of all these metropolitans, archbishops, and patriarchs in the council of Florence, and of the other two hundred and seventeen bishops in the council of Africa, among whom was Alypius and St Augustine, there was not one honest man? D. Tonstal, in his sermon pronounced openly before king Henry, disclosed and reproved the same [7]falsehood[8]. Likewise Dr Redman in open writing acknowledged and confessed the same; yet were they not unhonest men.

Whereas I say, "It was specially provided by the council of Carthage that the bishop of Rome should not be called the universal bishop," *Ne Romanus episcopus appelletur universalis*[9]; M. Harding answereth, "A shameless man: an impudent glosser: three impudent lies: these be not the words of the council of Carthage: they are to be referred to the third part of the distinction that followeth afterward." If these be not the words of the council of Carthage, yet at least they are Gratian's words, reporting the words of the council of Carthage. Verily, whose words soever it shall please M. Harding to make them, by his own confession they are none of mine. The words be plain: *Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus episcopus appelletur:* "Let not the bishop of Rome himself be called the universal bishop." And this, saith M. Harding, is the very meaning of pope Pelagius, that followeth next afterward in the same distinction. Now if these be the express and plain words of Gratian; if they be eftsoons uttered, and confirmed by the gloss; if by implication and meaning they be the words of the council of Carthage, and of pope Pelagius; to be short, if they be no words of mine; was not then M. Harding well occupied, so vainly to cry out, "Three impudent lies: a shameless man: an impudent glosser?" A sober man would be better advised what he speaketh.

M. Hard. fol. 190. b. 191. a.

Dist. 99. Primæ.

Where I say, pope Liberius was an Arian heretic; M. Harding answereth, "Or else ye are an errant slanderous liar." Judge thou between us indifferently, good christian reader; and let the "liar" have his meed. This is not my judgment of pope Liberius: it is written and reported by sundry others, even by such as M. Harding may not justly condemn for "errant liars." Here will I speak nothing of St Hierome: for M. Harding utterly refuseth his judgment in this behalf, and saith, he was much deceived. Howbeit, "errant liar," I trow, he will not call him, for his authority's sake. But Sabellicus saith: *Liberius, ut quidam scribunt, ex confesso factus est Arianus*[10]: "Pope Liberius, as some men say, by open profession became an Arian." Alphonsus de Castro saith in plain words: *De Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum*[11]: "As for pope Liberius, it is well known he was an Arian heretic." The same is avouched by Rhegino, by Platina, by cardinal Cusanus, by Anselmus Rid, and by others, as afterward it shall be alleged in place convenient more at large. All these, and others more, have reported that pope Liberius was an heretic. Therefore, good reader, bid M. Harding to be better advised, what and how many they be whom he so rashly condemneth for "errant liars."

M. Hard. fol. 249. b.

M. Hard. Conf. Par. vi. cap. v. Dist. 2.

Sabell. Ennead. 7. Lib. viii.

Alfons. contr. Hær. Lib. i. cap iv.

Whereas I say, Pope Cœlestinus was a Nestorian heretic; M. Harding answereth, "Who ever heard such an impudent man? a most impudent liar: a wicked slanderer." All this vain wind is soon blown over. Laurentius Valla, a canon of the church of Rome, saith thus: *Papa Cœlestinus sensit cum hæretico Nestorio*[12]: "Pope Cœlestinus agreed in judgment with the heretic Nestorius." Now judge thou, good christian reader, who is "impudent," and who is a "liar;" and bid M. Harding to construe these words, and to be better assured before he speak: for rash judgment argueth some folly.

M. Hard. Detect. fol. 253. b.

Laur. Vall. de Don. Const.

Where I say, pope Bonifacius II. condemned St Augustine, and all the whole

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[7 Falsehead, 1570.]

[8 Tonstal, Sermon made vpon Palme Sondaye, Lond. 1539. foll. D v. vi.]

[9 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcix. can. 3. col. 479; where *Romanus pontifex*. Conf. Vol. I. page 355, note 12, and page 425, notes 7, 8.]

[10 ...ex confesso Arrianus: ut quidam scribunt: est factus.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. VII. Lib. viii. Pars II. fol. 218.]

[11 Alfons. de Castr. Adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8.]

[12 ...ut Celestinum, quod cum Nestorio hæretico sentiret.—Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. In Don. Const. Declam. p. 762.]

council of Africa, and said they were all led by the devil, for that they withstood the ambition of the church of Rome; M. Harding answereth, "Here is Bonifacius II. foully belied: it is an impudent lie: this man is not ashamed to lie: pope Bonifacius II. never condemned St Augustine by name, nor the council of Africa by any solemn sentence." A man would think so many great words should bear some weight. How solemn the pope was in his sentence, it forceth not greatly. Certain it is he condemned Aurelius the bishop of Carthage, with all others his fellow-bishops, and said they were all enticed and led by the devil; and one of his said fellow-bishops was St Augustine the bishop of Hippo, as it is most evident by the subscription of the council of Africa. The words of the said pope Bonifacius be these: *Aurelius... Carthaginensis ecclesiæ olim episcopus, cum collegis suis, instigante diabolo, superbire... cœpit contra Romanam ecclesiam*[1]. Therefore, good reader, once again thou mayest tell M. Harding, that pope Bonifacius the second indeed and undoubtedly condemned St Augustine, and said he was led by the devil, only for that he would not yield to his predecessor's ambitious folly. This is neither impudency nor lie, but manifest truth.

M. Hard. Detect. fol. 172. a.

Bonifac. II. Epist. ad Eulal.

Where I[2] say, your fathers in the council of Basil, and your friends in the late council of Trident, yielded and gave place to the Bohemians, and to[3] such others as you call heretics; M. Harding answereth, "This lie is so clear and so evident, that our confutation is needless." Whether this lie be so clear and so evident as here it is told us, or whether it be any lie at all, let M. Harding himself be the judge. In the council of Basil it is written thus: *Indultum liberationis communionis sub utraque specie*[4]: "The grant of delivering the communion under both kinds." The like thing M. Harding might have found recorded by cardinal Cusanus, that was present at the council of Basil: for thus he writeth to the Bohemians: *Scribitis, nos compactionis ignorare*[5]: "Ye say that we know not the agreement or composition." Where also he expressly maketh mention of that parcel of the agreement, wherein the liberty of the communion under both kinds was contained, and calleth it *caput de libertate communionis*[6]. Ask therefore M. Harding, what clear eyes he had to see this lie to be so evident.

M. Hard. fol. 98. a.

Concil. Tom. III. In Ap. Concil. Basil. p. 243. Hæc Sanctus.

Nic. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.

Where I say, "The gospel was preached in this realm, either, as Theodoretus saith, by St Paul the apostle passing this way into Spain, or by Simon Zelotes, as saith Nicephorus;" M. Harding answereth, "Here M. Jewel extremely belieth Theodoretus and Nicephorus." Good reader, notwithstanding the report hereof were untrue, yet, as thou seest, it containeth not any such extremity or horror of lying. Whether St Paul were here or no, it is no article of our faith. We may well either receive it or refuse it without danger. It were great folly to be over earnest in so small a matter.

M. Hard. fol. 83. b.

Howbeit, touching St Paul's being and preaching within this realm, three learned men of our time, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Johannes Wigandus, and Matthæus Judex have written thus: *Theodoretus libro nono de curandis Græcorum affectibus indicat Paulum, e priori captivitate Roma dimissum, Britannis et aliis in occidente evangelium prædicasse. Idem fere tradit Sophronius Hierosolymitanus patriarcha*[7]: "Theodoretus, in his ninth book *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, sheweth us that St Paul, being set at liberty after his first imprisonment in Rome, preached the gospel to the people of the island of Britain (now called England), and to other nations of the west." But perhaps M. Harding will yield small credit to these three men, notwithstanding their learning. Therefore, for his better satisfaction, may it like him rather to believe Theodoretus himself. These be his words: *Nostri illi piscatores, et publicani, sutorque ille noster (Paulus) cunctis nationibus legem evangelicam detulerunt: neque solum Romanos, quique sub Romano vivunt imperio, sed Scythas quoque et Sauromatas,*

Cent. 1. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

[1 Bonifac. II. Epist. ad Eulal. Alex. Episc. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 1058; where *contra ecclesiam Romanam cœpit.*]

[2 Where as I, 1570.]

[3 Unto, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Resp. fact. Ambas. Imp. in Concil. Basil. Append. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. III. p. 243.]

[5 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. vi. Tom. II. p. 850; where *compactiones.*]

[6 Id. ibid.; where *in capite.*]

[7 Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1564-74. Cent. I. Lib. II. cap. ii. col. 23.]

Indos præterea, Æthiopes[8], *Persas, Seras, Hyrcanos, Britannos, Cimmerios, et Germanos, utque semel dicam, omne hominum genus nationesque omnes induxerunt crucifixi leges*[9] *accipere*[10]*:* "Our fishers and publicans (that were the apostles) and our cobbler (St Paul) carried the law of the gospel to all nations. And they forced, not only the Romans, and others living under the Roman empire, but also the Tartarians, the Sarmatians or Polonians, the Indians, the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Serians, the Hyrcanians, the people of Britain (now called England), the Cimmerians, and the Germans, and to be short, all kinds and nations of men, to receive the laws of Christ crucified." Here have we the people of Britain: here have we St Paul the apostle, whom Theodoretus calleth a cobbler, for that by his occupation he sewed skins together to make tents. I see what may be M. Harding's answer. But if he will say, St Paul came never into this island, then let him tell us what other of the apostles came ever hither: for that one of them came hither, and here preached the gospel, by Theodoretus' words it seemeth evident. Acts xviii.

Touching Simon Zelotes, Nicephorus saith thus: *Simon Zelotes doctrinam evangelii ad occidentalium oceanum insulasque Britannicas perfert*[11]. Therefore for M. Harding so vainly and so uncivilly to cry out in so light a matter without cause, I will not call it extreme lying: but verily some man may well call it extreme folly. Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. xl.

Whereas I say, pope Hildebrand, as he was charged by the council of Brixia, was an advouterer, a church-robber, a perjured man, a man-killer, a sorcerer, and a renegate of the faith; M. Harding answereth, "I know that you lie, I may say it, saving my charity rather than your worship: for pope Hildebrand was a very holy man. You shall find yourself a liar, and pope Hildebrand a virtuous man." Mark this thing, I beseech thee, good reader: in all this whole place, touching pope Hildebrand, I allege not one word of mine own, but only report the words of the council of Brixia. Be the report of the council true or false, certainly my report is true; for I report only that I find. The council in most plain wise calleth pope Hildebrand [*virum*] *procacissimum, sacrilegia et incendia prædicantem, perjuria et homicidia defendentem:... hæretici Berengarii antiquum discipulum, divinationum et insomniorum cultorem, manifestum necromanticum, Pythonico spiritu laborantem, et... a vera fide exorbitantem*[12]. If thou doubt the credit of this council, Nauclerus, Lambertus Scaphnaburgensis, Anselmus Rid, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, and others have confirmed the same. M. Hard. fol. 256. b. Abbas Ursper.

Nauclerus hereof writeth thus: "The clergy said, that pope Hildebrand had defiled the apostolic see with simony, heresy, murder, and advoutery; that he was a renegate, and had forsaken the faith of Christ; and that therefore he was for good causes and justly excommunicate by all the bishops of Italy[13]. Naucler. Gen. xxxvi.

Sigebertus Gemblacensis saith: "Pope Hildebrand in his time troubled all the states of Christendom, and for his outrage and cruelty being banished, and driven out of Rome, in the end, when he saw death approach, he made his confession to one of his cardinals, that he had abused his pastoral office, and that he had troubled mankind with malice and mischief, by the counsel and procurement of the devil[14]. Sigebert. Gemblac. Se, suadente diabolo, contra humanum genus odium et iram concitasse.

All this notwithstanding, M. Harding saith, "pope Hildebrand was a very virtuous and a holy man;" and so constantly telleth us, "I know that you lie: you shall find yourself to be a liar."

Whereas I allege a dialogue of Anselmus, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, to prove that in his time it was not thought unlawful for priests to marry,

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[8 Æthiopas, 1570.]

[9 Legis, 1611.]

[10 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. ix. Tom. IV. p. 610.]

[11 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. II. cap. xl. Tom. I. p. 202.]

[12 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 237; where *ac incendia*, and *ac somniorum*.]

[13 ...fremere omnes...cœperunt...se execrationem papæ nihili æstimare, quem omnes Italiæ episcopi justis ex causis jam pridem excommunicassent, qui sedem apostolicam per simoniacam hæresim fœdasset, homicidiis cruentasset, adulteriis aliisque capitalibus polluisset, &c.—Naucler. Memor. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. xxxvi. fol. 159.]

[14 Hildebrandus papa, qui et Gregorius septimus, apud Salernum exulans moritur. De hoc ita scriptum repperi...nunc in extremis positus ad se vocavit unum de duodecim cardinalibus...et confessus est... se valde peccasse in pastorali cura...et suadente, &c. —Sigebert. Gemblac. Chronic. Par. 1513. fol. 100. 2.]

M. Hard. fol. 308. a. b. their holy orders notwithstanding; M. Harding answereth, "This is none of Anselmus'[1] dialogues: it is a riffraff: it is a forgery: I will not call it plain lying." Good reader, here M. Harding over boldly presumeth, as his wont is, before he know. If he knew more, he would say less. Indeed it is one of Anselm's dialogues. I have seen it and read it in authentical copies; as otherwhere I have proved more at large. And the words of the said dialogue are

Pag. 564. et 565[2]. even as I have alleged them: *Desideramus certificari tua solutione super vulgari toto orbe quæstione, quæ ab omnibus pene quotidie ventilatur, et adhuc lis celatur indiscussa, An liceat presbyteris post acceptum ordinem uxores ducere*[3]: "Whether it be lawful for priests, being in orders, to marry wives or no." And

5. this question, saith he, at that time, that is to say, in the days of king Henry

An. Dom. 1109. the first, was beaten and disputed throughout the whole world, and yet lay still undiscussed. If M. Harding had been better informed, he would not have called this either riffraff, or plain lying. But oftentimes he is hardiest man to speak that hath least to say.

Last of all, whereas I allege an authority of Damasus, taken out of Gratian[4], to prove that sundry popes were priests' sons; "O," saith M. Harding,

M. Hard. fol. 167. "who ever saw so impudent a man? what shall I say to this fellow? Fie for shame, man: a minister of fables: a minister of lies: foolish ignorance: shameless malice: so ignorant: so witless: how could Damasus write of so many popes so long to come after his death?"

6. So terrible is M. Harding in his dealing. But be not afraid, good reader, of all this smoke. Thou shalt see it suddenly blown all to vanity, from whence it came. First of all, as touching the very truth of the story, every of these popes by Gratian alleged was indeed a priest's son. And this only was it I

Pag. 207. had to say. And now the same I say again: every of these popes was a priest's son, not one excepted, as in place it shall be proved. What cause then had M. Harding so vainly to disquiet himself, and thus to cry out upon poor ministers of lies and fables? That I say is true; and truth is no lie, truth is no fable.

But you will say, Damasus was dead long before these popes were born: how then could he know who were their fathers? Herein I grant there is an error. But, good reader, it is Gratian's error: it is not mine. I report Gratian only as I find him. I put not to him: I take not from him. I alter not one letter of all his words. Therefore tell M. Harding, it is Gratian, his own doctor and dearling, that thus hath written. Bid him call Gratian ignorant, foolish, shameless, and witless, and what him listeth, and let him not spare. Let him

M. Hard. Conf. 340. a. hardly strike him that did him hurt. For M. Harding hath told us otherwheres, that whoso striketh one man for another is but a fool.

Thus, good christian reader, thou seest one whole jury of M. Harding's greatest untruths, wherein he reposeth his greatest trust, is clearly attainted. As he hath dealt uprightly herein, so mayest thou trust him in all the rest. By a small draught of sea-water thou mayest judge the verdure of the whole.

But, O good God, what stir keepeth M. Harding amongst other his little

M. Hard. fol. 408, 409. pretty petite quarrels! He telleth thee, I have named Johannes Camotensis for Johannes Carnotensis; and therein, as in a matter of great weight, he hath bestowed great store of void words, and four whole pages of his book. Verily, a simple trespass, whereof to ground so great a battle. It is too light a labour to strive for names. If he like not the one, let him hardly take the other.

Ghesnerus. Corn. Agrip. de Vanit. Scient. Certainly Ghesnerus, in his Epitome[5], and Cornelius Agrippa, call him plainly, as I do, Johannes Camotensis. But be it Camotensis, be it Carnotensis, or what you will, his words be even as I allege them: *In ecclesia Romana sedent*

[1 Anselmes, 1570, 1609.]

[2 The reference is to the edition of 1570. See Part v. chap. iii. div. 8.]

[3 Jewel appears to have quoted from a MS. In Anselm. Op. Par. 1675, a piece entitled *Offendiculum Sacerdotum* is printed; and the Benedictine editor observes that another MS. of it exists in Corpus Christi College library, Cambridge. It is in this last MS. that the passage is found. Further notice will be taken in the proper place.]

[4 Damas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lvi. can. 2. col. 291.]

[5 There appears to be an error in this statement. See C. Gesner. Epit. Biblioth. Tig. 1555. fol. 93. 2; where this writer is called Joannes Carnotensis. So also in Gesner, Bibliotheca Universalis, Tig. 1545. fol. 399.]

scribæ et Pharisæi. Ipse papa jam factus est intolerabilis: papæ pompam et fastum nullus tyrannorum unquam æquavit: papæ legati sic bacchantur in provinciis, ac si ad flagellandam ecclesiam Satan egressus sit a facie Domini. Vim faciunt scripturis, ut habeant plenitudinem potestatis[6]. Let M. Harding grant thus much, and use the names at his pleasure.

Again he saith, I have named Zarabella for Zabarella; Hervæus for Johannes Parisiensis; Johannes Parisiensis for Hervæus; and Petrus à Scoto for Dominicus à Scoto. He saith I allege Hervæus by chapters, whereas Hervæus is divided by certain other distinctions, and not by chapters. He saith, I have named Pius Secundus by the name of pope Pius, a year, or a month, or some certain time before he was pope. No doubt a perilous case: the man was one, and his words were one, but his name was changed. In one place he saith, I have left out *enim;* in another place I have left out *hoc;* in another place my printer hath misplaced *schemate* for *schismate;* Pigghius for Pighius; and I know not what. Such weighty causes hath M. Harding picked out to make up his tale. Hereat he lighteneth and thundereth, and shaketh sand and sea together. Hereat, and at other matters of like force, he crieth out, "Lewd wretches, Jewish, heathenish, shameless, blasphemous villains;" as if it were lawful for a doctor of Lovain to say what him listeth. If he espy any such simple oversight as I have shewed, or any sentence misalleged, or any one author misnamed, or any thing else that may be wrested from the purpose, he brayeth amain, "False ministers: false harlots: ye brag: ye boast: ye lie falsely: ye lie for advantage: ye are impudent liars: lewd lies: heaps of lies: nothing but lies, and all is lies"—with as great wisdom and discretion as did sometime Anaxagoras, the philosopher of Græcia, who, when he had seen a little pebble-stone fallen down from heaven, imagined therefore that the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the whole heavens were made of stones[7]. By these pretty posies and flowers of speech we may easily descry M. Harding from all his fellows. Howbeit, herein I trust to be so unlike unto him as he is like unto himself. Neither can our cause appear the worse in the judgment of the wise, for that M. Harding hath so good a grace to speak ill. Ill speech is not always proof sufficient of good matter. Maxentius saith: *Hæretici, cum*[8] *perversitatis suæ non possunt reddere rationem, ad maledicta convertuntur*[9]: "Heretics, when they find themselves not able to yield a reason of their wilfulness, then they fall to plain railing."

Diog. Laert.

But one thing specially much misliketh M. Harding above all the rest, that, the better to disclose the deformities and weakness of his doctrine, I have alleged so many canonists and school-doctors. For all them he weigheth no better now than Æsop's fables. And therefore he saith: "As for the gewgaws of the schoolmen and canonists, I despise them utterly." What then? Would M. Harding that we should rather allege St Augustine, St Ambrose, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, St Basil, and others the ancient and learned fathers, touching his private masses, his half communions, his dumb prayers in a tongue unknown, and other like disorders of the church of Rome? Did ever any of these fathers either receive the holy sacrament himself alone, the whole people looking on him; or minister the communion unto the people in one only kind; or say the public prayers in a strange tongue, the people not knowing what he said? Would any of these fathers ever have said, "The pope hath universal power over all the world: we all receive of the pope's fulness: the pope cannot err: the pope is above all general councils: the pope hath power over the angels of God: kings and princes hold their crowns and dominions of the pope"? Alas! these good fathers were dead many hundred years before these and other like vanities were known in the world.

Detect. 277. b.

[6 Corn. Agrip. De Vanit. Scient. Antv. 1530. De Magist. Eccles. foll. v. 4. x. Agrippa repeatedly cites the author referred to as Camotensis, and introduces the expressions quoted above with several verbal differences. Conf. De Jur. Canon. fol. n. 4. 2.]

[7 Diog. Laert. De Vit. Philos. Lib. II.]

[8 Hæreticum, 1570.]

[9 Nam quum suæ perversitatis hæretici nequiverint reddere, &c.—Maxent. ad Epist. Hormisd. Resp. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. VI. Pars I. p. 376.]

But may it not be lawful for us, with M. Harding's good favour, to allege such witnesses as best know the cause? Or was there ever any man justly reproved before any indifferent and reasonable judge for producing of honest and lawful witnesses? Or are all the school-doctors and canonists now become *intestabiles*, that is to say, so far out of credit, so infamous, and so vile, that they may not be allowed to bear witness? Whose then are they? Of whether side stand they? Are they not all M. Harding's own doctors? Is he now ashamed of his own? Are they not all sworn to the see of Rome? And what were they? What rooms bare they in the church? Were they not abbots, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, saints, and popes? Was not Panormitane an abbot? was not Albertus Magnus a bishop? was not Antoninus an archbishop? was not Holcote a cardinal? was not Cajetanus a cardinal? Is not Bonaventura a saint? is not Thomas a saint? was not Innocentius II. a pope? was not Adrianus a pope? Did not pope Gregory IX. write the Decretals? Did not pope Bonifacius VIII. write the Sextus? Did not pope Clemens write the Clementines? Did not pope Johannes XXII. and other popes write the Extravagantes? Were not these Christ's vicars? Were they not Peter's successors? Were they not the light of the world? Bare they not the keys of the kingdom of heaven? Is not Gratian called *fundamentum juris canonici*, and that even by Eugenius III. the pope himself? Were not these for the space of five hundred years together the only rulers of the church of God? Were not their words holden for laws? Were there any others better, or better learned, or at all any other doctors in the church? Of the school-doctors, was not one called Subtilis, another Solennis, another Irrefragabilis, another Angelicus, another Seraphicus? What warrant had we then of the faith of Christ, what doctrine, what sacraments, what discipline, what correction, what order, what comfort, but at their hands? How could any consistory be holden, how could any man recover his right, how could the pope himself maintain his universal power, and his triple crown, but only by them?

And yet will M. Harding suddenly condemn them all, every one, by one sentence, abbots, bishops, archbishops, decrees, decretals, cardinals, saints, and popes and all together? Will he make them all unable to bear witness? will he thus despise them, and call them gewgaws, as if they were all tinkers and cobblers, and no better?

I trow, M. Harding was not very well informed, when he suffered these things so unadvisedly to pass from him. Otherwise, to seek revenge upon his adversaries, he would not so sturdily have played Samson's part, and so rashly have crushed the pillars whereby he leaned, and have shaken down the whole house upon himself. For, I beseech thee, ask M. Harding, what hath the pope to stand unto, when the school-doctors and canonists be gone from him? What old father, what ancient doctor, what council, what scripture is there left him? What will he say to the doctors of our side, that so peremptorily and scornfully despiseth his own, and calleth them gewgaws? It might have pleased him to have suffered them as witnesses quietly to have told their tales, specially in such cases as no other man could know so well as they. For by them, and by them only, and by none else, we may see that great and horrible blindness and misery that Satan had brought into the church of God. For, although it be now removed from our eyes, yet in these canonists' and doctors' books, as in public records, it remaineth still. God's holy name be praised for ever, that of his great mercy hath delivered us by the clearness and glory of his gospel!

Verily, St Paul, to advance[1] the truth of God and to confound his enemies, thought it no reproach to take witness of the heathen poets Menander, Epimenides, and Aratus. The learned fathers Tertullian, Clemens, Eusebius, Arnobius, take witness of the godless philosophers; St Augustine of the Sibyls; Lactantius of Apollo's oracles. Yea, M. Harding himself, when he is able, and when need so requireth, is contented to take witness of Leontius, of Abdias, of Amphilochius, of Homer the Greek poet, of Priscian the poor grammarian,

[1 Avance, 1570.]

of scholastical doctors, of canonists, of decrees, of decretals, of glosses, and margins, and spareth nothing. Yet now must they be despised altogether, and go for gewgaws for children to play withal.

But we must pardon M. Harding: he dealeth indifferently, and is nothing partial. For even with like reverence he useth all[2] the ancient doctors of the church, and others of later time, that fight of his side, and are allied unto him. "Tertullian," he saith, "was an heretic, and wrote this and that in defence of his heresy." "St Cyprian," he saith, "stood in an ill cause, and defended a falsehood, and was driven to the very same shifts whereunto all heretics are driven." Again he saith: "We never took ourselves bound to any private opinion of whatsoever doctor. If in a secret point of learning St Augustine or St Cyprian teach singularly, we follow them not." "It seemeth," saith he, "St Hierome was deceived by a rumour, as being far from the places where the truth might be known." "We bind not ourselves," saith he, "to maintain whatsoever Albertus Pighius hath written." "Cardinal Cajetanus," saith he, "hath his errors: Erasmus and Agrippa be men of small credit: Alphonsus de Castro, Beatus Rhenanus, Platina, *Appendix Concilii Basiliensis*, are stuff little worth." Again, Johannes Gerson, the greatest learned man of his time, and the only doctor[3] and leader of the council of Constance, whom Trithemius calleth *theologorum sui temporis longe principem*[4], is no better than "good plain father Gerson." To be short, Nilus, a Greek writer and the archbishop of Thessalonica, if it like M. Harding, must "bear the bable[5]."

M. Hard. Detect. 238, 239. Detect. 271. b. Conf. fol. 232. b. Conf. fol. 265. b. Conf. fol. 232. b. Detect. 307. b. Detect. 307. a. Conf. 206. Detect. 225. b.

Thus we see M. Harding hath a commission to control all manner of doctors whatsoever, Greeks, Latins, old, new, his own, and others, if they come not readily to his purpose. Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *Papa Eugenius dicit, hoc verum esse, si ipse velit, et non aliter*[6]: "Pope Eugenius telleth us, this thing is true, if his holiness will have it true; and that otherwise it is not true." Such a power, I trow, M. Harding would claim unto himself, that nothing may be taken for true or false without his liking. Marcolphus will not lightly find a fit tree to hang himself on.

Nic. Cusan. de Concordant. Lib. ii. cap. xx.

But M. Harding saith, I allege great troops of doctors and other writers, but use no manner discourse of wit, as he himself doth, to enlarge my matters. As though whoso hath most words spake always best to purpose. The learned father Tertullian said sometime upon like occasion: *Rhetoricari quoque nos provocant hæretici*[7]: "These heretics would have us play the rhetoricians," to emboss out our matters with shew of words, and of a mole-hill to make a mountain, as they do. As for M. Harding, what discourses he useth, it may easily appear, by that in his last "Detection" he hath discoursed us two hundred and six whole sides of paper only in preambles and prefaces, before he once stepped into his matter. And good reason is it that, when scriptures and doctors will not serve, then discourse of wit should hold the plough. Although M. Harding want weight of matter, yet at least he hath words at will. They cost him but little. Vessels never give so great a sound as when they be empty. A courtegian of Rome will prank herself more trimly than a virtuous lady. It is an easy matter with masks, and vizards, and long discourses to fray the simple. The poor ass will roar out sometimes like a lion.

Tertull. de Resurr. Carn.

I go directly and shortly to the matter, and delight not, as M. Harding doth, to set my words to sale by discourse of speech; but think it sufficient only to allege the words and authorities of the ancient fathers. Of the other side, M. Harding out of the ancient fathers allegeth either nothing at all, or very little, or little to the purpose, but feedeth us with words enough of his own, that is to say (and let him pardon my plainness), not with the best or wisest words that might be spoken.

"The protestants," saith he, "are divided and scattered into sects and fac-

Detect. fol. 35. a.

[2 Also, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Director, 1570.]

[4 Catalog. Script. Eccles. per Joh. a Trittenheim, col. 1531, fol. 134. 2; where *princeps*.]

[5 Bable: bauble, the fool's ensign.]

[6 ...quomodo potest papa Eugenius dicere hoc &c.—Nic. de Cusa, Op. Basil. 1565. De Conc. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. xx. Tom. II. p. 749.]

[7 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resurr. Carn. 5. p. 382; where *nos rhetoricari*.]

tions, not one of them agreeing with the other. They have twenty sundry opinions touching justification; they have six and thirty opinions touching the communion in both kinds." So precisely M. Harding keepeth his reckonings. And yet perhaps, if he were called suddenly to an audit of all these six and fifty sundry opinions, he were not able to reckon four. But Master Harding may lawfully discourse at pleasure, as a man liking well his own wit, and in respect thereof misliking all others.

7. Again he saith: "The protestants have forsaken Christ: the protestants are become Jews: the protestants will be circumcised[1] according to Moses' law: the protestants require to have the paschal lamb: the protestants tell their people there is no hell at all: the protestants teach us that God is bound to obey the devil: the protestants at their next proceeding will utterly deny God." So likewise saith cardinal Poole, a man that would highly be commended for his modesty: "The protestants," saith he, "will shortly deny that Christ is Messias, the anointed of God[2]." Another of them saith with like discretion: "The protestants deny that Christ ever appeared in the flesh[3]." And again he saith: "Peter Martyr denied[4] that Christ is our Intercessor[5]." There is no tale so unlikely but by such pretty discourses it may be proved.

Detect. fol. 34. a. Detect. 33. b. Detect. 82. b. Detect. 139. a. Ad Hen. VIII. Lib. iii. Copus, Dial. vi. p. 878. Copus, Dial. iii. p. 331.

8. Again, throughout the whole discourse of all his books he telleth us, that the blessed succession of Peter shall never fail; that the pope's chair is the very knot of christian unity; that the church of Rome is the universal church of God; that the pope is the only universal governor of all the world; that the pope may not be controlled or judged by any power; that the pope is above all general councils; that the pope hath authority over the souls in purgatory, and over the angels of God; that St Augustine, St Hierome, St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, and all other the doctors and holy fathers might err, but the pope only can never err.

9. If thou tell him that many popes have erred, and shamefully erred, as it is evident and easy to prove; he will answer thee, they erred only as men, but not as popes. For the pope hath sundry capacities in one person: sometimes we must take him as a man, and sometimes as no man.

If thou tell him that popes have erred, even as they were popes; then will he answer thee, that the pope may err, and hath erred in some certain particular cause or question; but in faith or doctrine he cannot err.

If thou tell him that sundry popes have maintained open and known heresies, and therefore have undoubtedly erred in faith and doctrine; then will he tell thee that they maintained such heresies only as their own private opinions, but not as doctrine for the church. Again, if thou tell him that certain popes have published, and preached, and taught heresies, and sent abroad preachers to confirm the same; then will he tell thee that, although they preached and confirmed heresies, yet they never confirmed them by public decree and open sentence in their consistories: as if the pope's consistory were of greater weight in matter of doctrine than his pulpit.

Thus M. Harding discourseth about the fields, *a primo ad ultimum*, from error to man; from man to pope; from pope to judgment; from judgment to faith; from faith to opinion; from opinion to preaching; from preaching to decree; and so from one thing to another: and, whereas one thing will not serve, by discourse of wit he seeketh a better.

All these songs he sang us before, in his "Answer," in his "Rejoinder," and in his "Confutation;" and now, when all is done, as a silly[6] minstrel is fain

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[1 Circumcided, 1570.]

[2 Quid reliquum est nisi ut Judæorum quoque, qui nunc vivunt, exemplo suadeant, ut Christum ipsum Messiam fuisse neges [Anglia]? qua quidem impietate non ita certe multum absunt.—Reg. Pol. ad Henric. Octav. Pro Eccles. Unit. Def. Libr. Quat. Ingolst. 1587. Lib. III. p. 350.]

[3 Omnes evangelici pseudomartyres negant Christum in carne venisse.—Copi (N. Harpsfield) Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. VI. cap. XXI. p. 878. This is the marginal note, being a summary of what is asserted in the text.]

[4 Denieth, 1570.]

[5 Petrus item Martyr, ut refert Bartholomeus Camerarius, negat Christum deprecatorem nostrum esse.—Id. Dial. III. cap. vii. p. 331.]

[6 Seely, 1570.]

to fall to discoursing, and to sing the same about again: otherwise he should lack work for his printer.

To shadow the notorious ambition of the church of Rome, openly condemned in the great council of Africa, and called "the smoky pomp" of the world, either ignorantly or guilefully he corrupteth the plain text, and turneth *petentes* into *potentes*[7], that is to say, he turneth poor "suitors" into "princes." Good reader, turn to the place, and consider the answer that I have made hereto; and then ask of M. Harding, what discourse or what wit was this to corrupt his translation, to falsify the sense, to turn *pe* into *po*, and one word into another? Ask of him, what he meant with so sensible forgery to seek to mock thee.

Quibuscunque petentibus. Quibuscunque potentibus. τινῶν αἰτούντων. p. 123. [Part II. chap. iii. Div. 5.]

Again, whereas St Basil writeth thus unto Athanasius the patriarch of Alexandria, *Visum est utile, ut scribatur ad episcopum Romanum, ut consideret res nostras, et det consilium*[8], "It seemeth good we write to the bishop of Rome, that he consider of our case, and give us counsel;" M. Harding by his proper discoursings hath thought it better thus to English the same words: "It hath seemed good that we write to the bishop of Rome, that he visit us, and determine the matter by his sentence." "That the bishop of Rome consider our case," saith St Basil; "That the bishop of Rome visit us," saith M. Harding: "That the bishop of Rome give us counsel what we may do," saith St Basil; "That the bishop of Rome determine the matter by his sentence," saith M. Harding. Thus by his discoursing he hath changed "considering" into "visiting," and "giving of counsel" into "sentence in judgment."

Basil. in Epist. ad Athanas. M. Hard. Detect. 179. b. Def. 129. [Part II. chap. iii. Div. 5.] Ut consideret res nostras. Ut det consilium.

But ask him, I pray thee, what discourse of wit moved him to change all the Latin translations of St Basil that ever he saw, and to forge us a new translation of his own. Ask him wherefore this Greek word ἐπισκέπτομαι may not well be Englished "to consider." Ask him wherefore these Greek words δοῦναι γνώμην may not well be Englished "to give counsel." Ask him where he ever read in any allowed Greek writer these words δοῦναι γνώμην used for "a decree," or "sentence in judgment." Ask him what made him so bold to shape us new Greek words of his own, such as no Grecian ever heard before. Ἐπισκέψαι, saith M. Harding, and again ἐπισκέψαι, twice together in one place. But bid him leave his long discourses and shews of wit, and plainly to tell thee, even as he will be counted a Grecian, in what historiographer, in what orator, in what philosopher, in what poet, he ever heard of this word ἐπισκέψαι. Tell him, good reader, tell him this verb is not ἐπισκέπτω, as he imagineth, but ἐπισκέπτομαι. And bid him not to trust to his dictionary, for it will deceive him. Ἐπισκέπτομαι, I say, is the original verb, and not ἐπισκέπτω. And therefore the first indefinite is not ἐπισκέψαι, as M. Harding telleth thee, but ἐπισκέψασθαι. It was sufficient for him to mock thee with Latin and English; but of himself to devise new Greek words and new grammars wherewith to mock thee, it was too much.

By his discourses he is able to defend these words of Hostiensis: *Deus et papa faciunt unum consistorium: excepto peccato, papa potest quasi omnia facere, quæ potest Deus*[9]: "God and the pope have one judgment-seat; and, sin only excepted, the pope can do in a manner all things that God can do." Whereby, I trow, is meant that, as God is omnipotent, so in a manner is the pope.

Detect. 67. Defence.

By his discourses he is able to defend that most horrible and blasphemous prayer devised and used in the church of Rome, *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem*[10], *&c.*, to the manifest prejudice and derogation of the blood of Christ. By his discourses he is able to defend these words of Catharinus, lately pronounced in the council of Trident, "Our lady is Christ's most faithful fellow[11];" making a creature equal and fellow with Christ the Creator, which is God blessed for ever.

Detect. 358.

[7 Concil. Aphric. cap. 105. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 521; where the reading is *quibusque potentibus;* but Jewel in the place he refers to blames Crabbe, and produces authority for his own reading.]

[8 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Athanas. Episc. Alex. Epist. lxix. Tom. III. p. 162.]

[9 Ergo consistorium Dei et papæ unum et idem est censendum...et breviter excepto peccato quasi omnia de jure potest ut Deus.—Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Sup. Prim. Decretal. De Transl. Episc. fol. 75. 2.]

[10 Portifor. seu Breviar. ad us. Eccles. Sarisb. Par. 1510. In Translat. S. Thom. Mart. vii. Jul. Lect. ix. fol cc. 7. See Vol. II. page 1082, note 4.]

[11 Ambros. Catharin. Polit. Orat. in sec. Sess.

To be short, by his discourses he is well able to defend these most vile and filthy words touching priests' concubines, uttered to most vile and filthy purpose: *Si non caste, tamen caute*[1]: "If they cannot live chastely, yet let them deal charily." "The circumstance considered," saith M. Harding, "all this may seem to be well and discreetly (and chastely) said, and to give us very good counsel." O merciful God! whither will M. Harding lead us at last with his discourses? Such discreet and wholesome counsel he might have learned of Micio in the heathen comedy; for thus he saith: *Non est flagitium, mihi crede, adolescentem scortari*[2].

Detect. fol. 399. b. 400.

Yet further to prove that he hath a ready wit to course at pleasure, he saith unto us frankly, and by way of grant: What if some have written that poison was ministered in the blessed sacrament? What if the pope suffered Franciscus Dandalus, the Venetians' ambassador, to lie under his table like a dog while he was at dinner? What if popes have suffered great princes and monarchs to kiss their feet, to hold their stirrups, and to lead their horses? What if pope Alexander used Frederic the emperor more proudly than became a man of his calling, treading him down to the ground, and setting his foot on his neck? Be these things never so true, never so tyrannical, and never so horrible, yet, if M. Harding once say, What if, by discourse of his wit they may soon be salved.

M. Harding in his Preface to the Reader.

By such discourses he is able to prove his private masses, his demi-communions, his primacies, his pardons, his purgatories, and what thing soever shall come to hand. When scriptures fail, then discourse of wit must come in place; and, when wit and discourse will not serve, then good plain round railing must serve the turn. Then saith he: "Ye are proud, ye are Lucifer-like, ye serve the devil." Then he telleth the world, "M. Jewel is worse than Ananias that condemned St Paul: M. Jewel playeth the part of antichrist: M. Jewel is the open enemy of the church: M. Jewel is the enemy of God: M. Jewel honoureth that idol Calvin more than Jesus Christ: M. Jewel is Messias: M. Jewel is Christ: M. Jewel is better than Christ." Then he discourseth and flingeth now at his Lutherans; now at his Huguenots; now at Brown; now at the puritans; now at Bale; now at Illyricus.

M. Hard. Detect. 39. b. Detect. 210. 245.

Detect. 40. Detect. 359. Detect. 210.

Detect. 212.

Thus he jumpeth and courseth this way and that way, as a man roving without a mark, or a ship fleeting without a rither[3]. Thus he sheweth us a mountain of words without substance, and a house full of smoke without fire; and imagineth that his little elder pipe, by discourse of wit, will resemble the sound of a double cannon. When all is done, we may say of him as the poor man said that shore his sow: "Here is great cry and little wool."

Good reader, truth is plain and homely, and hath no need of these habiliments. But whoso will take upon him to maintain untruth must needs be forced to discourse about with long vagaries, to lead his reader from the purpose, to feed him with words for want of matter, and briefly to do even as here M. Harding doth.

I cannot imagine that any my poor labours shall be able to end these quarrels; for a contentious man will never lack words. Notwithstanding in this augmentation I have endeavoured, for my simple part, to say so much as to a reasonable man may seem sufficient. I have cleared such places as seemed dark: I have supplied such things as seemed to want: I have reformed so much as reason required: briefly, I have answered the substance of all M. Harding's long discourses. If any thing be left unanswered, either it was nothing, or nothing worth.

May it please thee, good christian reader, to peruse both, and to judge uprightly. Endeavour thoroughly to know the cause. An ignorant judge was never indifferent. M. Harding would have thee only to follow the example of thy late deceived fathers, and further to search and know nothing. And often-

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Synod. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1007. See before, page 121.]

[1 Const. Othon. ad calc. Gul. Lyndwood, Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. in Annot. p. 44.]

[2 Ter. Adelph. I. ii. 21, 2.]

[3 Rither: rudder.]

times thine ignorance maketh him bold. He leadeth thee into the darkness of death, and yet would have thee believe thou art in paradise. The blind man is led he knoweth not whither. But search thou the scriptures, as Christ himself biddeth thee: learn to know the will of God, as St Paul advised[4] thee: have pleasure in God's holy word, as the prophet David warneth thee; and thou shalt never be deceived: whereas, building upon the sand of witty discourses, and the variable weakness of men's judgments, sometimes allowed and sometimes reproved, thy house must needs come to ground.

Tell M. Harding, it shall be hard for him to kick still against the spur. God hath sowed the seed of life: no power is able to root it out. God hath disclosed the man of sin: no cloke is able to hide him longer. Heaven and earth shall pass; but God's word shall never pass.

God open the eyes of thy heart, that thou mayest have
comfort in his light, and rejoice in his mercies,
and patiently wait for that blessed
hope that is laid up for thee,
and continue faithful
unto the end!
Amen.

From Sarisbury, 11 *Decemb.* 1569.

[4 Adviseth, 1570.]

I. S.

Good christian reader, I have here set before thee certain principal flowers of M. Harding's modest speech. Taste no more than may well like thee, and judge thereof as thou shalt see cause.

M. Harding, in the Preface before his Confutation of the Apology.

The manner of writing which I have here used, in comparison of our adversaries, is sober, soft, and gentle, &c., and in respect of their heat, bitterness, and railing, as many tell me, over-cold, sweet, and mild.

Again in the same Confutation.

There is no man of wisdom or honesty, that would with so immoderate upbraidings impair the estimation of his modesty. Fol. 300. b.

M. Harding.

Your devilish spite. Rejoin. fol. 18. b.
Your devilish wickedness. Rejoin. Preface to the Reader.
Your devilish villany. Conf. fol. 256. b.
Your railing words of Satan's prompting. Rejoin. 67. a.
You are joined to Satan, Satan your school-master. Rejoin. 12. b.
Ye are moved by the instinct of Satan. Conf. 43. b. 255. a.
Your father the devil. Conf. 2. a.
Your Babylonical tower. Conf. 42. a.
Your new church set up by Satan. Conf. 42. a.
The devil hath you fast bound. Conf. 24. a.
Ye are of the school of Satan. Conf. 69. b.
Your satanical spirit. Conf. 111. b.
Ye are the children of the devil. Conf. 115. a.
A page, a slave, a claw-back of the devil. Conf. 131. a.
Ye are the limbs of antichrist. Conf. 202. a.
Ye are the practised ministers of antichrist. Conf. 195. b.
Ye have taken a pattern from Satan. Conf. 323. b.
Your reprobate congregation. Conf. 338. a.
Your synagogüe of Satan. Conf. 341. b.
Your confuse tents of Satan. Conf. 334.
Your synagogue of antichrist and Lucifer. Conf. 212. b.
The herd of antichrist. Conf. 48. a.
The novice of the devil. Conf.
The devil and his ministers. 116. b.
Ye have learned of the devil. Conf. 128. b.
Your father the devil. Conf. 348. b.
Satan your master. Conf. 348. b.
Satan's brood. Conf. 348.
He hath conceived hatred by the inspiration of Satan. Conf. 288. b.
Satan holdeth you captive. Conf. 342. b.
The spirit of Satan is in you. 172. a.
Ye are fast bound in Satan's fetters. Conf. 68. a.
Ye are enemies of unity. Conf. 55. b.
Enemies of the sacrifice. Conf. 67. a.
Ye are loose apostates. Conf. 323.
Sacrilegious church-robbers. 323.
Thieves. Conf. 155. b.
Abominable. Conf. 171. a.
Lecherous lourdaines. 75. b.
Profane hell-hounds. Conf. 114. b.
Despisers of God. Conf. 131. b.
Your wicked and blasphemous spirit.
Your dark and malicious soul. Rejoin. 104.
Your heresies, blasphemies, satanisms.
Your filthy railing rabble. Conf. 75. b.
Calvinists, satanists. Conf. 81. b.
Your wicked Cham's[1] brood. 114. b.
Your profane malice. Conf. 129. b.
Your vileness. 135. a.
Your damnable side. 135. a.
Your blasphemous tongues.
Your detestable blasphemies.
Your devilish rabble. 209. b.
Your Turkish Huguenots, worse than infidels. 222. b.
Your malignant church.
Your congregation of reprobates. Conf. 269. b.

[1 Cain's, 1609, 1611.]

Your vile heresies. 339. a.
Your devilish stoutness of heart.
Your Turkish and heathenish heart, 295. b.
Your Turkish doctrine. Ibid.
Ye brag Lucifer-like. 173. b.
Ye speak villany.
Your quarrel is against Christ. Conf. 178. b.
Ye would say, if ye durst, that Christ is the abomination of desolation, and antichrist is the true God. 194. a.
When were there ever such thieves in the church of God? 261. a.
Your doctrine is heresy, your life is iniquity. 172. b.
As crafty knaves in a comedy. Rejoin. 22. a.
Vain bragging, vanity, scurrility, extreme impudency, passing madness, proud vaunting, Goliath-like. Rejoin. in Pref. 2.
He is a fool. 186.
Reasonless, witless. Rejoin. 192. a.
Foolish negatives. Rejoin. Pref.
They are apes. } Conf. 1. b.
They are asses. }
Any sot would be ashamed to make such arguments. Conf. 51. b.
He hath on his fool's coat, if he play the vice well and varlet-like. Rejoin. 251. b.
The canker of his false doctrine. Rejoin. Pref.
False gospellers. Rejoin. Pref.
Unshamefaced. 94. a.
Impious, impudent. 123. a.
Ye are past all shame. 186. a.
A great liar.
Boldness in lying.
Ye lie for a vantage.
Your school of lying.
Ye profess lying.
False lies.
Impudent lies.
Vain lies.
Bold lies.
Loud lies.
Foul lies.
Shameless lies.
Railing lies.
Manifest lies.
Notorious lies.
Slanderous lies.
Horrible lies.
We will proclaim you a liar. 258. b.
Your liberty of lying.
Your art of lying. 218. b.
Your figure of impudent lying. 253. a.
Ye be desperate in your lying. 277. b.
You lie in the plural number. 303. a.
And what shall I say more, but all is lies? 255. b.
Leave your railing. Rejoin.
We like not your railing. 80. a.
I leave your vile eloquence to yourself. 111. b.
Your railing terms.
Your vile eloquence.
Your scolding tale.
Your spiteful words. 149. b.
Your rancour.
Your spite.
Your filthy railings.
Your vile upbraidings. Conf. 175.
Your malicious railing. 184. b.
Your false cankered slanders. 184. b.
Cease your barking. Rejoin. Pref. to the Reader.
The poison of your tongue. Rejoin. Pref.
Your drop of poison.
Your serpentine tongue. Rejoin. 67. a.
Such cracking challengers. Rejoin. Pref.
Your railing spirit.
Spit your malice.
Spit out your poison. Rejoin. Pref.
Your hot raging spirit. Conf. 3. a.
Spit forth your gall. Conf. 23. a.
Your heresies and villanies. Conf. 10. b.
Your vain boast in wickedness, wrought by the power of Satan. 19. b.
Your filthy railing rabble. 75. b.
It liketh your filthy spirit. 101. a.
Ye cursed Chananees. 121. b.
What crack ye? 128. b.
The devil the school-master of your malice. 168. a.
Your bawdy Bale. 168. b.
Luther, that filthy friar. 192. a.
Brentius, that shameless railing heretic. 288. a.
Cough up the crumb of your heresy. Rejoin. 167. b.
Cough out that vile poison. Rejoin. 80.
Your devilish blasphemy and villany. 256. b.
A blast of your railing spirit. 266. b.
Luther's stinking sink. 42. b.
Zuinglius' rabble. 42. b.
Your vile spiteful blasphemous talk. Rejoin. Pref.
If there were any spark of shame in you. 94. a.
The stinking breath of your vile words. 111. b.
This defender is like a mad dog. 207. b.

Your vile, venomous, and loathsome stuff. 246. b.
I would I could pluck malice from your blasphemous heart. 292. b.
With such spitefulness of words as the devil hath inspired them withal. Conf. 342. b.
It spiteth you and the devil. 279. a.
Rail and revel while ye will. 254. a.
Ye rave and cry out. 177. b.
The fiends of hell were not yet let loose that begat Lutherans and Calvinists. Conf. 183. b.
The devil coming from hell hath carried you away. 225. b.
In your hearts the devil hath made his shop. 132. a.
Ye shall be bound hand and foot with the cords of the devil's clew. 292. a.
The devil possesseth you and rideth you. 255. a.
The spirit of the devil is within you. 255.
Ye boil in rancour and malice. 269. b.
Stamp and rage.
Sturdy dog-eloquence. 42. b.
Stint your barking. Rejoin. Pref.
The devil reigneth in your hearts. 87. b.
Maugre the malice of the devil and of all the sacramentaries. 95. b.
Your malice seemeth to pass the malice of the devil. Rejoin. Pref.
Ye bark with words more vile than the barking of a dog. Rejoin.
Rail until your tongues burn in your heads in hell-fire. 112. a.
Bark until your bellies break, ye hell-hounds of Zuinglius' and Luther's litter. 178. b.
Without all wit and modesty. Conf. 170. b.

Cunerus Petri de Brouwershaven, Pastor S. Petri Lovanii indignus approbavit. Anno 1565, 10 Aprilis.

M. Harding, in his Preface to M. Jewel, before the Rejoinder.

We spare your worships, and put you in mind of your outrage with more courteous language. Again, I seem to men of right good discretion rather to offend of lenity and softness. And many do wish that[1] I had tempered mine ink with sharper ingredients.

¶ Thus much only out of the heap. For to lay forth all, it were to make another book.

One demanded this question of Zoilus the railer:
Why takest thou such pleasure in speaking ill?

Zoilus made answer:
Because, whereas I would rather do ill, I am not able.

Scoffs and Scorns.

M. Harding hereof thus reproveth his adversary.

Your scornful scoffs. Rejoin. Pref.
Your loathsome scoffs. Rejoin. Pref.
Your scoffing spirit. Conf. 19.
Your irksome cuts. Rejoin. Pref.
Your art of scoffing. Rejoin. Pref.
Your scoffing head. 284. a.
Ye sauce your words with scoffs. 29. 76.
Ye play hickscorner. Rejoin. Pref.
Ye play the vice in an interlude. Rejoin. Pref.
Your boyish and childish disposition. 314. b.
Your boyish scoffs. 300. a.
Your boyish mockeries. 149. a.
Your bitter twittings. Ibid.

M. Harding of himself.

Such grace in writing I neither use nor covet, nor have I it; nor, if I had it, should I think it meet to use. The truth of God would not be set forth with

[1 1567, 1570, 1609 omit *that.*]

scoffs. Whose desire to understand the truth is cold, the same is to be stirred up rather with grave and earnest exhortations, than with scorns and mocks. Rejoin. in the Preface to the Reader.

M. Harding's performance of the same.

His minister-like talk: with some sad hypocrisy. Rejoin. Pref.
His evangelical meekness, full coldly and demurely he promiseth. Rejoin. 18. b.
His solemn prayer protestant-like. Rejoin. 18. b.
His rhetorical persuasions in pulpit: with holy holding up of hands, and casting up of eyes to heaven. Rejoin. Pref.
His ministering words. Rejoin. 235.
His pulpit buzzing. Rejoin. Pref.
His holy companions. 170. b.
This blessed brotherhood. Conf. 13. b.
Ye speak like a liberal gentleman. Conf. 284. a.
This gay rhetorician. Rejoin. Pref.
This jolly fellow. 9. a.
This jolly defender. 53. b.
This worthy captain. Rejoin. 31. b.
This substantial doctor.
Cuckoo-like.
His glorious sermon. Pref.
His worthy courage. Rejoin. Pref.
He proveth it like a clerk. 115.
Well and clerkly reasoned forsooth. 219. a.
His foresaid worshipful reasons. 276. a.
His clerkly prowess. 149. b.
Like proper gentlemen. 140. a.
They have tried themselves like proper men. 139. b.
Luther, your *radix Jesse.* Conf. 42. b.
Calvin, your patriarch. 80. a.
Your great rabbin, Peter Martyr. Conf. 82. a.
Now come in these reverend fathers of our new clergy. Rejoin. 155. a.
Our ministering clergy. 146. a.
Our ministering prelates. 63. a.
Our new gospel prelates.
Our M. John of Sarisbury. 251. b.
How say you, sir minister bishop? 56. b.
The confusion of your Goliathship. Rejoin. Pref.
Ye speak much of your ministerships' goodness. 170. b.
This is false, saving your ministerships. Conf. 347. b.
Your superintendentships. 256. b.
Your masterships. Rejoin. Pref.
Your masships. 247. a.

M. Harding. Conf. fol. 109. b.

Thus we come within you defenders, as it were; and, clasping with you, wring your weapon out of your hand, and with the other end of it strike you down. As it is not hard to us by learning to overthrow you, &c.

A View of Untruths[2],

Wherewith M. Harding thus chargeth his adversary.

Aristotle, being once asked what a common liar gained by his lying, answered thus, that, when he telleth truth, no man will believe him. Conf. 159. a.
Who seeth not, and almost feeleth your lies? 176.
When will ye forsake the school of lying? 179. a.
Ye are good in the art of lying. 218. b.
Ye have sworn to belie all the world. 245. a.
We have taken you tardy in so many and so manifest lies. 159. a.
Being disposed to lie, he would lie for a vantage. 157. b.
Lie so long as ye list. 150. a.
All men do espy your lying. 150. b.
A lump of lies. 5. a.
Cart-loads of lies. 175.
A man for his life cannot find one leaf in it without many lies. 219.
Lying to this fellow is *accidens inseparabile.* 273. b.

[[2] This view of untruths is reprinted from 1567. In later editions it does not appear.]

Make of it what ye will, a lie is a lie. 155. b.

The number of untruths uttered of M. Jewel's part, noted and confuted by others and by me, amounteth to a thousand and odd. M. Harding, in the Preface to the Reader before his Rejoinder.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, good christian reader, I have thought it needful, for thy better satisfaction, to give thee a short view of these so horrible and so shameful untruths, that by a few thou mayest be able to judge the better of the rest.

A View of Untruths.

Rejoinder[1], fol. 1.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here appeareth small hope that M. Harding will deal plainly in the rest, that thus maketh his first entry with a cavil.

M. HARDING.

First untruth. For it is no cavil.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whereas the matter is known and agreed upon, it is great folly to pick a quarrel unto the word. The matter is, what is meant by private mass.

M. HARDING.

Second untruth. It is not known nor agreed upon.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Every mass, saith M. Harding, is common, and none private.

M. HARDING.

Third untruth. I say not so, but with addition, which maketh certain limitation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If there be no private mass at all, then was there no private mass in the primitive church; which was my first assertion.

M. HARDING.

Fourth untruth. It is not said there is no private mass at all. For there is private mass, as private is taken in another sense.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, in his twenty-second article, entreating of the accidents of bread and wine, &c., calleth that thing private that is disputed in open audience, in the hearing of five hundred or more, and is set abroad to the knowledge of the world.

M. HARDING.

Fifth untruth. In that place I speak not hereof, but of M. Jewel's five last articles.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

He saith, these matters were never taught in open audience, but privately disputed in the schools.

M. HARDING.

Sixth untruth. I say not so, but otherwise.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

As for the mass, sometimes he maketh it the sacrifice, sometime the communion, &c.

M. HARDING.

Seventh untruth. I never said the communion to be the mass.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If the sacrifice be common, why doth he give it these private titles, This for the living, This for the dead, &c.?

M. HARDING.

Eighth untruth. I give not the sacrifice these titles.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

He saith it is a feast, and therefore it is common. And thus he salveth one error with another.

M. HARDING.

Ninth untruth. It is no error to say the communion which is in the mass is a feast.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What if the priest's will be to work necromancy or sorcery, as it is reported of pope Hildebrand?

M. HARDING.

Tenth untruth. This is not reported by any grave and true writer, but by them that flattered the emperor of that time.

[1 "A Reioindre to M. Jewels Replie. Antv. 1566." The first nine untruths are to be found in fol. 1; the rest, fol. 7. For Jewel's statements here controverted, see Vol. I. pages 104, 5.]

A REPLY.

This story is largely set out by Beno, cardinal of the church of Rome, Urspergensis saith: *Manifestum necromanticum.* An. 1080[2].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What if the priest's will be to poison somebody, as Henry the emperor was poisoned in the communion-bread?

M. HARDING.

Eleventh untruth. He was not so poisoned, but died otherwise.

A REPLY.

Urspergensis saith: *Quidam religiosus tradidit imperatori intoxicatam eucharistiam.* An. 1313[3]. Likewise saith Aventinus, Bap. Egnatius, Supplementum Chronicor. Ravi. Textor, Carion, &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Pope Victor was poisoned in the chalice.

M. HARDING.

Twelfth untruth. He died otherwise.

A REPLY.

He died even so. Read Martinus Polonus, Volaterranus, Matthæus Palmerius, Supplementum Chronicorum, Fasciculus Temporum, Ravi. Textor, Anselmus Rid, Massæus Cameracensis, Ursperg. page 230[4].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Lyra saith, many miracles are wrought in the church to mock the people.

M. HARDING.

Thirteenth untruth. Lyra saith it not. Fourteenth untruth. To mock the people is not in Lyra.

A REPLY.

The words of Lyra be very plain: *Aliquando in ecclesia fit maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus, vel eis adhærentibus, propter lucrum*[5]: "Sometimes even in the church the people is shamefully deceived with feigned miracles, wrought either by the priests, or else by their companions, for lucre's sake." *In Daniel.* Cap. xiv.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Hierome saith: *Dominica cœna omnibus debet esse communis*[6].

M. HARDING.

Fifteenth untruth. St Hierome is not the author of those brief commentaries.

A REPLY.

They are printed among other St Hierome's works, and are commonly known by his name; but by any other author's name they are not known.

These be fifteen of the first horrible great lies that M. Harding hath so advisedly noted in his Rejoinder. It were but lost labour to proceed further. As these are, even so are the rest.

Now, good reader, may it please thee to take a proof of other untruths, that after great travail and seeking he hath likewise found out in the Apology.

The Apology, Part II. Chap. iv. Div. 2. The council of Carthage provided that no bishop should be called either the highest bishop or the chief priest.

M. HARDING.

First. Here, sir defender, ye play false. Ye are taken with false dice. False play, shameful falsifying, false teaching, false sleight, forging of canons, your lie, your falsehead. Shame on you, defender. Howsoever this canon be construed, it taketh no place out of Africa; and therefore cannot justly be alleged against the bishop of Rome[7].

THE REPLY.

The words of the council, alleged by Gratian, are these: *Primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdo-*

[2 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537, p. 237.]

[3 Qui prævaricator rogans, ut die festiva coram imperatore divina possit celebrare, et eidem porrigere corpus Christi. Et porrexit intoxicatum: imperator accepit, &c.—Id. p. 373.]

[4 The page here given refers to the story of Victor II. An attempt, it is stated, was made to poison him with the sacrament; but the cup supernaturally adhered to the altar. It was Victor III. who is said to have actually died of poison so administered. His death is mentioned, ibid. fol. 239; but nothing is there found of the alleged poisoning.]

[5 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Pars IV. fol. 330. 2.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 997. These Commentaries are now generally allowed to be spurious.]

[7 It is the Confutation here and in subsequent untruths, till the eleventh, that is referred to.]

tum, vel summus sacerdos, vel aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum, primæ sedis episcopus. Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur[1].

The Apology, Part II. Chap. xii. Div. 2.

Calixtus decreed that, the consecration being finished, all the people should communicate, &c.

M. HARDING.

Second untruth. This decree had relation unto the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, and not unto the people.

THE REPLY.

Here M. Harding is soon reproved even by his own doctors, Durandus, Hugo, Cochlæus, Clichtoveus. For thus they say: *Omnes olim, tum sacerdotes, tum laici, cum sacrificante communicabant, &c. Hic unicum hac de re canonem recitabo, qui Calixto adscribitur*[2].

The Apology, Part II. Chap. viii. Div. 2.

Gregorius Nazianzenus saith, speaking of his own father, that a good and a diligent bishop doth serve in the ministry never the worse for that he is married, but rather the better.

M. HARDING.

Third untruth. Ye make manifest lies. Ye use your accustomed figure pseudologia, *which is "lying" in plain English, &c. How could he say that a bishop serveth in the ministry never the worse, but rather the better? &c.*

THE REPLY.

This error of M. Harding's grew of ignorance. For Nazianzene's words be very plain: *Meo patri mater mea, data illi a Deo, non tantum adjutrix facta est, sed etiam dux et princeps, verbo factoque inducens illum ad res optimas, &c. In pietate non verebatur seipsam illi magistram exhibere. In Epitaphio Patris*[3].

The Apology, Part VI. Chap. v. Div. 2.

Pope Liberius was a favourer of the Arian heretics.

M. HARDING.

Fourth untruth. That you say of Liberius is stark false. He never favoured the Arians.

THE REPLY.

The author hereof is St Hierome, *De Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus. In Fortunatiano.* And one of M. Harding's own principal doctors saith: *De Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum*[4].

The Apology, Part VI. Chap. v. Div. 2.

Pope Zosimus corrupted the council of Nice.

M. HARDING.

Fifth untruth. Ye belie Zosimus: he corrupted not the council of Nice.

THE REPLY.

This matter most plainly appeareth by the records of the council of Africa.

The Apology, Part VI. Chap. v. Div. 2.

Pope John held a detestable opinion touching the immortality of the soul.

M. HARDING.

Sixth untruth. That you report of pope John is likewise most false. The worst that Marsilius and Ockam wrote of him is, that he taught openly that the souls of the just see not God until the day of judgment. That he had any detestable opinion of the immortality of the soul, there was no such his opinion; but it is your false slander, by which your wicked and detestable malice ye imagine to deface the authority of the holy see apostolic.

THE REPLY.

Gerson *in Sermone Paschali*[5]: Pope John XXII. decreed that the souls of the wicked should not be punished before the day of the last judgment. Which error the university of Paris condemned for heresy, and caused the pope to recant.

Concil. Constantien. in Appendice: In primis. Quinimo Johannes papa XXII. dixit, et pertinaciter credidit, animam hominis cum corpore humano mori, et extingui, ad instar animalium brutorum. Dixitque, mortuum semel, etiam in novissimo die, minime esse resurrecturum[6].

[1 Ex Concil. Afric. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcix. can. 3. col. 479.]

[2 Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. IV. cap. liii. 3. lvi. 1. foll. 199. 2, 203. 2.

Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 10. col. 1917. Other authorities will be given in the place referred to.]

[3 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Tom. I. p. 335.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Catal. Script. Eccles. 97. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 124.

Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8. 2.]

[5 Gerson. Op. Antw. Serm. in Fest. Pasch. Tom. III. Pars III. col. 1205.]

[6 Concil. Constant. Sess. xi. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1060.]

The Apology, Part VI. Chap. vi. Div. 1.

The canonists say, the pope can do as much as Christ himself can do.

M. HARDING.

Seventh untruth. The most part hereof is very false and slanderous. Mentiris *in your divinity is a verb common.*

THE REPLY.

The words be most manifest and out of all question: *Excepto peccato, papa potest, quicquid Deus ipse potest. Extra De Translatione Episcopi. Quanto. Hostien.*[7]

The Apology, Part VI. Chap. vi. Div. 1.

Some of them have said, the pope is the light that is come into the world; and whoso is an ill-doer fleeth that light.

M. HARDING.

Eighth untruth. If ye were hardly charged to shew where he said it, or where he wrote it, ye would be found a liar, as in many other points ye are found already. That he never wrote it in any of his eloquent Italian sermons set forth in print, I am assured. And more hath he not set forth. Now it remaineth that ye tell us where he saith so, or else confess your slanderous lie.

THE REPLY.

In the oration that Cornelius the bishop of Bitonto pronounced in the council of Trident ye may find these words: *Papa lux venit in mundum; sed dilexerunt homines tenebras magis quam lucem*[8].

The Apology, Part IV. Chap. i. Div. 1.

They have decreed that a priest for fornication ought not to be removed from his cure.

M. HARDING.

Ninth untruth. This is a foul lie. And herein these men most shamefully have slandered the church; as, by that I have said, to any man it may appear.

THE REPLY.

But unto the best-learned canonists it appeareth far otherwise. Panormitane saith: *Hodie ex simplici fornicatione clericus non deponitur. Extra De Consangui. et Affini. Non debet.* Likewise it is solemnly noted in great letters in the margin: *Fornicationis causa hodie nemo est deponendus*[9].

The Apology, Part VI. Chap. xiv. Div. 1.

In the council of Chalcedon the civil magistrate condemned three bishops, Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, for heretics, and gave judgment that they should be deposed.

M. HARDING.

Tenth untruth. That all these three were condemned in that council, we find not. Much less that they were condemned by any civil magistrate do we find, &c. What is impudency, what is licentious lying, what is deceitful dealing, if this be not?

THE REPLY.

These be the words pronounced openly in the council: *Videtur nobis...justum esse,... eidem pœnæ Dioscorum reverendum episcopum Alexandriæ, et Juvenalem reverendum episcopum Hierosolymorum, et Thalassium reverendum episcopum Cæsariæ Cappadociæ.... subjacere. Concil. Chalcedonen. Actione i. p.* 831[10].

Rejoinder, fol. 251. b.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding helpeth it forward with a little pretty false translation of his own. For, whereas it is written in the Latin, *Cum benedixisset sancta*, he translateth it thus: "When he had consecrated the sacrament." And likewise these words, *Post finem orationum*, he translateth thus: "After he had done the prayer of consecration."

M. HARDING.

Eleventh untruth. Gentle reader, consider how falsely M. Jewel demeaneth himself. These words, Post finem orationum, *thou findest not at all in all this thirty-second division. If they be not here, why reproveth he me for*

[7 Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Super Prim. Decretal. De Transl. Episc. fol. 75. 2.]

[8 Orat. Corn. Episc. Bitont. ad Trident. Synod. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 996.]

[9 Olim pro fornicatione clericus deponebatur,... hodie vero non deponitur, sed suspenditur..... Hoc tamen dictum absolute non recipias, sed intellige pro simplici fornicatione; nam propter adulterium clericus debet deponi.—Panorm. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tom. II. fol. 7. The marginal note does not appear in the edition consulted.]

[10 Concil. Chalced. Act. I. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 831.]

using a pretty false translation? This is not a pretty, but a gross and a shameless kind of falsehead, to charge me with that which here I say not.

THE REPLY.

It is in the very next division[1]. Therefore this matter needed nothing so great ado.

The Apology, Part II. Chap. xiii. Div. 1.

Origen saith: "The bread which is sanctified by the word of God," &c.[2]

M. HARDING.

Twelfth untruth. Alleging Origen, sir defender, ye play your accustomed false play, corrupting his sentence, and falsifying his words. He saith ille cibus, *not* ille panis.

THE REPLY.

Yet Origen in the same place calleth it seven times *panis*. Therefore this was but a simple matter to make such a tragedy of false play.

The Apology, Part II. Chap. i. Div. 1.

St Augustine saith: "Although the majesty and Godhead of Christ be every where, yet the body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place."

M. HARDING.

Thirteenth untruth. St Augustine in that treaty hath not that word oportet, *but this word* potest; *as the books have that be not corrupted by the maintainers of that heresy.*

THE REPLY.

Gratian, reporting this place of St Augustine, useth this word *oportet*. Thus he saith in most plain wise: *Corpus, in quo Christus resurrexit, in uno loco esse oportet. De Consecr. Dist. ii. Prima*[3]. Likewise saith Petrus Lombardus, reporting the same: *In uno loco esse oportet. Lib. iv. Dist. x. Sunt item.* But before them all St Peter said: *Oportet illum cœlos capere usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium. Actorum* iii. These, I trow, were not the maintainers of any heresy.

The Apology, Part v. Chap. iii. Div. 10.

The old council of Carthage commanded nothing to be read in the congregation but the canonical scriptures.

M. HARDING.

Fourteenth untruth. This book is full of lies and falsified places. This old council is newly falsified. The words be: Ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. *It followeth in the same decree:* Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

THE REPLY.

This objection is very true, albeit not greatly to the purpose. For, as the decree cutteth off all secret or unlawful scriptures, so it suffereth nothing else to be read in the church but only the passions or deaths of martyrs, and that only upon the martyrs' anniversary, which was for one martyr but only one day in the year.

Now let M. Harding tell us what and how much there remained beside to be read in the church, saving only the canonical scriptures. Howbeit in the same third council of Carthage there be other words found somewhat plainer and more pregnant than these. For in the said council of Carthage the council of Hippo was abridged: in which abridgment this decree is read amongst others: *Scripturæ canonicæ in ecclesia legendæ quæ sunt: et præter quas alia non legantur*[4]. These words were abridged and authorised in the said third council of Carthage; as it is plain by the title of the same: *Concilii Hipponensis abbreviationes factæ in concilio Carthaginensi tertio.* In mistaking of which words I must needs confess mine error. For by oversight I thought the council of Carthage had been abridged in the council of Hippo, as it may appear by my answer in this book, fol. 519: whereas contrariwise the council of Hippo was abridged in the council of Carthage. This indeed of my part was an error. And I thank M. Dorman, that hath given me occasion better to consider the same. Notwithstanding, as I said before, the words be plain: *Præter quas (scripturas) alia non legantur.*

[1 Vol. I. page 188.]

[2 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XI. cap. xv. Tom. III. pp. 499, 500.]

[3 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935. Conf. Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. x. fol. 351.]

[4 Concil. Carth. III. cap. 47. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 431. Conf. Concil. Hippon. Abbrev. cap. 38. Ibid. p. 434.]

The Apology, Part v. Chap. xi. Div. 1.

The canonists this day use to say of the pope, that, forsomuch as he is lord of all benefices, though he sell bishopricks, monasteries, benefices, and spiritual promotions for money, yet he cannot commit simony, though he would never so fain.

M. HARDING.

Fifteenth untruth. Whereas it is written in Summa Angelica, In curia Romana, titulus De Simonia non habet locum, *the self-same Sum useth this distinction, saying:* Verum est in iis, quæ sunt simoniaca de jure positivo solum; sed non in iis, quæ sunt simoniaca de jure divino. *Whereby he meaneth that, concerning simony, which properly is so called, the pope is no less subject thereto than any other man. Thus have you shamefully belied* Summa Angelica.

THE REPLY.

Hereby it appeareth that M. Harding understandeth not his own *Summa.* For by *simonia de jure positivo* is meant the sale of bishopricks and benefices, &c., which, as this *Summa* saith, the pope may freely sell for money, without impeachment of any manner of simony[5]. For better proof whereof Theodoricus saith: *Papa non potest committere simoniam. Sic tenent juristæ. Quia simonia excusatur per auctoritatem papæ. De Schismate inter Urban. et Clemen. Lib. ii. cap. xxxii.*[6] Another saith: *Papa non committit simoniam recipiendo pecuniam pro collatione beneficiorum.* So shamefully we belie *Summa Angelica.*

Sixteenth untruth.

In the fourth part, seventh chapter, and fourth division of this book, touching that most vile and shameful abusing of Franciscus Dandalus, gentleman of Venice, that was driven to wallow under the pope's table in a chain like a dog, reported, as M. Harding saith, by Sabellicus in the first book of his second Decade, I have answered, as then I thought, according to truth, that Sabellicus wrote no Decades, but only Enneades; as it might appear by his works printed either at Basil by Hervagius, or otherwhere by any other. Sithence I understand that there is now extant another book of Sabellicus, by the name of Decades, set forth of late at Basil, by Cœlius Secundus Curio, an. 1560[7]. Understand thou therefore, good reader, that herein I followed such books of Sabellicus as had been long abroad, and were well acquainted among the learned. But that there should any other new book of Sabellicus be printed afterward, specially so long after the author's death, I could not prophesy.

These, and such other, good christian reader, be our "Untruths," so many in number, and of such weight, that M. Harding thinketh himself well able easily with the same to load a cart. To all these so many, and so many, so horrible, and so blasphemous lies, (God's holy name be blessed!) we may truly say with St Paul: *Tanquam seductores; et ecce veraces:* "We are called deceivers; and yet we say the truth." Conf. fol. 175. a. 2 Cor. vi.

Howbeit, I do not so warrant every parcel of any my writings, as though there were nothing therein contained but might safely be justified in all respects and against all quarrels. Such reverence, by St Augustine's judgment, we ought to give only to the word of God. No man's learning or memory was ever infinite: but of all others I acknowledge mine to be the weakest.

If I have at any time mistaken either author for author, or name for name, or chapter for chapter, or book for book; as where as in the allegation of pope Leo, instead of these words, *individuam Unitatem,* I wrote *individuam Trinitatem;* or where as, instead of these words, *Paulinus ad Romanianum,* I wrote

[5 Summ. Angel. De Casib. Conscient. Argent. 1513. Simon. v. 6, 7. foll. 271, 2.]

[6 Multi etiam periti in jure...arguere atque tenere volebant, quod papa simoniam committere non posset etiam in beneficiis seu rebus ecclesiasticis intercedente pecuniario quæstu, &c.—Theodoric. de Niem De Schism. int. Urban. VI. et Clem. Basil. 1566. Lib. II. cap. xxxii. p. 89.

For other authorities to the same effect, see the place noted, Part v. Chap. xi. Div. 1.]

[7 The Decads of Sabellicus were previously published, though they were not in Hervagius's edition. See J. A. Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætat. Hamb. 1734-46. Tom. VI. Lib. XVIII. pp. 397, &c.]

Paulinus ad Augustinum, the said epistle of Paulinus being mingled with a whole book of the epistles of St Augustine; or if upon any other like oversight I have alleged either Liberius for Athanasius, or the Arians for the Eutychians, or any one father or doctor for another; such errors, being void of malice, were never hitherto accounted damnable. The best-learned have oftentimes fallen into them.

For proof whereof it were easy to say that Cicero, notwithstanding otherwise a great learned man, alleged Ajax instead of Hector, Agamemnon instead of Ulysses, Eupolis instead of Aristophanes; that Aristotle alleged Calypso instead of Circe; that Gratian allegeth Aniceus for Anicetus, Ambrosius for Augustinus, Calixtus for Anacletus, Greek for Latin, new for old; that Hippolytus allegeth the Apocalypse of St John instead of Daniel; that St Chrysostome nameth Abacuk for Sophonias, and Agar for Sara. If thou be desirous to see these several errors further proved, it may please thee to see mine answer to this Confutation, fol. 361[1].

That in the alleging of Liberatus I left out this word *quodammodo*[2], it was only an error. For why I should of purpose do it, there was no cause; specially that word bearing in that place no greater weight. But M. Harding, alleging these words of St Augustine, *Christus quodammodo ferebatur in manibus suis*[3], not of error, but, as it may be thought, of set purpose, left out *quodammodo*, as knowing that in that one word rested the meaning of the whole.

August. in Psal. xxxiii. M. Harding in his Answer to the Challenge, fol. 108. b.

Briefly, whatsoever other like error shall be found in any my writings, I will discharge both my clerk, and the compositor, and the printer of the same, and take the whole upon meself. I speak not this for that I think my book can be printed without error; for that, in such a number and variety of allegations, were scarcely possible: but if any error whatsoever shall escape, as I doubt not but there will many, I protest before him that seeth the heart, it will be wholly against my will.

And yet may not these men so charge others, as if they themselves only were privileged and exempted from all such dangers. M. Harding may remember that he himself instead of the prophet Osee hath alleged us the noble Josua; and that, by another like oversight, he hath alleged the eighth book of Socrates Scholasticus, whereas Socrates never wrote but seven. As likewise also M. Dorman allegeth the seventh book of the story of Theodoretus, whereas Theodoretus himself never wrote but five. And again, he frayeth all christian princes with the horrible examples of the two kings, as he saith, Ozias and Oza: yet he might easily have learned that Oza was a poor private man, and never known to be a king. Notwithstanding, in one of his late little-worth pamphlets, confessing his oversight herein, he stumbleth into another error as foul as the first, and bewrayeth his ignorance more than before. For now he telleth us, he hath better remembered himself that the said Oza was not a king, but only a prophet. And yet, ye wis, a child could have told him that the same Oza was neither king nor prophet, but only a Levite. Let him look better on his books, and he shall find it.

Conf. 46. a. Conf. 312. b. Dorm. fol. 22. Dorm. fol. 24. Dorman in his Request, fol. 13.

Howbeit, I would not that either M. Harding or M. Dorman should think that therefore they are here charged with ignorance. Errors will creep between their fingers, be they never so watchful. In the heat and drift of writing, when the mind is wholly occupied, and fully bent to the substance of the cause, it is an easy matter by some confusion one way or other to disorder a word, or to displace a number, as to write either 9 for 6, or 24 for 42, or some other like; which error, though it be light in doing, yet in the reckoning oftentimes is very great. To leave other examples, M. Harding himself, in his "Confutation of the Apology," instead of the 22 of Luke hath printed the 2 of Luke. Likewise in his "Rejoinder," instead of these words, *πᾶς ὁ οὐ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων ἀναίσχυντος*, he hath printed and sent us quite the contrary, *πᾶς ὁ μετέχων μυστηρίων ἀναίσχυντος*. In one book of the new testament set out at

Conf. 47. a. Rejoin. fol. 28/. a.

[1] See Part IV. Chap. i. Div. 1.]
[2] See Part I. Chap. viii. Div. 1.]
[3] See Vol. I. page 502.]

Colaine, instead of these words, *Neque scortatores regnum Dei possidebunt*, ye shall find it by error printed thus: *Neque sacerdotes regnum Dei possidebunt.* To be short, M. Harding in the self-same book, instead of these words, "lulled asleep," by error hath printed "lulled asheep." If all such childish advantages should be taken, then could no writer escape uncontrolled.

1 Cor. vi.

Conf. 332. a.

Thus, good christian reader, by the short view of these few "Untruths" (for so it pleaseth these men to call them), thou mayest the better weigh the value and substance of the rest.

Tedious Repetitions.

M. Harding's often rehearsal and doubling of one thing hath forced me sometime to do the like. Which thing, good reader, if unto thee it shall seem over wearisome, I pray thee to consider the occasion thereof. My meaning was only to do thee good.

AN ANSWER

TO A CERTAIN BOOK LATELY SET FORTH BY M. HARDING, AND ENTITULED,

A CONFUTATION

OF THE

APOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND[1].

THE TITLE OF THE APOLOGY.

An Apology, or Answer, in defence of the Church of England, with a brief and plain Declaration of the true Religion professed and used in the same.

THE CONFUTATION BY M. HARDING.

...Whereas these defenders[2] take[3] upon them the name of the church of England, setting forth thereby a face of authority, they do much like the ass that Esop telleth of, which, to make the beasts afraid, had put on him a lion's skin, and therewith jetted abroad terribly. For, as the lion's skin was but lapped about him, and grew not to his body; so they, being indeed no lively members nor part of the church, cover themselves under the title and name of the church, the rather to beguile the simple. And verily herein they follow the wont of all heretics. For never was there any sect of heretics hitherto, which hath not claimed to be accounted and called the church. For which cause, of certain ancient fathers they have been likened to apes; whose property is, though they be apes, yet to counterfeit men, and to covet to seem men. "Novatianus," as saith St Cyprian, "after the manner of apes, would challenge to himself the authority of the catholic church; and, whereas himself was not in the church, but contrariwise a rebel against the church, took upon him to affirm, that all other were heretics; and presumed to uphold the church was on his side[5]." Irenæus and Tertullian, who were before him, write that heretics made so much ado to persuade that the church was among themselves only, that they feared not to call the right-believing and catholic church heretical and schismatical. St Hilary, declaring how patiently he demeaned himself towards[6] the Arians his enemies, by whom he was banished, writeth that in five years' space, whiles he lived in banishment, he never spake nor wrote evil word against them, which falsely said

The defenders likened to Esop's ass[4].

The wont of all heretics[4].

Heretics likened to apes[4].

The name and reputation of the church challenged by heretics[4].

In Epist. ad Jubaianum de Hæreticis Baptizandis.

De Præscript. Hær.

Contra Constantium.

[1 This volume, "A Confvtation of a Booke intitvled an Apologie of the Chvrch of England, By Thomas Harding, Doctor of Divinitie," was printed at Antwerp, 1565. It commences with a dedicatory epistle to queen Elizabeth. There is next an address to the reader. It is not thought necessary to introduce these, to which bishop Jewel makes no separate answer. The bishop intimates (see below, page 151,) that he has not printed the whole of Harding's book. It seems therefore needless to put in what Jewel deliberately omitted, nor will any more of Harding's marginal notes than Jewel has printed be given. But the places where any thing of the Confutation has been left out will be marked in the usual way, and, should it appear that there is any matter of importance in the parts passed over, due notice will be taken. It may be added that the divisions into parts and chapters of the Apology were made by Harding.]

[2 The author of the Apology, if it were made by any one, and not by many heads, as it is most likely, &c.—Conf. Address to the Reader.]

[3 Whereas they take, Conf.]

[4 These marginal notes are added from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[5 Nam Novatianus simiarum more...vult ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritatem sibi et veritatem vindicare, quando ipse in ecclesia non sit; imo adhuc insuper contra ecclesiam rebellis et hostis extiterit...hoc unum sibi vindicat, ut apud se esse ecclesiam dicat, et nos hæreticos faciat.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist. lxxiii. p. 198.]

[6 Toward, Conf.]

Aug. contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. ii. cap. i.

themselves to be the church of Christ, and were the synagogue of antichrist[7]*. The Donatists, against whom St Augustine wrote much, said that the Christianity was quite lost and gone out of so many nations that be in the world, and remained only in Afric, and that the church was only there*[8]*.*

Bernar. in Cant. Serm. 66. Apostolici.

In St Bernard's time also the heretics who would be called apostolics, as they of our time call themselves gospellers, said that they were the church[9]*.*

What mean heretics by challenging unto them the name and estimation of the church? 2 Cor. xi.

But what mean all heretics (may we judge) by coveting so much to be seen that which they are not? Forsooth, they mean none other thing than their father the devil meaneth, when he goeth about to beguile man; for then what doth he? Useth he not this policy, to change his ugly hue, and put himself in goodly shape of an angel of light? For he is not unwitting, that if he shewed himself in his own form, such as he is, that every one would fly from him, and none lightly would be deceived by him. Heretics do the like. Although they hate the church never so deadly, yet, to have the more opportunity to hurt it, pretend themselves to be of the church. For they be not ignorant how great the authority of the church is: of whose governors Christ said: "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me." And again: "Tell the church." They consider in what credit the church is with all christian people; how they stay themselves by it, as being "the pillar and ground of the truth;" how they love her, even as their common mother; how they honour it, as the body and fulness of Christ, as the spouse of Christ, through faith, according to that is written, "I will despouse thee to me in faith;" as the true Sion, which our Lord hath chosen to be his habitation and his resting-place for ever; as the safe ark to keep us from drowning in the dangerous seas of this world, out of which, no less than once out of the ark of Noe, is no salvation. Again, they know the church must needs be greatly esteemed among all the godly, for the singular promises Christ hath made to it; that he would be with it all days to the end of the world; that he would pray to his Father for the Holy Ghost to be given to it, the Spirit of truth to remain with it for ever.... But, as "heretics impugn[10] *the law by the words of the law*[11]*," as St Ambrose saith; so, to overthrow the church, they presume to take unto them the name of the church. But what do heretics when they are urged and wrung, when by force of arguments they are straited, and as it were driven to the wall? when it is plainly proved to their face, which is soon done, that they be not in nor of the church, specially being of heresy openly denounced, and by just*[12] *excommunication cut off from the church? In this case the practice of the gospellers is utterly to set the church at nought, and with a hot raging spirit to defy it, and to say that themselves be the catholic church, and that the catholics be the papistical church, the church of antichrist, the whore of Babylon, a den of thieves, and I cannot tell what....*

The estimation and authority of the church[4]*.*

Luke x.

Matt. xviii.

1 Tim. iii.

Eph. i.

Hos. ii.

Psal. cxxxii.

Gen. vii.

In Comment. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. iii.

The want of the gospellers being excommunicate out of the church.

THE ANSWER OF THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To answer M. Harding to every parcel of his book, being so long, it would be too tedious. Wherefore, leaving many his impertinent speeches, and other unnecessary and waste words, which sundry his friends think he might better have spared, I will touch only so much thereof as shall bear some shew of substance, and may any way seem worthy to be answered.

First, touching the church of God, we believe and confess all that M. Harding

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[7 Denique exinde nihil in tempora maledictum, nihil in eam, quæ tum se Christi ecclesiam mentiebatur, nunc autem antichristi est synagoga, famosum ac dignum ipsorum impietate scripsi aut locutus sum.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Constant. Imp. 2. col. 1289.]

[8 ... periisse dicunt Christianum nomen de tot gentibus in orbe terrarum, et in sola Africa remansisse.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. i. 2. Tom. IX. col. 25.]

[9 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cantic. Serm. lxvi. 8. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1497.]

[10 And as they impugne, Conf.]

[11 Hæretici hi sunt, qui per verba legis legem impugnant.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. iii. vv. 10, 11. Tom. II. Append. col. 316.]

[12 By the just, 1609, 1611.]

1 Tim. iii 15.[1] hath here said, or otherwise can be said. It is the pillar of the truth, the body,
Eph. i. 23. the fulness and spouse of Christ. All these words are undoubtedly true and certain. And therefore, M. Harding, you are the more blame-worthy, that of the house of God, being so glorious, have made a cave of thieves, and have turned the beauty of Sion into the confusion of Babylon.

True it is that heretics have evermore apparelled themselves with the name of the church; as antichrist also shall procure himself credit under the name of Christ. Thus did your fathers, M. Harding, long ago. They said then, even as
John viii. 39. you say now, "We are the children of Abraham:" we are the inheritors of God's
Jer. vii. 4. promises: we have "the temple of God, the temple of God." "The law shall never
Jer. xviii. 18. pass from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet." Thus continuing wilfully in the open breach of God's commandment, nevertheless they cherished themselves then, as you do now, only with the bare title of the church; in whose name whatsoever credit ye can any wise win, your meaning is skilfully to convey the same over wholly to the church of Rome; as if that church only were the church of God, and without that there were no hope of
De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam. Dist. 22. Omnes. salvation. And therefore you defend, and hold for truth, that your church hath authority above God's word[2]. And pope Nicholas saith: "Whoso denieth the privilege and supremacy of the see of Rome hath renounced the faith, and is an
Leo, Epist. 83. ad Palæst. heretic[3]." And thus, as Leo saith, *Ecclesiæ nomine armamini, et contra ecclesiam dimicatis*[4]: "Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church, and yet you[5]
Cypr. de Simpl. Præl. fight against the church." Likewise saith St Cyprian: *Diabolus excogitavit novam fraudem, ut sub ipso nominis christiani titulo fallat incautos*[6]: "The devil hath devised a new kind of policy, under the very title of the name of Christ to deceive the simple."

Now concerning that hot raging spirit, wherewith M. Harding saith the gospellers defy the church, and set it at nought, verily I think it a hard matter for any gospeller, be he never so hot, in such kind of eloquence to match M. Harding. Neither yet may he well condemn all such as in the like cases have
Isai. i. 10. been hot and earnest. Esay the prophet saith: "O ye princes of Sodom, and ye people of Gomorrha!" John the Baptist saith to the scribes and Pharisees:
Matt. iii. 7. "O ye serpents, ye generation of vipers and adders!" Christ saith unto them:
Matt. xxiii. 13. "Wo be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites!" "Ye are of your
John viii. 44. father the devil." In these examples we see the Spirit of God can sometimes be hot and earnest against the deceivers of the people, and the professed enemies of the cross of Christ. Neither did either Esay the prophet, or John the Baptist, or Christ, defy the church of God and set it at nought, as M. Harding imagineth of us; but rather by these fervent speeches uttered the vehement zeal and just grief they had conceived against them that, under the name of the church, abused God's people and defaced the church.

For they are not all heretics, M. Harding, that this day espy your gross and palpable errors, and mourn to God for reformation. St Augustine saith:
August. Lib. ii. De Serm. Domini in Monte. *Non debet ovis pellem suam deponere, quod lupi aliquando se ea contegant*[7]: "It is no reason the sheep should therefore leave off his fleece, for that he seeth the wolf sometime in the same apparel." Likewise, it is no reason that we should therefore give over the right and inheritance we have in the church of God, for that you by intrusion and unjust means have intituled yourselves unto the
John v. 39. same. It behoveth us rather to search the scriptures, as Christ hath advised us, and thereby to assure ourselves of the church of God: for by this trial only, and by none other, it may be known. Therefore St Paul calleth the church

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[1 The verses were added in 1609, 1611.]

[2 Bonif. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. i. col. 211. See Vol. I. page 94.]

[3 Qui autem Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium ab ipso summo omnium ecclesiarum capite traditum auferre conatur, hic proculdubio in hæresim labitur.—Nicol. Papa in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100.]

[4 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Palæst. Episc. Epist. lxxxiii. 8. col. 444.]

[5 Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Quid astutius...quam ut...inimicus...excogitaverit novam, &c. Christiani nominis, &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 105.]

[7 Sed non ideo debent oves odisse vestimentum suum, quia plerumque illo se occultant lupi.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. sec. Matt. Lib. II. 80. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 233.]

the spouse of Christ, for that she ought in all things to give ear to the voice of the bridegroom. Likewise he calleth the church the pillar of the truth, for that she stayeth herself only by the word of God; without which word the church, were it never so beautiful, should be no church. The ancient father Irenæus saith: *Columna ... et firmamentum ecclesiæ est evangelium, et Spiritus vitæ*[8]: "The pillar and buttress of the church is the gospel, and the Spirit of life." St Augustine saith: *Sunt certi libri dominici, quorum auctoritati utrique*[9] *consentimus..... Ibi quæramus ecclesiam: ibi discutiamus causam nostram*[10]: "There be certain books of our Lord, unto the authority whereof each part agreeth. There let us seek for the church: thereby let us examine and try our matters." And again: *Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari*[11]: "I will ye shew me the holy church, not by decrees of men, but by the word of God." Likewise saith Chrysostom: *Nullo modo cognoscitur, ... quæ sit vera ecclesia Christi, nisi tantummodo per scripturas*[12]: "It can no way be known what is the church, but only by the scriptures." And again: [*Christus*] *mandat, ut ... volentes firmitatem accipere veræ fidei ad nullam rem fugiant nisi ad scripturas. Alioqui si ad alia respexerunt*[13], *scandalizabuntur et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera ecclesia. Et per hoc incident in abominationem desolationis, quæ stat in locis sanctis ecclesiæ*[14]: "Christ commandeth that whoso will have the assurance of true faith seek to nothing else but unto the scriptures. Otherwise, if they look to any thing else, they shall be offended and shall perish, not understanding which is the true church. And by mean hereof they shall fall into the abomination of desolation, which standeth in the holy places of the church."

Eph. i. 23. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Iren. Lib. iii. cap. xi. August. De Unit. Eccl. cap. iii. August. in eodem cap. Chrysost. in Opere Imperfecto, Hom. 49. Chrysost. in eadem Hom. Dan. ix. 27. Matt. xxiv. 15.

By these ancient learned fathers it is plain that the church of God is known by God's word only, and none otherwise. And therefore, M. Harding, you so carefully flee the same, and condemn it for heresy, and often burn it, lest thereby the deformities of your church should be known. For "the ill-doer fleeth the light."

John iii. 20.

Now, whereas it so well liketh M. Harding to call us all heretics, and for his pleasure's sake to liken us to apes, to asses, and to the devil, notwithstanding we might safely return the same whole from whence it came, yet I think it not seemly, nor greatly to purpose, to answer all such intemperate humours. Salomon's advice is good: "Answer not folly with like folly." Notwithstanding, the poor simple ass, unto whom we are compared, was able sometime to see the angel of God, and to open his mouth, and to speak, and to reprove the lewd attempt of Balaam the false prophet. Whatsoever account it pleaseth M. Harding to make of us, by the grace of God we are that we are. If we be able to bear Christ with his cross, it is sufficient.

Prov. xxvi. 4. Num. xxii.

But who they be that have of long time jetted so terribly under the lion's skin, and only with a painted vizard or empty name of the church have feared all the cattle of the field, it is needless to speak it: the world now seeth it: it can no longer be dissembled. Even he that lately bare himself as the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and called himself [a]King of kings[15], and [b]said he had power over the angels of God, and amazed the hearts of the simple with the terror of his lion's pelt, only for that he sat in Peter's chair, is now revealed, and better known and esteemed as he is worthy; he may now jet up and down with more ease and less terror. And why so? These poor asses, whom M. Harding so much disdaineth, have stript off his counterfeit skin, that made him so hardy, and have caused him to appear even as he is.

[a] August. Steuch. De Primat.
[b] See the fifth part hereof, the sixth chapter, and fifteenth division.

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[8] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xi. 8. p. 190.]

[9] Utrinque, 1611.]

[10] Sunt certe, &c.—August. Op. Lib. De Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. 5. Tom. IX. cols. 340, 1.]

[11] Id. ibid. 6. col. 341.]

[12] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[13] Respexerint, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14] Id. ibid.; where *fidei veræ, respexerint*, and *sanctis ecclesiæ locis*.]

[15] Si rex regum dicitur summus sacerdos, si regibus imperat, tota hæc gloria Christi est.—August. Steuch. Op. Venet. 1591. De Fals. Donat. Constant. Lib. I. Tom. III. fol. 213. 2.]

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 1.

It hath been an old complaint, even from the first time of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the writings and testimonies of every age, that the truth wandereth here and there as a stranger in the world, and doth readily find enemies and slanderers amongst those that know her not[1]. Albeit perchance this may seem unto some a thing hard to be believed, I mean to such as have scant well and narrowly taken heed thereunto, specially seeing all mankind of nature's very motion without a teacher doth covet the truth of their own accord; and seeing our Saviour Christ himself, when he was on earth, would be called "the Truth," as by a name most fit to express all his divine power; yet we—which have been exercised in the holy scriptures, and which have both read and seen what hath happened to all godly men commonly at all times; what to the prophets, to the apostles, to the holy martyrs, and what to Christ himself; with what rebukes, revilings, and despites they were continually vexed whiles they here lived, and that only for the truth's sake—we, I say, do see that this is not only no new thing, or hard to be believed, but that it is a thing already received, and commonly used from age to age. Nay, truly, this might seem much rather a marvel, and beyond all belief, if the devil, who is "the father of lies" and enemy to all truth, would now upon a sudden change his nature, and hope that truth might otherwise be suppressed than by belying[2] it; or that he would begin to establish his own kingdom by using now any other practices than the same which he hath ever used from the beginning. For, since any man's remembrance, we can scant find one time, either when religion did first grow, or when it was settled, or when it did afresh spring up again, wherein truth and innocency were not by all unworthy means and most despitefully entreated. Doubtless the devil well seeth that, so long as truth is in good safety, himself cannot be safe, nor yet maintain his own estate.

Tertull. in Apolog.

John viii. 44.

For, letting pass the ancient patriarchs and prophets, who, as we have said[3], had no part of their life free from contumelies and slanders, we know there were certain in times past which said and commonly preached that the old ancient Jews (of whom we make no doubt but they were the worshippers of the only and true God) did worship either a sow or an ass in God's stead, and that all the same religion was nothing else but sacrilege[4], and a plain contempt of all godliness[5]. We know also, that the Son of God, our Saviour Jesus[6] Christ, when he taught the truth, was counted a sorcerer[7] and an enchanter, a Samaritan, Belzebub, a deceiver of the people, a drunkard, and a glutton. Again, who wotteth not what words were spoken against St Paul, the most earnest and vehement preacher and maintainer of the truth? sometime, that he was a seditious and busy man, a raiser of tumults, a causer of rebellion; sometime again, that he was an heretic; sometime, that he was mad; sometime, that only upon strife and stomach he was both a blasphemer of God's law and a despiser of the fathers' ordinances. Further, who knoweth not how St Stephen, after he had thoroughly and sincerely embraced the truth, and began

Cornel. Tacit. Hist. Lib v.

Tertull. in Apolog.

[1 Scit [veritas] se peregrinam in terris agere; inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. p. 1.]

[2 Believing, 1609 (but corrected in errata), 1611.]

[3 We said, Conf.]

[4 A sacrilege, Conf.]

[5 C. Corn. Tac. Hist. Lib. v. capp. iii. iv. Tertull. Op. Apolog. 16. pp. 16, 7.]

[6 Jesu, Conf.]

[7 Juggler, Conf.]

frankly and stoutly to preach and set forth the same as he ought to do, was immediately called to answer for his life, as one that had wickedly uttered disdainful and heinous words against the law, against Moses, against the temple, and against God? Or who is ignorant, that in times past there were some which reproved the holy scriptures of falsehood[8], saying, they contained things both contrary and quite one against another; and how that the apostles of Christ did severally disagree between[9] themselves, and that St Paul did vary from them all[10]? And, not to make rehearsal of all (for that were an endless labour), who knoweth not after what sort our fathers were railed upon in times past, which first began to acknowledge and profess the name of Christ[11]? how they made private conspiracies, devised secret counsels against the commonwealth, and to that end made early and privy meetings in the dark, killed young babes, fed themselves with men's flesh, and, like savage and brute beasts, did drink their blood[12]? in conclusion, how that, after they had put out the[13] candles, they committed adultery between themselves, and without regard wrought incest one with another; that brethren lay with their sisters, sons with their mothers, without any reverence of nature or kin, without shame, without difference; and that they were wicked men, without all care of religion, and without any opinion of God, being the very enemies of mankind, unworthy to be suffered in the world, and unworthy of life?

Hieron. in Proœmio in Epist. ad Galat. Hieron. in Matt. Lib. i. cap. i. Tertull. contra Marc. Lib. i. & Lib. iv. Lib. v. cap. ii. Lactant. Euseb. Lib. v. cap. i.

Tertull. in Apolog.

All these things were spoken in those days against the people of God, against Christ Jesus[6], against Paul, against Stephen, and against all them, whosoever they were, which at the first beginning embraced the truth of the gospel, and were contented to be called by the name of Christians; which was then a[14] hateful name among the common people[15]. And, although the things which they said were not true, yet the devil thought it should be sufficient for him, if at the least he could bring it so to pass as they might be believed for true, and that the Christians might be brought into a common hatred of every body, and have their death and destruction sought of all sorts. Hereupon kings and princes, being led then by such persuasions, killed all the prophets of God, letting none escape; Esay with a saw, Jeremy with stones, Daniel with lions, Amos with an iron bar, Paul with the sword, and Christ upon the cross; and condemned all Christians to imprisonments, to torments, to the pikes, to be thrown down headlong from rocks and steep places, to be cast to wild beasts, and to be burnt; and made great fires of their quick bodies, for the only purpose to give light by night, and for a very scorn and mocking-stock; and did count them no better than the vilest filth, the off-scourings and laughing-games of the whole world[16]. Thus, as ye see, have the authors and professors of the truth ever been entreated.

Tertull. in Apolog.

Sueton. Tranq. in Neron.

M. HARDING.

Who would not think that[17] *these defenders were true men, that in the beginning of their Apology speak so much of the truth*[18]*? Yet who knoweth not that*

[8 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]
[9 Betwixt, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 223, 4. Id. Comm. Lib. I. in Matt. cap. i. ibid. col. 7. Tertull. Op. Adv. Marcion. Lib. I. 19. Lib. iv. 3. pp. 443, 503, 4. Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. v. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 365.]
[11 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 127.]
[12 Tertull. Op. Apolog. 2. p. 2.]
[13 Conf. omits *the*.]
[14 An, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[15 Id. ibid. 3. p. 4.]
[16 Suet. Tranq. in Neron. cap. xvi.]
[17 Conf. and Def. 1567 omit *that*.]
[18 Of truth, Conf.]

oftentimes evil meaning is hid under good words? Who hath not heard that filthy queans in time and place use the honest talk of chaste matrons? The thief commendeth just dealings, and many times sheweth a stomach against false harlots, no man more. Among all none pretend truth in words so much as heretics... "I fear me," saith St Paul... "lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve by his subtlety, so your wits be corrupted and fallen away from that plainness which is in Christ." The apostle feared because of the crafty Jews; who, the rather to deceive, mingled scriptures[1] *with their own traditions, and truth with falsehood*[2].... *So bringeth the heretic his hearer to error in faith by colour and pretence of truth....* 2 Cor. xi.

They are... much like to the Manichees, who promised their hearers to discuss and set forth the truth most evidently unto them, and to deliver them from all manner of errors[3]. *By which fair promises St Augustine was allured to be a diligent scholar of theirs for the space of nine years*[4].... De Utilit. Credendi ad Honoratum, Lib. i. cap. i. Confess. Lib. v. cap. vi.

Christ gave us a lesson how to discern them. "By their fruits ye shall know them," saith he.... And now to you, sirs. Even in the beginning, and, as I may say, in the forehead of your Apology, whiles I examine it diligently, I find two foul faults, the one in your rhetoric, the other in your logic. By which two faults both the unskill of your secretary and the weakness of your matter may be espied, as the ass I spake of right now was by his two ears staring out under the lion's skin.... Your divinity... is nothing else in gross but a lump of lies, errors, and heresies. Matt. vii.

First, touching your rhetoric, amongst many faulty proems[5], *... one of the worst is that which is such as the adversary may use, which by them is called* exordium commune, *that is to wit, such a beginning as will serve the defendant no less than the plaintiff, or contrariwise. Of that sort is the beginning of your Apology. For, declaring at large that truth hath ever been persecuted, what saith it therein (the faults amended) that we may not say the same?.. That ship-master is accounted very bad, who at the setting out of the haven driveth the ship on the rocks....*

Alleging Tertullian to help your cause, ye injury the doctor by altering his words.... Ye were[6] *not wise, by falsifying the first sentence so much to impair your credit. Tertullian saith not,... that truth readily findeth enemies and slanderers*[7] *amongst those that know her not; but that truth soon findeth enemies* inter extraneos, *"amongst aliens and*[8] *strangers." Now the christian catholics, whom ye call papists,... be not in respect of the truth aliens and*[8] *strangers.... For... yourselves in sundry places of your book reprove them for resisting the truth which they know....*

You have given Tertullian a new livery[9] *with your own badge, and have*[10] *made exchange of* extraneos *with* ignotos.... *Tertullian... meant by aliens*[11] *no other than infidels and painims, among whom christian people then lived, and were daily persecuted.... But after... the gospel had been sounded abroad by the apostles and their successors through all the earth, after that the emperors themselves and all the people every where had received the faith, then was the truth no more a wanderer, stranger, or pilgrim in the earth....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching this comparison of whores and thieves, and other like M. Harding's ungentle speeches, as I have before protested, I will say nothing. He is very dumb, and can speak but little, that cannot speak ill.

[1 Scripture, Conf.]

[2 Falsehead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3 Error, Conf.]

[4 Nosti... non aliam ab causam nos in tales homines incidisse, nisi quod se dicebant, terribili auctoritate separata, mera et simplici ratione eos qui se audire vellent introducturos ad Deum, et errore omni liberaturos. Quid enim me aliud cogebat, annos fere novem, &c.... homines illos sequi, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Util. Cred. cap. i. 2. Tom. VIII. col. 46.

Id. Confess. Lib. γ. cap. vi. 10. Tom. I. col. 111.]

[5 Whereas there be many sorts of faulty proemes, Conf.]

[6 Were ye, Conf.]

[7 Slanders, 1609, 1611.]

[8 Aliants or, Conf.; aliants and, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Giving him as it were a new livery, Conf.]

[10 Conf. omits *have*.]

[11 Aliants, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

It is true, M. Harding, that you say, Most liars oftentimes pretend most truth; as, if there were none other example, may soon appear by the whole tenor and substance of your books. The devil himself, the better to found his lies, beareth himself oftentimes as the angel of truth.

But the example that ye bring of the Jews, who, as you say, the rather to deceive, mingled scripture with their own traditions, and truth with falsehood[12], maketh most plainly against yourself. For you know that this is the general complaint of all the godly this day throughout the whole church of God, that you have mingled your lead with the Lord's gold, and have filled the Lord's harvest full of your darnel; that you have broken God's manifest commandments to uphold and maintain your own traditions; that you have dammed up the springs of the water of life, and have broken up puddles of your own, such as be able to hold no water; that for your dreams' sake you have caused the people to forget the name of God, and have led them from that simplicity that is in Christ Jesus[13]. This is the mingling of traditions with the scriptures of God. I marvel ye could so freely utter so much and so directly against yourself.

2 Cor. xi. 3.
Matt. xiii. 25.
Jer. ii.
Jer. xxiii.
2 Cor. xi.

As for the example of the Manichees, it was utterly impertinent and from the purpose. Yet, good reader, that thou mayest understand what manner of heretics these Manichees were, and what errors they defended, first, they[14] forbade lawful marriage, and allowed fornication, as M. Harding's catholics do now. So saith St Augustine of them: *Nuptiarum aditus intercludunt, et promiscue convenire hortantur*[15].

See what is answered in the fourth part hereof, chap. i. Div. 1.
In Quæst. in Nov. Test. Quæst. 72.

Addition[16]. ☞ Hereunto M. Harding saith: "You slander us, M. Jewel, most unjustly and impudently. The catholics never forbade lawful marriage. And it is known to all the world that fornication was never allowed in the catholic church at any time or age. And the Manichees by your pretensed proof out of St Augustine excluded all men from marriage generally." *The Answer.* 1. To the first part hereof I grant: lawful marriage was never forbidden in the catholic church, that is to say, in the whole universal church throughout the world: for it is known that the priests in India, Æthiopia, Africa, Asia, Græcia, &c., have continued still in lawful marriage, from the beginning unto this day, without any restraint or force to the contrary. But in the church of Rome the marriage of priests hath been and is forbidden. And the same in all other churches is judged lawful, as it was also in the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and other holy fathers, and generally in the whole primitive church of Christ. Neither is it marriage, but the unlawful restraint of marriage, that St Paul calleth "the doctrine of devils."

Addition. ☞
1.
2.
3.
M. Hard. fol. 81. a. [Detect.]
M. Hard. fol. 81. b. [Detect.]
1 Tim. iv. 1, 3.

2. Secondly, notwithstanding M. Harding say, "Fornication was never allowed in the catholic church," yet verily in the church of Rome it hath been allowed, as by good record and general practice it may appear. M. Harding himself calleth the open stews in Rome "a necessary ill for avoiding of other disorders that would be greater;" and so far forth he maketh them allowable by way of necessity. And further to this purpose in defence hereof unadvisedly he allegeth these words of St Augustine: "Take harlots away from among men, and ye fill all the country with ribaldry and villany[17]." Unadvisedly, I say, he allegeth these words: for when Augustine wrote the same, he was neither saint, nor bishop, nor priest, nor christian man. In the conclusion he saith unto us: "In good sooth, masters, ye are too young to control the city of Rome in her doings." Here, M. Harding, I pray you, tell us wherefore may we not control the city of Rome in her open filthiness, unless in some special respects you think it lawful? In few words, touching the

M. Hard. Conf. fol. 162. b.
M. Hard. Conf. fol. 162. a.
August. de Ordin. Lib. ii. cap. iv.
M. Hard. Conf. fol. 163. a.

[12 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Jesu, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Thy, 1567.]

[15 August. Op. Quæst. ex Nov. Test. Quæst. lxxii.; where *intercludit* and *hortatur*. This is not a genuine work.]

[16 These additions first appeared in the edition of 1570. They contain the rejoinder which Jewel deemed it necessary to make to Harding's book entitled "A Detection of Sundry foul Errors."]

[17 Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus.—August. Op. De Ord. Lib. II. Disp. I. cap. iv. 12. Tom. I. col. 335. Conf. Retract. Lib. I. capp. i. iii. cols. 3, 5. It would hence appear that Augustine was not baptized when he wrote the books De Ordine.]

allowance and smoothing of fornication, the practice of the church of Rome is this: *Etsi notoria sit fornicatio presbyterorum, tamen non propter eam abstinendum est ab officiis illorum*[1]: "Yea, although the fornication of the priest be notorious, yet may no man therefore refrain from his service." "That thing is notorious," saith the law, "that needeth neither accuser nor judge, but is clear and manifest of itself[2]." And notwithstanding some of the canonists have written otherwise of fornication, yet by these words it is passed as a matter allowable.

Dist. 32. Nul.

Johan. Andr.

M. Hard. fol. 81. b. [Detect.]

3. Thirdly, whereas M. Harding saith, "The Manichees excluded not only their priests and clergy, but also generally all manner of men from the use of marriage, as thinking it in all men to be unlawful;" St Augustine's manifest words to the contrary are able both to clear the poor Manichees in this behalf, and also to reprove his open error. These be his words: *Hic non dubito vos esse clamaturos invidiamque facturos, ... perfectam castitatem vos vehementer commendare, ... non tamen nuptias prohibere, quandoquidem auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus est gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibentur uxores*[3]: "Here I doubt not but you Manichees will make outcries upon us, and procure us displeasure. For you will say, ye greatly commend perfect[4] chastity, and yet for all that forbid not marriage; for your hearers, which are an inferior or second degree amongst you, are not forbidden to marry and have wives." Likewise he writeth in an epistle unto Deuterius: *Auditores, ... qui appellantur apud eos, et carnibus vescuntur, et agros colunt, et, si voluerint*[5], *uxores habent; quorum nihil faciunt* [*illi*] *qui vocantur electi*[6]: "They that among them be called the hearers do both eat flesh, and till their grounds, and, if they list, marry wives; of all which things they that be called *electi* do nothing."

August. de Moribus Manich. Lib. ii. cap. xviii.

August. Epist. 74.

Now, good reader, examine thou a little these witnesses, and compare them together. M. Harding saith: "The Manichees forbade all men from marriage generally without exception." St Augustine saith: "The Manichees forbade not their hearers, which were of their laity, to be married, nor thought it unlawful for them to have wives." They thought marriage unlawful only in their priests and ministers, which among them were called *electi*. And even so, as I said, do this day M. Harding's catholics. Wherefore, having himself misreported both St Augustine and the Manichees, and also uttering so many untruths in one place, there was no cause why he should use this pitiful outcry in the end: "Behold, reader, how immoderately M. Jewel slandereth us." For, as it may hereby appear, it is the truth: it is no slander.

M. Hard. fol. 81. b. [Detect.]

Secondly, they received and ministered the holy mysteries under one kind, contrary to the general order of the catholic church[7]. And so doth M. Harding now.

Leo, Serm. 4. de Quadragesima. August. Epist. 19. August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxxii. cap. xix.

Thirdly, they yielded more credit to their own devices than to God's holy word. And whereas the scriptures were plain against them, they said, even as M. Harding saith, the scriptures were falsified and full of errors[8].

M. Hard. fol. 220. b. [Confut.]

Addition. Albeit indeed he dareth not so boldly by express words to challenge the scriptures, he thinketh it better skill rather to lay the fault in vulgar translations. And yet the worst translation that this day is commonly used, either in the English, or in the French, or in the Dutch tongue, as he himself well knoweth, is far better and truer than the old common translation in the Latin.

Addition.

[1 ...licet notoria sint, non est propter illa abstinendum ab officiis ipsorum.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxii. Gloss. in can. 5. col. 156. The marginal note on these words is: Concubinarii an sint in officio fugiendi.]

[2 Decretal. Gregor. IX. in eod. Lib. III. Tit. ii. Gloss. in capp. 7, 8. Conf. Joan. Andr. Not. cols. 1005, 6.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mor. Manich. Lib. II. cap. xviii. 65. Tom. I. col. 739; where *castitatem perfectam*, and *prohibeantur*.]

[4 Perfite, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Noluerint, 1570.]

[6 Id. ad Deuter. Epist. ccxxxvi. 2. Tom. II. col. 848.]

[7 Sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinant.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Quadr. Serm. iv. 5. col. 108.]

[8 Manichæi plurima divinarum scripturarum... falsa esse contendunt, &c.—August. Op. Ad Hieron. Epist. lxxxii. 6. Tom. II. col. 191.

Videtis ergo id vos agere, ut omnis de medio scripturarum auferatur auctoritas...ut non auctoritate scripturarum subjiciatur ad fidem, sed sibi scripturas ipse subjiciat, &c.—Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XXXII. cap. xix. Tom. VIII. col. 461.]

Fourthly, they abstained from flesh, and yet in their fast they had and used all manner delicate and strange fruits, with sundry sort of spices in great abundance. They abstained from wine, and yet used other liquors more dainty and precious than any wine, and thereof drank while their bellies would hold. St Augustine's words thereof be these: *Distenti et crepantes*[9]. I leave the rest. Now judge thou, gentle reader, whether party seemeth to[10] resemble the Manichees.

August. de Morib. Man. Lib. ii. cap. xv.

Peregrinas et exquisitas fruges multis ferculis variatas.

August. de Morib. Man. Lib. ii. cap. xiii.

But whereas he thus upbraideth us, "By their fruits ye shall know them;" verily, whiles the bishop of Rome, even in the city of Rome, maintaineth his houses of ribaldry and open stews, and M. Harding is ready and able by his eloquence and divinity to defend the same, they have no just cause greatly to boast themselves of their fruits. Howbeit it may be thought Christ gave us this lesson not thereby to try the true doctrine from the false, but a true professor from an hypocrite. Otherwise our lives must be tried by the gospel, not the gospel by our lives.

Now let us examine that horrible heresy that M. Harding hath espied in the rules of rhetoric, by which, saith he, the secretary's unskill is betrayed, even in the forehead of our book. This entry, saith M. Harding, touching the complaint of truth, is so indifferent and common to both the parties, that either may use it as well as other. Which kind of beginning, saith he, is called *exordium commune*, and by the learned in rhetoric is misliked as faulty. First of all, M. Harding, this seemeth to me a strange kind of beginning in so deep a disputation of divinity, to make your first quarrel unto rhetoric. Belike, for lack of better entry, ye thought it good to rush in as you might. Indeed either of us may seem to stand in defence of truth. I deny it not. For as we have the substance and truth itself, so are you content to claim the name. And so far forth truth is common to us both. So the wicked heathens, Celsus and Antiphon, notwithstanding they published their books against the truth, yet they intituled the same ἀληθῆ λόγον[11], "the book of truth." St Hierome saith: *Mendacium semper imitatur veritatem*[12]: "Falsehood[13] evermore beareth a shew of truth." In this sort truth is common to either party. Origen saith: *Veritas Christus;...simulata veritas antichristus*[15]: "Christ is the truth itself; antichrist is the truth counterfeit." All this notwithstanding, Christ refused not to use the same kind of entry that M. Harding so much misliketh, but said unto the Pharisees: "Ye seek to murder me, a man that have told you the truth." And St Paul to the Romans saith: "They have turned the truth of God into falsehood[13]." The like might I say of Tertullian, Cyprian, and other fathers. Yet, I trow, M. Harding will not therefore reprove either Christ, or Paul, or Tertullian, or Cyprian; nor say they used such a beginning as their adversaries might have used as well as they, and had forgotten their rules of rhetoric.

Orig. contra Celsum, Lib. iii. & Lib. iv.

In Hier. cap. xxiii.[14]

Orig. in Matt. Tractat. 27.

John viii. 40.

Rom. i. 25.

Loth I am so long to stand in so light a matter. But I marvel much that M. Harding, being so great an artificer in so small cases, had no better eye to his own entry. For, if in writing the defence of truth it be a fault in rhetoric to begin with the ill entreating and complaint of truth, what then may we think it to be in the defence of manifest and known error to begin, as M. Harding doth, with whores, with thieves, with apes, with asses, with children of the devil, and with many other like unseemly scoffs and scorns? What rhetoric, what eloquence, what art, what skill is this? What orator ever used it? What rhetorician, what sophist, Greek or Latin, ever taught it? Verily this was sometime accounted an old rule in rhetoric, which it seemeth M. Harding had quite forgotten: *Scurrilis oratori dicacitas magnopere fugienda est*[16]. This

Cic. De Orat. Lib. ii.

[9 Id. de Mor. Manich. Lib. II. cap. xv. 36, 37. Tom. I. col. 729.

Id. ibid. cap. xiii. 29, 30. col. 726; where *exquisitas et peregrinas*, and *distento ventre cum gratulatione ructantem*.]

[10 Seemeth best to, 1567.]

[11 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. III. I. Lib. IV. 25. Tom. I. pp. 447, 518, 9.]

[12 Semper imitatur mendacium veritatem.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Jer. Proph. cap. xxiii. Tom. III. col. 640.]

[13 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[14 This reference does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

[15 Orig. Op. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 33. Tom. III. p. 852.]

[16 Cic. De Orat. Lib. II. 60.]

secretary's beginning, by M. Harding's own confession, is such as either party indifferently might well have used: but M. Harding's beginning is such as neither party with any modesty might have used.

Cic. Lib. I. De Invent. Argumentum commune vitiosum est[1].

M. Harding also might have remembered that the skilful in rhetoric, as they mislike *exordium commune*, so they also mislike *commune argumentum*, that is, a reason or proof so common that it may indifferently serve both parties. Which kind of proofs if M. Harding would have weeded out of his books, he should have left very little to trouble the printer.

Where he saith in gross, that our Apology is nothing else but a lump of lies; the truth thereof, I trust, shall appear by this treaty. In the mean season, good christian reader, it may please thee to consider that M. Harding's mouth is no just measure in this behalf. For some men think it will oftentimes utter untruth without measure. But he saith we have falsified Tertullian's meaning, placing this word *ignotos*[2] instead of *extraneos*, and so at our pleasure making exchange of words, and giving the old father a new livery, and thereby impairing our whole credit. A great outcry in so small a matter. This great exchange of words is nothing so heinous as it is pretended. For both *ignotus* is *extraneus*, and *extraneus* also in Tertullian's meaning is *ignotus*. And M. Harding well knoweth that Tertullian speaketh namely and only of such aliens and strangers as knew not the truth of God. Whether of these two words it shall like him to leave us, the sense is all one, it forceth nothing. If he will needs refuse this word *ignotus*, so that he receive the other word *extraneus*, and grant that he and his fellows be strangers to God's truth, it shall be sufficient.

Howbeit he addeth further[3], that they of his side are now no strangers, but know God as[4] his dear friends and kinsfolk. Even so said the Pharisees of themselves: *Nunquid et nos cæci sumus?* "What, be we blind too?" But Christ answered them: "If ye were blind, then had ye no sin. Now ye say that ye see; therefore your sin remaineth still." And again: "I am come to judgment into the world, that they that see may be made blind." And again: "The children of the kingdom shall be thrown forth into utter darkness."

John ix. 40.
John ix. 39.
Matt. viii. 12.

Yet further M. Harding saith: "After that the gospel had been sounded abroad by the apostles and their successors, then was the truth no more a stranger or a pilgrim in earth." Whereby he would closely conclude, that his church of Rome can never err. But this is too vain a paradise. For Daniel, speaking of the latter[5] days, saith: *Veritas prosternetur in terra:* "The truth shall be overthrown in earth[6]." Chrysostom saith: *Abominatio desolationis stabit in sanctis locis ecclesiæ[7]:* "The abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy places of the church." St Augustine saith: *Usque ad hujus seculi finem, inter persecutiones mundi et consolationes Dei, peregrinando procurrit ecclesia[8]:* "Until the world's end the church goeth forward, as it were in a pilgrimage between the persecutions of the world and the comforts of God." And again: *Tota civitas Dei peregrinatur in terris[9]:* "The whole city of God (which is the church) is a stranger and a pilgrim in the earth." Verily, as long as Satan the prince of darkness is prince of this world, so long the truth of God passeth in this world as a stranger; and being among strangers, as Tertullian saith, easily findeth enemies, and is ill entreated[10]. He saith further: *Ceterum unum hoc gestit, ne ignorata damnetur[11]:* "This only thing truth desireth, that no man condemn her before he know her."

Dan. viii. 12.
Chrysost. in Op. Imper. Hom. 49.
August de Civ. Dei, Lib. xviii. cap. li.
De Civ. Lib. xix. cap. xxvii.
Tertull. in Apolog.

[1 Cic. De Invent. Lib. I. 48.]
[2 Ignotus, 1611.]
[3 Farther, 1567, 1570.]
[4 And, 1609, 1611.]
[5 Later, 1567, 1570.]
[6 In the earth, 1567.]
[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv. See before, page 153, note 13.]
[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. li. 2. Tom. VII. col. 534; where *usque in.*]
[9 ...totius civitatis Dei, quæ peregrinatur in terris.—Id. ibid. Lib. XIX. cap. XXVII. col. 571.]
[10 See before, page 154.]
[11 Unum gestit interdum, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 1. p. 1.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ii. Division 1.

Wherefore we ought to bear it the more quietly, which have taken upon us to profess the gospel of Christ, if we for the same cause be handled after the same sort; and if we, as our forefathers were long ago, be likewise at this day tormented and baited with railings, with spiteful dealings, and with lies; and that for no desert of our own, but only because we teach and acknowledge the truth.

M. HARDING.

O blessed followers of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and Christ himself, that suffer so much persecution in your innocency, having deserved nothing at all, and only because ye acknowledge and teach[12] *the truth! But, sirs, by your leave, how followeth this "wherefore" of your former common-place so largely treated? This is your foul*[13] *fault, which you*[14] *make in your logic. How prove you*[15] *this argument? The truth is persecuted, and the professors of the truth have ever been evil-treated; wherefore we ought to bear it quietly, being likewise handled for the same cause, &c.... If you*[14] *make this argument, which ye seem privily to make, leaving out the* minor, *The professors of the*[16] *truth be persecuted for the*[16] *truth's sake: we be professors*[17] *of the*[16] *truth; therefore we suffer persecution for the*[16] *truth's sake: if you*[15] *say thus, we embar you from your conclusion by denying your* minor, *which ye can never prove.*

And if ye reason thus, which way also ye seem to use, The professors of the[16] *truth suffer persecution: we suffer persecution;* ergo, *we are professors of the*[16] *truth; we grant your* minor *is true; but your argument is naught.... So might all heretics say, and by that argument prove themselves right believers.... Wherefore, until ye prove that ye succeed the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and Christ himself, in professing the truth, boast not as ye do of your forefathers. For not they whom ye name in your proem, but Huss, Wicliffe, Peter Bruse, Berengarius, Waldenses, Albigenses, Donatists, Aerians, Manichees, and such the like heretics, justly condemned of the church, were your forefathers...*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding pretendeth logic, and endeth in sophistry. The argument we make, wherewith he playeth so pleasantly, is founded upon these words of Christ: "The scholar is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." "If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you." "All these things shall they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know neither my Father nor me." The *minor* is this: We succeed the apostles and martyrs, and are the professors of the truth. Which *minor*, by M. Harding's judgment, we can never prove. But, God's holy name be blessed for ever! the greatest part of Christendom this day seeth this *minor* is true, and that both we are the professors of God's known truth, and you the professors of manifest falsehood[18]. Touching the Donatists and Manichees, and all other like condemned heretics and heresies, we utterly abhor them, even as the gates of hell. As for John Wicliffe, John Huss, Valdo, and the rest, for ought we know, and I believe, setting malice aside, for ought you know, they were godly men. Their greatest heresy was this, that they complained of the dissolute and vicious lives of the clergy, of worshipping of images, of feigned miracles, of the tyrannical pride of the pope, of monks, friars, pardons, pilgrimages, and purgatory, and other like deceiving and mocking of the people; and that they wished a reformation of the church[19]. We succeed not them, nor bear their

Matt. x. 24. John xv. 20, 21.

Alphons. de Hæres. Barthol. Abram. in Conc. Ferrar.

[12 Teach and acknowledge, Conf.]
[13 Your other foul, Conf.]
[14 Ye, Conf.]
[15 Ye, Conf. and 1567, 1570.]
[16 Conf. omits *the*.]
[17 We are the professors, Conf.]
[18 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]
[19 Alfons. à Castr. adv. Omn. Hær. Col. 1539. foll. 141, 142. 2, 143, 162. 2, 165. 2, 166, 175. 2, 191. See Vol. II. page 689, note 10.]

names. We succeed him whose word we profess; whose word, M. Harding, they of your side have so often condemned, and under a colour of false translation have burnt for heresy.

Addition. *Addition.* ☞ Here M. Harding addeth further: "Wicliffe held that a bishop being in deadly sin is no bishop; that God ought to obey the devil, &c." These and other like errors were alleged against him forty years after he was dead, and could not be present to make his answer.

M. Hard. fol. 82. b. [Detect.]

As touching the former[1] of these two errors, we defend it not. But if it be an heresy, and an heresy so grievous as M. Harding maketh it, why then is not pope Zachary charged also with like heresy? For thus he writeth, as it may seem, to none other purpose than Wicliffe did: *Quis ... sapiens ... judicabit eos esse sacerdotes, qui nec a fornicationibus abstinent*[2]? "What wise man will reckon them to be priests, that abstain not so much as from fornication?" This saying is no less prejudicial, nor less maim to the clergy of Rome, than the other of Wicliffe. For it is recorded for matter of truth: *Pauci sine illo vitio inveniuntur*[3]: "There are few priests found without that fault." And so, by the judgment of the pope himself, in the whole multitude of the Roman clergy we may happen to find not many priests. If this heresy be so horrible in the one, why is it so easily dissembled in the other?

Conc. Tom. II. Epist. Zach. ad Bonif. p. 454.

Dist. 81. Maximianus in Gloss.

The second error that here is noted, "that God ought to obey the devil," hath neither colour nor savour of any truth. It importeth that God is weak, and the devil omnipotent; or rather, that God is a creature, and the devil is God: which blasphemy the devil himself would never have uttered. God be thanked, M. Harding can allege no such words out of any book written by Wicliffe, although he wrote many. The report of an enemy maketh no proof: neither is there any enemy so malicious, no, not M. Harding himself, if he behold his own conscience, that will believe it. But, alas! good christian reader, were these the errors that so troubled the world, and caused so many archbishops, bishops, abbats, and friars, to the number of one thousand and three hundred, to meet together in general council? No, certainly, there were other greater heresies that vexed them more. They said that the pope and his clergy, by these new articles of transubstantiation and other like fantasies, had deceived the people. They said that in the holy sacrament, after the consecration, there remaineth still the very material substance of bread and wine, as the ancient catholic learned fathers, St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Theodoretus, and others have[4] said before them. They said, Christ is not in the sacrament really, or in fleshly manner, or by the natural presence of his body. They said, as the old learned fathers say, that the sacrament by nature is very bread, and that the same, by way of a figure, is "Christ's body;" and that undoubtedly these words, "This is my body," imply a figure, as well as these words, "John Baptist is Elias[5]."

Concil. Constant.

Concil. Constant. Sess. xv. Art. i.

Art. iii. Art. Joh. Huss.

They said, it cannot be proved by the gospel that Christ ever ordained the mass as then it was used. They said that a bishop, excommunicating a clerk appealing either to the king or to the parliament, is a traitor both to the king and his country. They said it was great folly to put affiance in popes' pardons. They said it is not necessary to salvation to believe that the church of Rome is the head of all other churches, and that the pope is not the next and immediate vicar of Christ[7].

Art. Wicliffe, v. Art. xii.

Art. xlii.

Art. xli.

Art. xxxvii[6].

[1 Formes, 1570.]

[2 Epist. Zach. Papæ in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 454; where *eos æstimet sacerdotes, qui neque a.*]

[3 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 386.]

[4 Had, 1570.]

[5 Sicut Christus est simul Deus et homo, sic hostia consecrata est simul corpus Christi ad minimum in figura, et verus panis in natura. Vel, quod idem sonat, verus panis naturaliter, et corpus Christi figuraliter.

Sicut Joannes figuraliter fuit Helias, et non personaliter, sic panis in altari figuraliter est corpus Christi: et absque ambiguitate hæc est figurativa locutio, Hoc est corpus meum; sicut ista, Joannes est Helias.—Concil. Constant. Sess. xv. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 1082. These are said to have been articles of Wicliffe, adopted by Huss.]

[6 1570 omits this reference.]

[7 Non est fundatum in evangelio, quod Christus missam ordinaverit.

Prælatus excommunicans clericum, qui appellavit

These were the causes that inflamed the bishops to so cruel displeasure, to burn John Huss at the council of Constance, contrary to the emperor's safe-conduct, and their own special promise; and, contrary to all humanity and sense of nature, to dig up and to burn the body of John Wicliffe forty years after he had been buried.

Hereof we form our argument in this sort: Christ the Son of God was persecuted, and carried as a lamb unto the slaughter-house, for speaking the truth; therefore it behoveth us, for the same cause suffering the like, to take it with patience. So saith St Peter: "Christ died for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps." 1 Pet. ii. 21. "If we suffer patiently for doing well, this thing is thanksworthy before God." 1 Pet. ii. 20. So the holy father and martyr Ignatius comforted himself when he was in the midst of his torments: *Jam incipio esse discipulus Christi*[8]: "Now begin I to be Christ's disciple." Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxxvi. So Tertullian: *Quid... debeo... nisi sanguinem quem pro me fudit Filius Dei*[9]? "What thing owe I else, but the blood which the Son of God hath shed for me?" Tertull. de Fug. in Persec. The like comfort in like cases Christ giveth to his disciples: "Rejoice ye," Matt. v. 12. saith he, "and be glad; for your reward is great in heaven. For thus have they persecuted the prophets that were before you."

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 2.

They cry out upon us at this present every where, that we are all heretics, and have forsaken the faith, and have with new persuasions and wicked learning utterly dissolved the concord of the church.

M. HARDING.

Damianus and Fugatius first apostles of the Britons, Augustinus and Melitus of the English.

...*If ye have forsaken the faith ye were baptized in; if ye be gone from the faith which St Eleutherius, pope and martyr, the first apostle of Britain, preached in this land by Damianus and Fugatius, within little more than one hundred years after Christ's death; if ye refuse the faith which Gregory the great, that holy pope, caused to be preached to our ancestors the English nation by Augustinus, Melitus, and other holy priests, and have thereby dissolved the unity of the catholic church, and leave not to maintain the doctrine whereby the same unity is dissolved; all this presupposed, we see not but that this cry made upon you is true; for then are ye heretics indeed.* Untruth.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

As well this report of Eleutherius, as also the other noted in the margin of Augustine, that the one was the first apostle of the Britons, the other of the English, are both untrue. For it is certain that the church of Britanny, now called England, received not first the faith from Rome. Lucius, the king of this country, had received the gospel of Christ, and was baptized, well-near one hundred and fifty years before the emperor Constantine; and the same Constantine, the first christened emperor, was born in this island. And notwithstanding Eleutherius the bishop of Rome, at the king's special request, sent hither Fugatius and Damianus, to inform the bishops and clergy, and to bring things to better order; yet undoubtedly the church and faith of Christ had been planted here a long while before they came, either by Joseph of Arimathæa[10], or[11] (as Theo- Gildas. Polydorus. Theod. De Curand. Græc. Affect.

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ad regem vel ad concilium regni, eo ipso traditor est regis et regni.

Fatuum est credere indulgentiis papæ et episcoporum.

Non est de necessitate salutis, credere Romanam ecclesiam esse supremam inter alias ecclesias.

Ecclesia Romana est synagoga Satanæ, nec papa est proximus et immediatus vicarius Christi et apostolorum.—Artic. 5, 12, 42, 41, 37. Wicleff. damnat. in eod. ibid. pp. 1169, 70.]

[8 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxxvi. p. 86. Conf. Ignat. Epist. ad Rom. cap. v. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 358.]

[9 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Fug. in Persec. 12. p 699; where *Filius fudit ipsius.*]

[10 Gild. Sap. De Excid. Brit. Pars I. 6. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. XII. p. 194.

Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. Basil. 1555. Lib. II. pp. 37, 8, 41, 5. See Vol. I. pages 305, 6.]

[11 Either, 1567.]

doretus writeth) by St Paul the apostle, passing this way into Spain[1], or (as Nicephorus saith) by Simon Zelotes[2], or by the Greeks, or by some others.

Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. iv. Addition.

Addition. ☞ "Here M. Jewel," saith M. Harding, "extremely belieth Theodoretus and Nicephorus." *The answer.* The extremity of these so horrible lies standeth only in that I say Paul the apostle and Simon Zelotes were in person within this island, and preached the gospel; which thing, whether it be true or no, it weigheth not greatly: I devised it not. It is alleged by Flacius Illyricus, Johannes Wigandus, and Matthæus Judex, and avouched by the authority of Theodoretus and Sophronius the patriarch of Hierusalem. Their words be these: *Theodoretus, Lib.* IX. *De curandis Græcorum affectibus, indicat Paulum, e priori captivitate Roma dimissum, Britannis et aliis in occidente evangelium prædicasse. Idem fere tradit Sophronius Hierosolymitanus patriarcha*[3]. This therefore, good reader, is not so great extremity of lying, saving that it liketh M. Harding so to call it. I allege mine authors, and shew the places. What copies these learned men followed, I have not to answer. ☜

M. Hard. fol. 83. b. [Detect.]

Centuria I. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Again, where I say Simon Zelotes arrived once into this island, and here planted the gospel, for proof thereof alleging the authority of Nicephorus, all this M. Harding hath likewise condemned for another extreme lie. Wherein whether of us two is more extremely deceived, I am content himself shall be the judge. The words of Nicephorus are these: *Simon Zelotes doctrinam evangelii ad occidentalium oceanum insulasque Britannicas perfert*[4]: "Simon Zelotes carried the doctrine of the gospel into the west ocean sea, and into the islands of Britanny." If M. Harding had weighed the matter better, he would not have been so ready in dealing of lies. ☜

Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. xl.

As for our Augustine of England, (for it was not St Augustine, the learned doctor,) neither was he so godly a man as M. Harding maketh him; for, as it may appear by that Galfridus[5] writeth of him, he was cruel, disdainful, proud, and arrogant, and no way meet to be called an apostle.

Galfrid. Lib. viii. cap. iv.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding saith I have, under the name of Galfridus, immoderately slandered that blessed apostle; for so he nameth him. *The answer.* But how blessed he was, and how like unto one of Christ's apostles, it may appear. Indeed all these words are not expressly uttered, neither by Galfridus nor by Beda: howbeit, the whole effect thereof may soon be found. First, his pride was apparent in that he, being a mere stranger, lately arrived and unacquainted, disdained to stand up from his chair, or to shew any kind of courtesy to the bishops of this realm appearing before him at a synod: which thing, as Beda witnesseth, they judged to proceed of immoderate stateliness, and in contempt of them[6]. Again, he shewed his cruelty, in that (as it is written in French by Thomas Gray, an old chronicler), being refused of the christian Britons, he inflamed Ethelbertus the king of Kent to levy his power and to war against them, himself also being in company, as in the old Abstract of Chronicles it is recorded, and marching with him towards the slaughter. Of the bloody cruelty and extremity that there was shewed Thomas Gray saith thus: "They had no more regard of mercy than a wolf hath upon a sheep[7]." Of the innocent christian monks that there were slain Galfridus ☜

☞

Bed. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Thomas Gray.

The Abstract of Chronicles.

[1 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. ix. Tom. IV. p. 610.]

[2 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. II. cap. xl. Tom. I. p. 202.]

[3 Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1564-74. Cent. I. Lib. II. cap. ii. col. 23.]

[4 See above, note 2.]

[5 For as Galfridus, 1567.]

[6 Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. II. cap. ii. pp. 79, 80.]

[7 Saint Austin sen ala compleindre au Roy Ethilfrid, comēt les bretouns ly auoient respondu. Il en auoist gît despit: si fist maunder Elfroy, le Roy de Northumbreland soû parêt, qil venist aforciement, et qil ly encoûtrast a laicestre, q̄ p̄ la dvroīt ils entreir en Galis, p̄ venger le despit qils auoint dit, qils ne vousissent estre sutgi: a saint Austin pur enchesoû de eux Ingles.—T. Gray, Scala Cronica (MS. C.C.C.C. No. cxxxiii. 2. in Nasmith's Catalogue) fol. 89. b. col. 1. Only a part of this MS. has been printed.

It is not easy to say what Abstract of Chronicles is meant. The following may be the passage intended: And seint Austyn turned ayen tho to kyng Adelbright that was kyng of Kent and tolde hym that his folk nolde not be to no man obedient but to the Erchebishopp of karlioñ. And when the kyng herde this he was sore ānoied and said that he wolde hem destroie and sent to Olfrride kyng of Northumberlād that was his frende, &c....But tho kynges were so sterne and so wykked that they nolde neū speke with hem but qneld hem euerichone Allas for sorwe for they ne spared hem no more than the wolf

saith thus: *Mille ducenti eorum, in ipsa die martyrio decorati, regni cœlestis adepti sunt sedem*[8]: "A thousand and two hundred of them, being that day honoured with martyrdom, obtained a seat in the kingdom of heaven." Now, M. Harding, if they were saints and martyrs that so were murdered, what saint then was your Augustine, that was the raiser and procurer of that murder? Galfrid. Lib. viii. cap iv.

Neither was he the first planter of the faith within this island[9]. For the faith was planted here many hundred years before his coming. Tertullian saith of his time: *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca subduntur Christo*[10]: "The countries of Britanny, which the Romans could never attain unto, are now subject to Christ." Origen saith of his time: *Terra Britanniæ consensit in religionem Christi*[11]: "The land of Britanny hath agreed to Christ's religion." Athanasius of his time saith: *Episcopi Aphricæ universæ, Siciliæ, Sardiniæ, Hispaniarum, Galliarum, Britanniarum [sese ad concilium contulerunt]*[12]: "The bishops of all Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia, Spain, France, and Britanny came thither to the council (holden at Sardica)." Constantinus the emperor in his time maketh mention of the christian churches in Britanny[13]. St Hilary in his time intituled his letter in this wise: *Clericis Tolosanis, et provinciarum Britannicarum episcopis*[14]: "To the clergy of Tolouse, and to the bishops of Britanny." Chrysostom of his time saith: *Et insulæ Britannicæ extra hoc mare sitæ, et in ipso oceano positæ, senserunt virtutem verbi Dei*[15]: "The islands of Britanny being in the very ocean, far out of this our sea, have felt the power of God's word." Theodoretus of the time of the emperor Jovinian saith thus: *Huic fidei consenserunt omnes ecclesiæ, quæque in Hispania sunt, quæque in Britannia*[16]: "To this faith have agreed all the churches both of Spain and of Britanny." These records may seem sufficient, if it please M. Harding to receive them. And all and every of these lived sundry hundred years before the arrival of Melitus and Augustine.

Tertull. contr. Jud. Anno Dom. 210. Orig. in Ezech. Hom. 4. Anno 212. Athan. Apolog. sec. Anno 334. Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. x. Anno 330. Hilarius de Synodis. Anno 360. Chrysost. in Hom. Quod Christus sit Deus. Anno 400. Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. iv. cap. iii. Anno 367.

If any man shall happen to reply, "The faith was then utterly rooted out by the invasion of the Englishmen, being heathens;" that matter is already answered in my former reply to M. Harding[17]. Certainly Beda saith the queen of England was then christened, and that there were then in this realm seven bishops and one archbishop, with other more great learned christian men[18].

Art. iii. Div. 24. Bed. Lib. i. cap. xxvi. Bed. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

As touching this Augustine, we are not bound to all his doings. Although M. Harding allow him apostolic authority, yet all his hests were not gospel. The church in his time was grown to much corruption, as it may many ways appear by sundry places of St Gregory. Verily Beda saith the bishops and learned Christians of this country utterly refused to receive this new apostle with his new[19] religion[20]: and yet were they right catholic and godly men.

Bed. Lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

And Galfridus saith: [*Erant*] *septem episcopatus et archiepiscopatus religiosissimis præsulibus muniti, et abbatiæ complures, in quibus grex Domini rectum ordinem tenebat*[21]: "There were then in England seven bishopricks and one

Galfrid. Lib. viii. cap. iv.

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dothe the shepe but smyten of the heedes of euerichoue and so all were there martred that to hem come that is to vnderstonde v. c. & xl.—Booke of the Cronicles of engl. Westm. 1480. foll. e. 8. f. 1. In neither of these authorities does there seem to be any mention of Augustine's "being in company."]

[8 Galfrid. Monum. Britan. Orig. Par. 1517. Lib. VIII. cap. iv. fol. 94.]

[9 In England, 1567.]

[10 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 7. p. 212; where *loca Christo vero subdita.*]

[11 Quando enim terra Britanniæ ante adventum Christi in unius Dei consensit religionem?—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Ezech. Hom. iv. 1. Tom. III. p. 370.]

[12 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. contr. Arian. 1. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 123.]

[13 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 34.]

[14 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Synod. Lib. cols. 1149, 50; where *Britanniarum.*]

[15 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Contr. Jud. et Gent. Tom. I. p. 575.]

[16 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. IV. cap. iii. p. 154. This chapter is the synodic epistle to Jovian from Athanasius.]

[17 See Vol. I. pages 305, 6.]

[18 ...regina, quam christianam fuisse prædiximus.—Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. xxvi. p. 61.

Id. ibid. Lib. II. cap. ii. p. 79. Bede does not mention the archbishop.]

[19 1567 omits *new.*]

[20 At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant.—Id. ibid. p. 80.]

[21 Galfrid. Monum. Britan. Orig. Lib. VIII. cap. iv. fol. 93. 2; where *archiepiscopatum, munitos,* and *abbatias.*]

archbishoprick, possessed with very godly prelates, and many abbeys, in which the Lord's flock held the right religion."

Addition. *Addition.* "Here," saith M. Harding, "M. Jewel belieth Beda twice. First, he applieth that to the Englishmen which he spake of the Britons, namely of seven bishops and one archbishop," &c. *The answer.* If there had been some error herein, yet M. Harding might have uttered it in more courteous manner. Howbeit indeed it is not so: I spake[1] not one word of English bishops, but only of the bishops of the Britons, who, as M. Harding well knoweth, and as it may also appear by Galfridus and Beda, were then the bishops, and the only bishops, of this country.

M. Hard. fol. 83. b. [Detect.]

M. Hard. fol. 84. a. [Detect.] Bed. Lib. ii. cap. ii. "Priscis abdicare moribus," "deserere suas traditiones."

"Yet is there here," saith M. Harding, "another lie. For they refused to obey him as their archbishop: they refused not his religion." Certainly, good reader, the words of Beda seem plain to the contrary. "The Britons," saith he, "made answer, that they could not leave their ancient usages without the consent of their fellows." They came to an holy man, and demanded his advice, whether at this Augustine's request they should forsake and give over their old traditions. He answered them: If he be a proud man, it is certain he is not of God, neither ought we to care for his word. In the end he saith: *Cunctis, quæ dicebat, contradicere laborabant*[2]*:* "They withstood him in all that ever he said." I trow, he said somewhat else besides his archbishoprick and his pall; otherwise his head had been very ambitious.

M. Hard. fol. 83. b. [Detect.]

But M. Harding addeth further: It is well known that I have seen a certain book which he calleth the "Return of Untruths[3]," and that one of the same was presented unto me at Oxford at what time the queen's majesty was there in progress. How well M. Harding is assured hereof, I cannot say. It may pass in company with the rest of his truths. I assure thee, good reader, there was never such book offered to me, neither at Oxford nor elsewhere, neither did I ever read one line thereof in all my life.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 3.

That we renew, and, as it were, fetch again from hell the old and many-a-day condemned heresies; that we sow abroad new sects, and such broils as never erst were heard of; also that we are already divided into contrary parts and opinions, and could yet by no means agree well among ourselves.

M. HARDING.

Sith that ye raise up again the heresy of Aerius in denying prayer for the dead, who was for the same accounted an heretic eleven[4] *hundred years past; sith that ye raise up the heresy of Manichæus, that lived before him, in taking away free-will; sith that ye raise up the heresy of Vigilantius in refusing to pray to saints, and to honour their holy reliques, and to keep lights in churches to the honour of God, and many other heresies beside*[5] *of old time condemned; sith that ye raise up the heresies*[6] *of Berengarius in denying the presence of Christ's very body in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and sith that ye add to those more heresies of your own, as the appointing of the supreme pastorship or regiment of the church in all things and causes spiritual to a lay magistrate, the denying of the external sacrifice of the church, which we call the mass, the maintenance of the breach of vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; again, sith that your division into sundry sects can neither be dissembled nor defended, whereof we shall speak hereafter more largely; all these things, besides*[7]

That these defenders be renewers of old heresies.

[1 Speake, 1609, 1611.]

[2 Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. II. cap. ii. pp. 79, 80; where *suas deserere.*]

[3 The author of this work, printed at Antwerp, 1566, was Stapleton.]

[4 Heretic above eleven, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[5 Besides, Conf.]

[6 Heresy, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7 Beside, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

sundry other of like enormity, being true, as they be most true, this other cry made upon you is true.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This heap is great in shew, and light in substance. Touching Berengarius, gentle reader, for shortness' sake, I must refer thee to my former reply to M. Harding[8]. Aerius the Arian heretic, the breach of vows, the dissension of judgments in religion, shall be answered (God willing) hereafter, each matter severally in his place. We flatter not our prince with any new-imagined extraordinary power, but only give him that prerogative and chiefty that evermore hath been due unto him by the ordinance and word of God; that is to say, to be the nurse of God's religion; to make laws for the church; to hear and take[9] up cases and questions of the faith, if he be able; or otherwise to commit them over by his authority unto the learned; to command the bishops and priests to do their duties, and to punish such as be offenders. Thus the godly emperor Constantinus sat in judgment in a cause ecclesiastical, between Cæcilianus and Donatus à Casis Nigris, and in the end himself pronounced sentence[10]. Greater authority than Constantinus the emperor had and used our princes require none. This, I trust, hitherto is no great heresy.

Art. v. Div. 6.

Isai. xlix. 23.

August. contr. Cresc. Lib. iii. cap. cap. lxxi.

St Hierome reproved Vigilantius, for that he found fault with the vigils or night-wakes, that then there[11] were used, with praying to saints, with worshipping of reliques, with lights, and other such-like weighty matters. Touching which whole controversy Erasmus giveth this judgment: *In hunc ita conviciis debacchatur Hieronymus, ut plusculum in eo modestiæ cogar desiderare. Utinam argumentis tantum egisset, et a conviciis temperasset*[12]: "Against this Vigilantius St Hierome so raileth, that I want in him some piece of sobriety. I would rather he had dealt with arguments and had spared his railing."

Erasm. in Præfat. in Epist. Hieron. contr. Vigil.

Of prayer to saints and lights we shall speak hereafter. Night-wakes afterward were condemned, as I remember, in the council of Carthage[13], and so sentence given by the church with this great heretic Vigilantius against St Hierome. Verily the fathers in a former council holden at Eliberis in Spain decreed thus: *Placuit prohiberi ne fœminæ in cœmeterio pervigilent; quia sæpe sub obtentu orationis scelera latenter committunt*[14]: "It liketh us that women be forbidden to watch at the places of burial; for often under pretence of prayer privily they commit wickedness." To be short, if Vigilantius were an heretic for reproving of night-watches, why hath the church of Rome so long sithence condemned and abolished the same watches, agreeably to Vigilantius, and contrary to the judgment of St Hierome?

Conc. Eliber. cap. 35.

Reliques were subject to much villany, and are well-near worn out of themselves[15].

The Manichees, among other their fantastical errors, were wont to say that the body of man was made, not by God, but by the angels of the devil, which they called *gentem tenebrarum*; and that in man there be two souls of contrary natures, the one of the substance of God, the other of the substance of the devil; and that either soul continueth still as it is, and cannot alter; that is to say, that the good soul can never be ill, and that the ill soul can never be good. And in this sense they said that man hath no free-will[16].

August. de Continent. cap. ix. August. contra duas Epist. Pelag. Lib. ii. cap. ii. August. ad Quodvultd.

All these and other like errors we abhor and detest as frantic furies. We

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[8 See Vol. I. pages 458, 9.]

[9 And to take, 1570.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. III. cap. lxxi. 82. Tom. IX. cols. 476, 7.]

[11 1567, 1570, omit *there*.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Adv. Vigilant. Epist. Argum. Tom. III. fol. 55; where *duntaxat egisset*.]

[13 Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis, quantum fieri potest, prohibeantur.—Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 30. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 429.]

[14 Concil. Elib. cap. 35. in eod. p. 284; where *eo quod sæpe* and *committant*.]

[15 Themself, 1567, 1570.]

[16 ... Manichæi carnem nostram nescio cui fabulosæ genti tribuunt tenebrarum.—Id. De Continent. cap. ix. 22. Tom. VI. col. 309.

Id. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. II. cap. ii. 2. Tom. X. col. 432.

Id. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 46. Tom. VIII. col. 17.]

say that the soul of man is not the substance, but the creature of God; and that it may be changed from good to ill, from ill to good; that David may fall; that Paul may rise; that God giveth us a new heart and a new spirit within our breasts.

But as touching the freedom of will, and power of ourselves, we say with St Augustine: *O malum liberum arbitrium sine Deo*[1]: "O evil is free-will without God." Again: *Libero arbitrio male utens homo et se perdidit et arbitrium*[2]: "Man, misusing his free-will, spilt both himself and his will." Again: *Quid tantum de naturæ possibilitate præsumitur? Vulnerata, saucia, vexata, perdita est. Vera confessione, non falsa defensione opus habet*[3]: "What do men so much presume of the possibility of nature? It is wounded, it is mangled, it is troubled, it is lost. It behoveth us rather truly to confess it than falsely to defend it." Again: *Liberum arbitrium captivatum non nisi ad peccatum valet*[4]: "Free-will once made thrall availeth now nothing but to sin." Again: *Quod bene vivimus, quod recte intelligimus, Deo debemus. Nostrum nihil* [*est*], *nisi peccatum, quod habemus*[5]: "That we live well, that we understand aright, we have it of God. Of ourselves we have nothing, but only sin that is within us."

August. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 11. August. in Enchir. cap. xxx. August. de Nat. et Grat. cap. liii. August. ad Bonif. Lib. iii. cap. viii. August. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 10.

The better to clear this whole case, I thought it good to use the more words. Thus may we learn to know ourselves, and humbly to confess our imperfection, and to give the whole glory unto God.

Therefore, to conclude, St Augustine saith: *Nos ... volumus; sed Deus in nobis operatur ... velle. Nos ... operamur; sed Deus in nobis operatur et operari pro bona* [*sua*] *voluntate. Hoc nobis expedit et credere et dicere*[6]. *Hoc est pium: hoc* [*est*] *verum: ut sit humilis et submissa confessio, et detur totum Deo ... Tutiores ... vivimus, si totum Deo damus, non autem nos illi ex parte et nobis ex parte committimus*[7]: "We will; but it is God that worketh in us to will. We work; but it is God that worketh in us to work, according to his good pleasure. This is behoveful for us both to believe and to speak. This is a godly, this is a true doctrine, that our confession may be humble and lowly, and that God may have the whole. We live more in[8] safety if we give all unto God, rather than if we commit ourselves partly to ourselves and partly to him."

August. de Bono Persev. Lib. xiii. cap. vi.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 4.

That we be accursed[9] creatures, and like the giants do war against God himself, and live clean without any regard or worshipping of God.

M. HARDING.

What ye be, God knoweth, and your own conscience should know. Our Lord amend both you and us! But to say somewhat to that your guilty mind imagineth the world to report of you, if they, which take away and abhor the external sacrifice, wherein Christ, according to his own institution, is offered to his Father, make no war against God; if they which make Christ a minister of shadows, signs, tokens, and figures, they which fear not to break their solemn vows made to God, and defend the same as well done, they which assure themselves of their salvation, and therefore live dissolutely without due care and fear of God; if (I say) they be not cursed creatures, and like giants that war against God, then are ye clear of this charge...

Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To answer ifs with ifs, and words with words, it were great folly. Therefore,

[1 Id. De Verb. Psalm. xciv. Serm. xxvi. cap. iii. 3. Tom. V. col. 137.]

[2 Id. Enchirid. cap. xxx. 9. Tom. VI. col. 207; where *perdidit et ipsum.*]

[3 Id. De Nat. et Grat. cap. liii. 62. Tom. X. col. 153; where *sauciata.*]

[4 Id. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. III. cap. viii. 24. Tom. X. col. 464.]

[5 Id. Serm. clxxvi. 6. Tom. V. col. 842; where *viximus, intelleximus,* and *illi* for *Deo.*]

[6 Discere, 1611.]

[7 Id. De Don. Persev. capp. xiii. 32. vi. 12. Tom. X. cols. 838, 9, 27.]

[8 In more, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Cursed, Conf.]

leaving the answer of vows and assurance of salvation to their several places, first we deny not the sacrifice of Christ. Christ only upon his cross is our whole and only sacrifice for sin, and beside him we have none other. Howbeit, I have spoken hereof more at large in my former reply to M. Harding[10]. In the xviith Art.

Neither make we Christ, as it liketh M. Harding to say, a minister of signs and figures. We know that Christ is the fulfilling and perfection of the law, and that grace and truth are wrought by him. Yet nevertheless we say that the sacraments of the new testament are signs and figures. The old father Tertullian expoundeth Christ's words in this sort: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[11]: "'This is my body,' that is to say, this is a figure of my body." St Augustine saith: [*Christus*] *adhibuit* [*Judam*] *ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis* [*suis*] *commendavit et tradidit*[12]: "Christ received Judas unto his banquet, whereat he delivered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood." And again: *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*[13]: "Christ doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' whereas he gave a token of his body."

John i. 17.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

August. in Psalm. iii.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii.

I leave other holy fathers of like words and sense well-near innumerable. Yet were they neither giants, nor rebels against God, nor accursed creatures. If they had never used these words, nor called the sacrament the figure or token of Christ's body, then might M. Harding have been bold to say somewhat, and to lead away his reader with a tragical exclamation of signs and figures. Howbeit he himself, as I have shewed in my former answer[14], in the exposition of these words of Christ, "This is my body," and other like phrases incident unto the same, to avoid one usual and common figure, is forced to shift himself into thirty other unnecessary and childish figures; as knowing that not so much as his open untruths can well stand without figures.

Art. xii. Div. 16.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 6.

That we despise all good deeds; that we use no discipline of virtue, no laws, no customs; that we esteem neither right, nor order, nor equity, nor justice; that we give the bridle to all naughtiness, and provoke the people to all licentiousness and lust.

M. HARDING.

Fasting with Flesh.

Fast for policy. fol. 2. p. 2.

Epist. ad Rom.

Bridle given to lewdness by this new gospel.

...Ye teach men to fast for policy, not for religion. And by your statute of Wednesday's fast, whosoever shall write or say that forbearing of flesh is a service of God, otherwise than as other politic laws are, they shall be punished as spreaders of false news are and ought to be[15]. *When ye preach only faith, not to remove the merit of works before baptism, as St Paul meant it, but also after baptism; when ye take away the sacrament of confesssion and absolution, give ye not the bridle to all naughtiness?... Do not some of your gospelling maids of London refuse to serve, except they may have liberty to hear a sermon before noon and a play at afternoon?*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I thought M. Harding had known a difference between fasting, and abstinence, or choice of meats. True fasting is a religious work, ordained to testify our humility, and to make the flesh the more obedient unto the Spirit, that we may be the quicker to prayer and to all good works. But abstinence from this or that meat with opinion of holiness, superstitious it may easily make a

[10 See Vol. II. pages 708, &c.]

[11 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 447, note 13.]

[12 August. Op. Enarr. in Psalm. iii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[13 Non enim Dominus dubitavit, &c., cum signum daret, &c.—Id. Lib. Contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124.]

[14 See Vol. II. pages 623, 4.]

[15 Stat. at Large, Anno Quint. Eliz. cap. v. 14, 40.]

1 Cor. viii. 8. man, but holy it cannot. St Paul saith: *Cibus nos non commendat Deo:* "It
Heb. xiii. 9. is not meat that maketh us acceptable unto God." Again: "It is good to confirm the heart with grace, and not with meats; wherein they that have walked
1 Cor. vi. 13. have found no profit." "The meat serveth for the belly, and the belly for the
Rom. xiv. 17. meat: the Lord will destroy them both." And again: "The kingdom of God
Matt. xv. 17. is not meat and drink." Likewise Christ saith: "The thing that entereth into the mouth defileth not the man."

Hereby it is easy to see that fasting is one thing, and abstinence from flesh
1 Kings xvii. 6. is another. The Nazarites[1] in the old testament abstained not from flesh,
Matt. iii. 4. and yet they fasted. Elias was fed with flesh, John the Baptist ate the flesh
Socr. Lib. v. cap. xxii. of locusts; and yet they both fasted. Socrates saith that many Christians
Cassid. Lib. ix. cap. xxxviii. in the Lent season did eat fish and birds: many abstained until three of the clock in the afternoon, and then received all kinds of meat, either fish or flesh,
Epiph. de Hæres. Lib. iii. in Orat. de Fide Catholica. without difference[2]. Likewise Epiphanius saith: "Some eat all kind of birds or fowl, abstaining only from the flesh of four-footed beasts[3]." And yet they kept their Lent truly, and fasted as well as any others. Wherefore abstinence
οἱ μὲν τετραπόδων μόνον ἀπέχονται, λαμβάνουσι δὲ ὀρνέων. from any one certain kind of meat is not of itself a work of religion to please
August. Hieron. in Joel. cap. i. God, but only a mere positive policy. St Augustine saith: *Non quæro quo vescaris, sed quo delecteris*[4]: "I demand not what thou eatest, but wherein thou hast pleasure." And St Hierome saith of the Manichees: *Jejunant illi quidem; sed illorum jejunium est saturitate deterius*[5]: "They fast indeed; but their fasting is worse than if they filled their bellies."

Of only faith and confession we shall speak hereafter.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 7.

That we labour and seek to overthrow the state of monarchies and kingdoms, and to bring all things under the rule of the rash inconstant people and unlearned multitude.

M. HARDING.

Can monarchs and princes seem to be maintained by your sects, who teach the people to rebel for pretensed religion? Allow ye the monarchy of the Roman empire, who so much complain in your Apology that the pope made Charlemagne emperor of the west? Hath the queen of Scotland cause to praise the proceedings of your gospel, through occasion whereof she ruleth not her subjects, but is rather ruled of her subjects?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is another great untruth among the rest. For M. Harding right well knoweth that we never armed the people, nor taught them to rebel for religion against the prince. If any thing have at any time happened otherwise, it was either some wilful rage, or some fatal fury: it was not our counsel; it was not
Rom. xiii. 1. our doctrine. We teach the people, as St Paul doth, to be subject to the higher powers, not only for fear, but also for conscience. We teach them
Matt. xxvi. 52. that whoso striketh with the sword by private authority shall perish with the sword. If the prince happen to be wicked, or cruel, or burdenous, we
Ambrosius. teach them to say with St Ambrose: *Arma nostra sunt preces et lacrymæ*[6]:

[1 Nazareis, 1567, 1570.]

[2 *Τινὲς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἰχθύσι καὶ τῶν πτηνῶν ἀπογεύονται...ἕτεροι δὲ ἄχρις ἐννάτης ὥρας νηστεύοντες, διάφορον ἔχουσι τὴν ἑστίαν.*—Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 234. Conf. Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IX. cap. xxxviii. fol. T. 7.]

[3 *Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέχονται πάντων τούτων, οἱ δὲ τετραπόδων μόνων, λαμβάνουσι δὲ ὀρνέων, καὶ τὰ μετέπειτα.*—Epiphan. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Expos. Fid. Cath. 23. Tom. I. p. 1106.]

[4 Non ego quæro, a quo cibo abstineas, sed quem cibum diligas.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Util. Jej. cap. v. 7. Tom. VI. col. 618.]

[5 Jejunat Manichæus et multi hæretici...sed hoc jejunium saturitate et ebrietate deterius est.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Joel. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1345.]

[6 Adversus arma...lacrymæ meæ arma sunt.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Serm. Contr. Auxent. 2. Tom. II. col. 864.]

"Tears and prayers be our weapons." Notwithstanding, what rebellion hath been moved in England by some of your side, in the late reigns of king Henry the eighth and king Edward the sixth, in defence of your religion, ye may well remember.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding hath shortly shuffled together a whole troop of words, written or spoken by Luther, Melancthon, or others, in some part true, in most part false, and quite racked from their meaning; but in no part touching any part of our doctrine. Neither doth any of all these teach the people to rebel against their prince, but only to defend themselves by all lawful means against oppression, as did David against king Saul. So do the nobles in France at this day. They seek not to kill, but to save their own lives, as they have openly protested by public writing unto the world. As for us, we are strangers unto their cases. They themselves are best acquainted with the laws and constitutions of their country; and therefore are best able to yield account of the grounds and reasons of their doings. But let M. Harding shew us, in so many kingdoms and countries that have withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the pope, what one prince hath there ever been removed for religion's sake by the professors of the gospel. There may he find the very pattern and practice of our doctrine. Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 84. b. [Detect.]

Perhaps many good princes may be found that have been removed by the pope, and by others of his devotion.

I will not speak of enterprises attempted within this country. And yet is it known what hath been done, and at whose beck, and in whose behalf.

But forasmuch as you say, "We openly protest before God and the world, that we condemn and defy all such attempts, I mean that any subject or subjects whatsoever, of their own private authority, should take arms against their prince for matters of religion;" how like you then the attempts of Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, against Richard the second, king of England[7]? You will say it was no matter of religion; yet can you not say but the said archbishop was a subject, and king Richard was his prince. How like you the late insurrection in the north, in the time of king Henry the eighth? Who kindled that fire? Who raised that tempest? Whose right was attempted? Whose crown was assaulted? Had protestants the leading of those bands? Was Wiat the general of that field? How like you the counsel of cardinal Poole, in his imagined oration to Charles the emperor, calling back his majesty from the Turk, to leave all other affairs, and to bend his banners against England, and encouraging the subjects of this realm boldly to rebel against their prince? "There be in England," saith he, "whole legions of men, that have not bowed their knee to Baal. If thou once arrive there, O emperor, God will bring them to thy hand. Englishmen are a people that oftentimes have deposed their kings for lighter causes, &c. They have still the same courage, &c. Nothing stayeth them from revenging so great wrongs by their king committed, but only the waiting for your majesty[8]," &c. The book is abroad in print, and may be seen. I shew you only a few examples out of the heap; and, for that they be odious, I have rather touched them shortly than laid them open. M. Hard. fol. 87. a. [Detect.] Fabian, Part 7. Reg. Pol. Lib. iii.

Nicolas Machiavel in his Italian history saith, that the bishops of Rome themselves, through their ambition and cruelty, have raised such deadly discord and bloody wars between christian princes, as few the like have been seen in Christendom these many years[9]. Yet will you protest openly against them Nic. Machiavel. Florent.

[7 Fabyan, The New Chronicles of England and France, Lond. 1811. Sept. Pars, Rich. II. pp. 545, &c. The account is here given of the part taken by archbishop Arundel in the dethronement of Richard II.]

[8 Mihi crede, integræ adhuc legiones in Anglia latent eorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal: quos omnes, si venias, Deus ipse, qui conservavit, ad te adducet. Sunt autem iidem Angli, Cæsar, qui multo leviore de caussa ipsi...pœnas male administratæ reipublicæ a regibus suis sumpserunt...Hos porro spiritus cum adhuc retineant, nihil eos a tanta injuria regis vindicanda retardat...præter spem et exspectationem tui, &c.—Reg. Pol. ad Henric. Octav. Pro Eccles. Unit. Defens. Libr. Quat. Ingolst. 1587. Lib. III. p. 389.]

[9 Sic omnium propemodum bellorum, quæ ab eo tempore in Italia gesta a barbaris sunt, causa et occasio fuere pontifices, &c.—Nic. Machiavel. Hist. Florent. Argent. 1610. Lib. I. p. 15. Conf. ibid. pp. 35, 6.]

all; against your archbishops, against your cardinals, and against the pope himself, the successor of Peter, and the vicar of Christ? Will you condemn and defy their attempts before God and before the world? How then if the pope this day, to recover his losses, would release the natural subjects of this realm from their oath and allegiance to the queen's majesty, as he hath often done, as well here as in other countries, and saith he may justly do it by the right of his office[1]? What would you then do yourself, M. Harding? or what would you advise your friends to do? Why should you dissemble? You would do even as your fathers have done before you.

xv. Quæst. 6. Nos Sanctor. Ead. Alius.

M. Hard. fol. 87. a. [Detect.]

But what mean you to deal so nicely in this matter? You say "you protest before God and the world you condemn and defy all such attempts." A man would think ye spake in earnest. Wherefore then have you set so favourable a construction to these words? "I mean," say you, "that any subject or subjects whatsoever, of their own private authority, should take arms against their prince for matters of religion." Wherefore except you only the case of religion? Is it lawful, by your judgment, for the subjects in any other case, either of life or of government, to arm himself against his prince? And would you thus persuade the people? Is this your religion? Is this your doctrine?

Or what mean you by "their own private authority?" May then the subject arm himself against his prince by the common advice, and by the public authority of the realm? If so, wherefore then blame you the nobles of Scotland? For whatsoever was done there, a few only excepted, was done by the consent and agreement of the whole. But perhaps by private authority you mean whatsoever is attempted in this behalf, without the authority of the pope; to whom you have given the right and authority of both swords, spiritual and temporal; and from whom, you say, the kings and princes of the world have received their power. Verily the pope himself saith: [*Materialis gladius stringendus est*] *manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis*[2]: "The material or temporal sword must be drawn by the hands of kings and soldiers (howbeit not by the prince's own authority, but) at the beck and patience of the priest;" by which priest is meant the pope. And whatsoever is done at his beck hath authority sufficient, and is well done. But great was the patience of the princes and powers of the world, that could so long and so quietly bear his becking.

M. Hard. Conf. fol. 247. b. 248. b.

De Major. et Obed. Unam sanct.

Now, M. Harding, if you think it lawful for subjects to draw the sword in defence of the pope, why may you not also think it lawful for them to defend themselves in defence of Christ?

The displacing of the emperor of Constantinople, and the placing of Charlemagne, the French king, serveth M. Harding to small purpose; unless it be to disclose the pope's conspiracy against the emperor. Certainly, as any man may sensibly see, it was the advancing of the pope, the strengthening of the Saracens, and after of the Turks, and the division and dissolution of the state of Christendom. Platina saith: *Ab hoc tempore periit et potestas imperatorum, et virtus pontificum*[3]: "After this time the power of the emperors and the holiness of the pope[4] were both lost."

Platina in Adrian. II.

Touching the queen of Scotland, I will say nothing: the kingdoms and states of the world have sundry agreements and compositions. The nobles and commons there neither drew the sword nor attempted force against the prince. They sought only the continuance of God's undoubted truth, and the defence of their own lives against your barbarous and cruel invasions. They remembered, besides all other warnings, your late dealing at Vassei, where as great numbers of their brethren were suddenly murdered, being together at their prayers in the church, and holding up their innocent hands to heaven

At Vassei, An. 1562.

[1 Nos...eos, qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus.—Gregor. VII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xv. Quæst. vi. can. 4. col. 1084. Conf. can. 3. ibid.]

[2 Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. i. col. 208.]

[3 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. Agrip. 1551. Formosus I. p. 125. See Vol. I. page 415, note 20.]

[4 Popes, 1567, 1570.]

and calling upon the name of God[5]. Achab said sometime to the prophet Elias[6]: "Thou art he that troublest the whole country of Israel." But Elias made him answer: "It is not I that trouble the country: it is thou and thy father's house which have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and have followed after Baalim." 1 Kings xviii. 17.

Addition. ☞ "What is a lie," saith M. Harding, "if this be none?" *The answer.* Indeed the nobles and commons of Scotland were in the field: we deny it not. So was David in the field against king Saul. They stood in armour, not to invade or attempt force against their prince, but only to defend themselves, as by way of retire. And therefore they withdrew themselves with their power into the marches of England, not for want of strength or courage (for they had then double more men in the field than came against them), but only for reverence of their prince, that came upon them; lest they should be forced, by rage of their enemies and fury of war, to strike the anointed of the Lord. Such broils have often happened in many countries, as by sundry stories it may appear. ☞ Addition. ☞

The subject is bound to obey his prince; howbeit not in all things without exception, but so far as God's glory is not touched. These nobles had learned of St Peter, "It is better to obey God than man;" and of the prophet David, "Better it is to trust to God than to trust in princes." For they are mortal, and shall die: their spirit shall be taken from them; and then shall they return into the earth. Neither may a godly prince take it as any dishonour to his estate to see God obeyed before him. For he is not God, but the minister of God. Leo saith: [*Christus*] *quæ Dei sunt, Deo,... quæ Cæsaris sunt, Cæsari reddenda constituit, &c. Hoc est vere non impugnare Cæsarem, sed juvare*[7]: "Christ commanded that is due unto God to be given to God; that is due unto Cæsar to be given to Cæsar. Verily this is not to rebel against, but to help Cæsar." Likewise St Ambrose, being himself in manner a captain unto the people in God's quarrel against Valentinian the emperor: *Quid...præsentius dici potuit a christianis viris, quam id quod hodie in nobis Spiritus sanctus loquutus est, Rogamus, Auguste, non pugnamus: non timemus, sed rogamus*[8]? "What could be more boldly spoken of christian men than that the Holy Ghost spake in you this day? (Thus ye said): We beseech thee, noble emperor, we fight not. We fear thee not, but we beseech thee." Acts v. 29. Psal. cxviii. 9. Psal. cxlvi. 4. Leon. de Pass. Dom. Serm. 10. Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 33.

To conclude, the queen of Scotland is still in quiet possession of her estate, and is obeyed of her subjects, so far as is convenient for godly people to obey their prince.

Addition. ☞ "Here," saith M. Harding, "what will you stick to say or write, which do say, write, and set out in print such a palpable and manifest falschood; such, I say, as even the tankard-bearers in London can witness against you?" *The answer.* At the time of the writing and first entry into the printing of my book, these words were true. For then was the queen of Scotland in the full possession of her estate. Neither could I prophesy what things would follow. Shortly afterward the whole case was altered, as it is known. In the end of the print, by forgetfulness, this place escaped my hands without correction, and so slipped away unawares[9], as it was printed at the first. Indeed, as I could not foresee the restraint of the said queen's liberty, which followed, but wrote of her state as it then presently was, as indeed doing truly I could do none other; so could I not foresee the causes that occasioned that alteration. For, that the king should shortly after the time of my writing be so murdered, and the house wherein[10] he lodged blown up with powder; that a wicked man, accounted the certain author of that parricidal murder, having himself a wife yet living, should attain to the marriage of the Addition. ☞

[5 See Smedley, Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France, Vol. I. chap. vi.]

[6 Elia, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Pass. Dom. Serm. x. 1; where *sunt Cæsaris.*]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Epist. xx. 14. Tom. II. col. 855; where *vobis Spiritus sanctus est loquutus.*]

[9 Unwares, 1570.]

[10 Where, 1570.]

same queen, whose husband he had so traitorously slain, were things unknown unto me, and unto all men also when I did write this. And what way the nobles and body of the realm would take for the safety of the young prince, who seemed to all men to be in great danger, was likewise unknown unto me. And M. Harding knoweth right well, that these were the occasions of the alteration of the state from that it was when I did write, and not religion; which might well be known by that, that many of the said queen's religion were against her, and many protestants were and are her friends. And it seemeth that M. Harding, so "openly protesting before God and the world, that they condemn and defy such attempts that any subjects should of their own private authority take arms against their prince," excepting[1] of matters of religion only, should think it reason that parricides, murders, and shedding of blood, especially[2] blood-royal, rapes, incest[3], and such-like, should not pass without all controlment. Surely God hath not suffered such great faults to escape unpunished even in princes, as doth well appear by the examples of queen Jesabel in Israel, queen Johanne in Naples[4], king Tarquin in Rome, whom for their great wickedness God, by stirring their own subjects against them, deprived of their princely estates. For princes also are God's subjects, against whom, for their offences against his majesty, he proceedeth as well as against the basest sorts of men, by such ways as to his heavenly wisdom it seemeth good.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 8.

That we have seditiously fallen from the catholic church, and by a wicked schism and division have shaken the whole world, and troubled the common peace and universal quiet of the church; and that, as Dathan and Abiram[5] conspired in times past against Moyses and Aaron, even so we at this day have renounced the bishop of Rome without any cause reasonable.

M. HARDING.

Before Luther's time all christian people came together peaceably into one church, under one head, as sheep into one fold under one shepherd, and so lived unanimes in domo, "*in one accord;*" *but after that Satan, who at the beginning beguiled Eve, had persuaded some to taste of the poisoned apple of Luther's new doctrine, "they went out from us who were not of us, (for if they had been of us they had remained with us)," forsook the catholic church of Christ, sorted themselves into synagogues of antichrist, withdrew themselves from obedience toward their pastor and judge, and sundered themselves into divers sects. This schism, division, and conspiracy against the head shepherd is no less wicked than that of Dathan and Abiron against Moyses and Aaron was. For, as God commanded Moyses and Aaron to be obeyed of the children of Israel, so Christ commanded all his sheep to obey and hear the voice of him whom in Peter, and succeeding Peter, he made shepherd over his whole flock...*

Division and schism followed upon Luther's preaching. 1 John ii.

Num. xvi.

Great untruths.

John xxi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Before the time that God's holy will was that Doctor Luther should begin, after so long time of ignorance[6], to publish the gospel of Christ, there was a general quietness, I grant, such as in[7] the night-season, when folk be asleep. Yet, I think, to continue such quietness, no wise man will wish to sleep still.

[1 By his excepting, 1570, 1609.]

[2 Specially, 1570.]

[3 Incests, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Joanna I. of Naples. She is generally considered as a participator in the murder of her husband Andrew; but some of the best authorities doubt the truth of the accusation. She was compelled to fly from Naples, but was restored, and reigned for thirty years unmolested. At length she was again deposed and put to death in prison. The manner of her death is uncertain.]

[5 Abiron, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 1567 omits *after so long time of ignorance.*]

[7 As is in, 1567.]

Ye say: "They have forsaken the catholic church: they went from us who were not of us." Nay rather, M. Harding, we are returned to the catholic church of Christ, and have forsaken you, because you have manifestly forsaken the ways of God. But what if a man would a little put you friendly in remembrance? Sir, it is not long[8] sithence yourself were out of your own catholic church, and so were gone out from yourself, because yourself were not of yourself. For if yourself had been of yourself, you would have remained better with yourself. It is no wisdom in carping at[9] others to offer occasion against yourself. I beseech God to give you grace, that you may *redire ad cor*, and return again to yourself. But here you bring in a great many untruths in a throng together. You say that, as God commanded the people of Israel to obey Aaron, so Christ commanded all his sheep to obey the pope succeeding Peter: you say, Christ made the pope shepherd over his whole flock: you call him our pastor and our judge: you call him the head shepherd; and for proof hereof, for some countenance of truth, ye allege the one and twentieth chapter of St John; in which whole chapter notwithstanding ye are not able to find, neither any such commandment of Christ, nor any mention of Peter's successor, nor all his sheep, nor shepherd over his whole flock, nor our pastor, nor our judge, nor our head shepherd. It is much to report untruth of a man: but to report untruth of Christ, and of his holy word, and that willingly and wittingly, and without fear, some men think it to be the sin against the Holy Ghost.

As for these words, "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs," they pertain as well to other the apostles as to Peter. Christ said generally to all his disciples: "Go[10] ye into all the world, and preach the gospel." And Paul saith of himself: *Ego plus omnibus laboravi:* "I have taken more pains (and more fed the flock) than all the rest." Surely, methinketh, it is a weak kind of reasoning to say thus: Christ bade Peter feed his sheep; *ergo*, he made him head shepherd over all the whole world[11].

Matt. xxviii. 19.

1 Cor. xv. 10.

But if this whole prerogative hang of feeding the flock, what then if the pope feed not? What if he never mind to feed, as thinking it no part of his office? To conclude, what if he be utterly ignorant, as many have been, and cannot feed? Yet must he needs be the head shepherd over the whole flock? and must all the sheep obey him, and hear his voice, that cannot speak? Verily St Augustine saith: *Qui hoc animo pascunt oves Christi, ut suas velint esse, non Christi, se convincuntur amare, non Christum, vel gloriandi vel dominandi vel acquirendi cupiditate*[12]: "Whosoever they be that feed the sheep, to the end to make them theirs, and not Christ's, they love themselves, and not Christ, for desire either of glory, or of rule, or of gain."

August. in Johan. Tract. 123.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 9.

That we set nought by the authority of the ancient fathers and councils of old time; that we have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies, which have been well allowed by our fathers and forefathers many hundred years[13] past, both by good customs, and also in ages of more purity; and that we have by our own private head, without the authority of any sacred and general council, brought new traditions into the church, and have done all these things, not for religion's sake, but only upon a desire of contention and strife. But that they for their part have changed no manner of thing, but have held and kept still such a number of years to this very day all things as they were delivered from the apostles, and well approved by the most ancient fathers.

[8 Not so long, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[9 1567, 1570, omit *at*.]
[10 God, 1611.]
[11 The world, 1567, 1570.]
[12 August. Op. Par. 1679–1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xxi. Tractat. cxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 817.]
[13 Year, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

The ancient fathers are but men, if they please you not. But, if ye find any colour of advantage but in the new schoolmen, ye make much of it. So that your own opinion is the rule to esteem them or despise them. Councils ye admit as your fancy and pleasure leadeth, sometimes three, sometimes four, sometimes five or six. But all ye would never admit; and yet so many as are general and have been confirmed by the see apostolic, they are all of like authority. Concerning ceremonies, if ye shew us not the use of chrism in your churches, if the sign of the cross be not borne before you in processions and otherwheres used, if holy water be abolished, if lights at the gospel and communion be not had, if peculiar vestiments for deacons, priests, bishops, be taken away, and many such other the like; judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the church.

Councils.

Ceremonies of the church abolished by the gospellers.

As for your new traditions, rites, and ceremonies, I cannot tell what to make of them, nor whether I may so term them...

No manner of thing have we changed that is of necessity either to be believed or to be observed...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We allow the ancient fathers the same credit that they themselves have ever desired. St Augustine hereof writeth thus: *Neque... quorumvis disputationes, quantumvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut nobis non liceat, salva reverentia, quæ illis debetur,... aliquid in illorum scriptis improbare aut respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quam*[1] *veritas habet.... Talis sum ego in scriptis aliorum: tales volo esse intellectores meorum*[2]: "We receive not the disputations or writings of any men, be they never so catholic or praise-worthy, as we receive the canonical scriptures; but that, saving the reverence due unto them, we may well reprove or refuse some things in their writings, if it happen we find they have otherwise thought than the truth may bear them. Such am I in the writings of others; and such would I wish others to be in mine." Likewise he writeth to St Hierome: *Non puto, frater, te velle libros tuos legi tanquam apostolorum aut prophetarum*[3]: "I reckon not, my brother, that ye would have us so to read your books as if they were written by the apostles or prophets." It is certain Tertullian, Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Papias, Irenæus, Victorinus, Lactantius, Hilarius, and other ancient fathers were oftentimes much deceived[4]. St Hierome scoffeth at St Ambrose's commentaries upon Luke, and calleth them *nugas*, "trifles," and nicknameth St Ambrose, sometimes[5] calling him *corvus*, sometime *cornicula*[6]. Likewise St Augustine saith: "*Ecclesiastici... judices, ut homines, plerunque falluntur*[7]: "The judges or doctors of the church, as being men, are often deceived." And Thomas of Aquine saith: *Non tenemur de necessitate salutis credere non solum doctoribus ecclesiæ, ut Hieronymo aut Augustino, sed ne ipsi quidem ecclesiæ, nisi in his quæ pertinent ad substantiam fidei*[8]: "We are not bound upon the necessity of salvation to believe not only the doctors of the church, as Hierome or Augustine, but also neither the church itself, saving only in matters concerning the substance of faith."

August. ad Fortunat. Epist. 111.

August. ad Hieron. Epist. 19.

Picus Mirand. in Apolog.

August. contr. Crescon. Lib. ii. cap. ii. Picus Mirand. in Apolog. Thom. in Quodlib. 9. Art. ult.

Touching the authority of councils St Augustine saith: *Ipsa... plenaria*

August. contr. Donat. Lib. ii. cap. iii.

[1 Quem, 1611.]

[2 Id. ad Fortunat. Common. seu Epist. cxlviii. 15. Tom. II. col. 502; where *quorumlibet disputationes quamvis, salva honorificentia, eorum scriptis, atque respuere*, and *ego sum*.]

[3 Nec te, mi frater...arbitror sic legi tuos libros velle, tamquam prophetarum, vel apostolorum.—Id. ad Hieron. Epist. lxxxii. 3. col. 190.]

[4 Picus Mirandula proves by several arguments that the opinions of the fathers are not to be taken as an infallible rule, and cites some of the passages here referred to.—J. Pic. Mirand. Op. Basil. 1601. Apolog. Tom. I. pp. 95, &c.]

[5 Sometime, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Paul. et Eustoch. Epist. cvi. Ad Paulin. in Lib. Didym. de Spir. Sanct. Præf. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 808; Pars I. Append. cols. 493, 4. Conf. Ruf. Invect. in Hieron. Lib. II. Ibid. Pars II. cols. 432, 4.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. II. cap. xxi. 26. Tom. IX. col. 423; where *sicut* and *fallantur*.]

[8 The only sentence at all to the point in the place referred to is the following: Dico ergo quod judicium eorum qui præsunt ecclesiæ potest errare in quibuslibet, si personæ eorum tantum respiciantur.—Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Quodl. ix. Art. 16. Tom. XII. fol. 167.]

[*concilia*] *sæpe priora* [*a*] *posterioribus emendantur, cum aliquo experimento... aperitur, quod clausum erat*[9]: "The very general councils are often corrected, the former by the later, as often as by trial and experience the thing is opened that before was shut." Likewise Panormitane saith: *Plus credendum est uni privato fideli, quam toti concilio et papæ, si meliorem habeat auctoritatem vel rationem*[10]: "We ought to give more credit to one private layman, than to the whole council and to the pope, if he bring better authority and more reason." If the council be wicked, and carried with malice, as many have been, specially within these few late hundred years, we say, as the prophet Esay saith, *Inite consilium, et dissipabitur: loquimini verbum, et non stabit: quia nobiscum est Dominus:* "Take counsel together; and it shall be broken: speak the word; and it shall not hold. For the Lord is with us."

Abbas Panorm. de Elect. et Electi Protest. cap. Significasti.

Isai. viii. 10.

As for the late school-doctors, yourselves weigh them as little as no man less. You say in your common talks, *Bernardus non vidit omnia:* you have controlled your doctor of all doctors, Peter Lombard, with this common *caveat* in the margin: *Hic magister non tenetur*[11]: "Here our doctor is no doctor." You yourself, M. Harding, in this your very book against our Apology, say that your doctor Gratian was deceived, and instead of Anacletus alleged Calixtus. You yourself again say: "If in a secret point of learning St Augustine or St Cyprian teach singularly, we follow them not: much less do we bind ourselves to believe whatsoever Albertus Pighius hath written." And again: "We bind ourselves neither to the words of Sylvester nor of Pighius." And again: "We take not upon us to defend all that the canonists or school-men say or write." And another of your company saith that your doctor Gratian hath published great untruths, and wilfully falsified the general council. *Nomen universalis*, saith he, *assutum est a Gratiano*[12]. Thus, M. Harding, ye use your doctors even as the merchant useth his counters; sometime to stand for an hundred pounds[13], sometime for a penny.

M. Hard. fol. 92 b. [Conf.]

M. Hard. fol. 232. b. [Conf.]

M. Hard. fol. 258. a. [Conf.]

Copus, Dial. 1. p. 33.

But now let us a little examine the particulars of your bill. Ye come in with processions, with lights, with torches, with tapers, with chrism, with oil, with tunicles and chesibles, with holy water, and holy bread, and I know not what else; as if all these things had descended directly from the apostles, and without the same the church of God were no church.

Verily, M. Harding, we hate not any of all these things. For we know they are the creatures of God. But you have so misused them, or rather so defiled and bewrayed them with your superstitions, and so have with the same mocked and deceived God's people, that we can no longer continue them without great conscience. I will pass over the rest, and speak only of your oil, whereof you seem to make most account. In your pontifical thus are ye taught to bless your oil: *Fiat, Domine, hoc oleum, te benedicente, unctio spiritualis ad purificationem mentis et corporis*[14]: "O Lord, let this oil by thy blessing be made a spiritual ointment to purify both soul and body." And again: *Emitte, quæsumus, sancte Pater, Spiritum sanctum Paracletum tuum de cœlis in hanc pinguedinem olivæ,... ad refectionem corporum et sanationem animarum*[15]: "O holy Father, we beseech thee, send down thy Holy Spirit the Comforter from heaven into this fatness of the olive, to the refreshing of body and soul." In like sort ye are taught to pray over the sick: *Per hanc sanctam unctionem, et suam piissimam misericordiam, ignoscat tibi Deus, ut per hanc unctionem habeas remissionem omnium peccatorum*[16]: "By this holy anointing, and by his great mercy, God pardon thee, that by this anointing thou mayest have remission of all thy sins." These things cannot be denied: they are written in all your manuals, used and practised in all

De Consec. Olei.

[9 August. Op. De Bapt. Contr. Donat. Lib. II. cap. iii. 4. Tom. IX. col. 98; where *emendari.*]

[10 See Vol. II. page 677, note 10.]

[11 Pet. Lombard. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. I. Distt. xxiv. xxxi. foll. 67, 85, &c.]

[12 ... *universalis, &c.*, a Gratiano, ut apparet, assutum est.—Copi (N. Harpsfield) Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. v. pp. 33, 4.]

[13 Pound, 1567.]

[14 ... ut possit effici unctio spiritalis...ut tua sancta benedictione sit omni hoc unguento cœlestis medicinæ peruncto tutamen mentis et corporis, &c.—Pontifical. Rom. Antv. 1627. De Offic. in Quint. Fer. Cœn. Dom. p. 412.]

[15 Id. ibid. See Vol. II. page 1136, note 3.]

[16 In this sentence is comprised the substance of what is repeated frequently and in various forms. See Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555. De Extr. Unct. foll. 94-7.]

Lights. Water.

your churches. Ye call it holy oil, and oil of salvation: ye bear the people in hand that thereby they shall have health of body and soul. And yet indeed ye have no chrism at all. For pope Innocentius saith: *Chrisma conficitur ex oleo et balsamo*[1]: "The chrism is made of oil and balsam." And to the making thereof the balsam is as necessary as the oil. But these many hundred years ye have had no balsam, nor hath there been any to be had; therefore ye have had no chrism this long while, but have deceived the people with *quid pro quo*, giving them one thing for another.

Extra de Sacra Unctione.

Now that your oil came not from the apostles, your own doctor Panormitane is witness. For thus he writeth: *Apostoli olim conferebant Spiritum sanctum sola manus impositione. Et quia hodie prælati non sunt ita beati, ... fuit institutum ut illi conferrent hoc sacramentum cum chrismate*[2]: "The apostles in old time gave the Holy Ghost only by laying on of hands. But now-a-days, because bishops be not so holy, order hath been taken that they should give this sacrament with chrism."

Panorm. de Consuet. cap. v.

Neither is this matter so throughly approved by all antiquity as M. Harding imagineth. For pope Innocentius is witness, that in old times there were some that found fault with these doings. These be his words: "*Non Judaizat ecclesia cum unctionis celebrat sacramentum, sicut antiqui mentiuntur*[3]: "The church is not Jewish in solemnizing the sacrament of unction, as the elders have misreported."

Extra de Sacra Unctione. Ungitur.

Touching your lights and tapers, Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great learning and judgment, doubteth not but ye borrowed the use thereof from the heathens[4]. I grant the Christians in old time had lights in their churches when they met together at their common prayers: but it appeareth by the ancient fathers that the same lights served to solace them against the dark, and not for any use of religion. St Augustine saith: *Vovent ... alius oleum, alius ceram ad luminaria noctis*[5]: "They promise (to the church) one oil, another wax, for the night-lights." Likewise saith Eusebius: καθαρὸν φῶς, ὅσον ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς ἔκλαμψιν τοῖς εὐχομένοις[6]: *Ignis purus, quantum satis esset ad præbendum lumen precantibus*: "A clear light, so much as might suffice the people at their prayers." So likewise saith St Hierome: *Cereos ... non clara luce accendimus, ... sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus*[7]: "We light not our tapers at mid-day, but only by this comfort to ease the darkness of the night." Therefore, M. Harding, unto you that set up lights in your churches, as yourself say, "to the honour of God," the ancient father Lactantius saith thus: *Num ... mentis suæ compos putandus est, qui auctori et datori luminis candelarum et cerarum lumen offert pro munere*[8]? "What, may we think he is well in his wits that unto God, the maker and giver of light, will offer up candles and tapers for a present?" Verily, Tertullian saith: *Accendant ... quotidie lucernas, quibus lux nulla est, &c. ... Illis competunt et testimonia tenebrarum et auspicia pœnarum*[9]: "Let them that have no light (of God) set up their tapers every day, &c. To them belongeth both the testimony of darkness and the beginning of pain."

In Annot. in v. Lib. contr. Marc.

August. de Temp. in Nat. Dom. Serm. 6. Euseb. de Vita Const. Orat. 3.

Hier. adv. Vigilant.

M. Hard. fol. 7. b. [Conf.] Lact. Lib. vi. cap. ii.

Tertull. de Idolat.

But what shall I say of your holy water? No doubt it must needs serve, as your oil doth, to the salvation of body and soul. Augustinus Steuchus, a principal doctor of your side, saith: *Non inane institutum est, quod aquas sale et orationibus sanctificamus, ut ad eorum aspersum delicta nostra deleantur*[10]: "It is no vain in-

August. Steuch. in Lib. Num. cap. xix.

[1 ... et conficitur chrisma, quod ex oleo fit et balsamo.—Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xv. cap. 1. col. 277.]

[2 Confertur enim Spiritus sanctus quem apostoli olim conferebant ex sola &c. ut ipsi &c. cum collatione chrismatis.—Panorm. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Lib. I. Tit. iv. De Consuet. cap. 4. fol. 95.]

[3 Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xv. cap. 1. col. 280.]

[4 Equidem quod negari non potest, cærimoniæ ardentium cereorum, quos hodie Christiani eo die, qui purificatæ Mariæ dicatus est, ex more circumferimus, a Februalibus Romanorum sacris originem sumpsere. —Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Lib. v. adv. Marc. ad calc. Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. p. 105.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Natal. Dom. I. Serm. cxvii. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 213. This sermon is considered spurious by the Benedictine editors.]

[6 The editor has not succeeded in finding the passage referred to.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Vigilant. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 284.]

[8 Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. VI. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 433; where *ac cerarum*.]

[9 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Idol. 15. p. 114.]

[10 August. Steuch. Op. Venet. 1591. In Num. cap. xix. Tom. I. fol. 158; where *ad earum aspersum nostra aboleantur delicta*.]

vention, that we hallow water with salt and prayers, that by the sprinkling thereof our sins may be forgiven." Thus profanely and heathen-like he writeth, as if the blood of Christ were quite dried up.

Beside all this, one of your doctors of Lovaine telleth us in good sadness, by report of one of the Jesuits, that in India holy water is very wholesome to drive away mice, and to make barren women to conceive[11]. I feign not this matter: the place may be seen. O M. Harding, I must needs say of your company that one said sometime of the Grecians: "These that call themselves catholics are ever children[12]." Cop. Dial. 1. p. 18. b. "Ἕλληνες ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ παῖδές ἐστε. Plat. in Tim. et Theod. de Corrigend. Græc. Affect. Lib. i.

Ye say ye have changed nothing that is of necessity either to be believed or to be observed. What necessity ye mean, I cannot well conjecture: for when you list, your holy water and holy bread must needs be of necessity. But indeed of the ancient godly orders of the church ye have in a manner left nothing, unless it be such as ye might best have spared; and the same ye have so defaced with superstition, that it hath now quite lost his former use, and is not the same it was before. Certainly, if you had changed nothing, then should you have now no private mass.

Therefore we may justly say to you, as Tertullian said in like case unto the Roman heathens: *Ubi religio? Ubi veneratio majoribus debita?... Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu, ipso denique sermone proavis renunciastis. Laudatis semper antiquitatem:... nove de die vivitis. Per quod ostenditur, dum a bonis majorum institutis deceditis, ea vos retinere et custodire quæ non debuistis; cum quæ debuistis non custoditis*[13]: "Where is your religion? Where is the reverence due to your forefathers? You have forsaken them in your apparel, in your diet, in your order, in your meaning, and in your speech. Ye change your life daily: yet ye praise antiquity. Whereby it appeareth, while ye leave the good orders of your elders, that ye keep the things ye should not keep, seeing ye keep not the things ye should keep." Tertull. in Apolog.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 10.

And that this matter should not seem to be done but upon privy slander, and to be tossed to and fro in a corner only to spite us, there have been besides wilily procured by the bishop of Rome certain persons of eloquence enough, and not unlearned neither, which should put their help to this cause, now almost despaired of, and should polish and set forth the same, both in books and with long tales; to the end that, when the matter was trimly and eloquently handled, ignorant and unskilful persons might suspect there was some great thing in it. Indeed they perceived that their own cause did every where go to wrack, that their sleights were now espied, and less esteemed, and that their helps did daily fail them, and that their matter stood altogether in great need of a cunning spokesman.

M. HARDING.

Confidence of catholics[14] *touching their cause. Luke xxi.*

... We cannot despair of this cause, unless we would forsake our faith, as ye have. For believing Christ, which our faith leadeth us unto, we cannot mistrust the continuance of this cause. "Heaven and earth shall pass; but my words shall not pass," saith Truth itself. And his words tell us that he will be with his church "all days to the world's end;" and that he

Matt. xxviii.

[11 Traditur multas mulieres prius steriles fœcundas factas, et immanem maris tempestatem tranquillatam: sorices præterea, qui omnia sata misere vastabant, a terris Christianorum sacra aqua conspersis ad proximos gentilium agros fugatos.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. i. cap. iii. p. 18.]

[12 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. i. Tom. IV. p. 473. Theodoret quotes the words of Plato.]

[13 Tertull. Op. Apolog. 6. pp. 7, 8; where *censu*, and *semper antiquos*.]

[14 The Confidence of the Catholics, Conf.; Confidence of the catholics, Def. 1567.]

hath besought his Father to give to it "the Spirit of truth, to remain with it for ever." Then be we most assured of this cause. We tell you therefore, it standeth, and shall stand, by Christ's presence, and by the Holy Ghost's assistance, to the end. Your cause yet standeth not, but wavereth and tottereth, as that which St Paul termeth "a puff of doctrine," and doubtless shortly fall it shall, as all heresies have fallen.... The authors and professors of them be dead and rotten... in hell-fire with weeping and grinding[1] *of teeth. The like judgment look ye and your fellows*[2] *to have, if ye repent not, and revoke your heresies by time....*

John xiv.

The catholic church assuredly defended.

Eph. iv.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"We cannot despair," saith M. Harding, "of the continuance of our cause. For heaven and earth shall pass, but Christ's words[3] shall not pass. He will be with us all days to the world's end," &c. These words, M. Harding, be true and certain; and therefore our hope is the firmer. Christ hath promised that the Spirit of truth shall remain for ever, but not in the pope and his cardinals. For thereof he made no promise. Nay, rather the prophet Esay saith: The Spirit of God shall rest upon "the poor and meek-hearted, that trembleth at the word of the Lord."

Isai. lxvi. 2.

The church of God shall stand still, yea, though Rome were possessed with antichrist. It is true that Christ saith: "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." Upon which words St Hilary saith: [*Significat*] *traditionem hominum eruendam* [*esse*], *cujus favore transgressi sunt præcepta legis*[4]: "He meaneth that the tradition of man, for which tradition's sake they have broken the law of God, shall be taken up by the roots." Heaven and earth shall pass, and your fantasies and devices, M. Harding, shall pass: the Lord hath spoken it; but the word of God and his church shall endure for ever.

Matt. xv. 13.

Hilar. in cap. xv. Matt. Canon. 14. in fine.

But M. Harding's almanac saith our doctrine shall fall, and that very shortly. Herein I profess I have no skill. God's will be done. It is his cause: whatsoever shall happen, his name be blessed for ever. In like sort the heathens in old times, as St Augustine saith, vaunted themselves against the faith of Christ: *Ad certum tempus sunt Christiani: postea peribunt, et redibunt idola: redibit quod erat antea...*[*Verum*] *tu, cum exspectas, miser infidelis, ut transeant Christiani, transis ipse sine Christianis*[5]: "These Christians are but for a while: fall they shall, and that shortly. Then shall our idols come again, and it shall be as it was before. But, O thou miserable infidel, while thou lookest that the Christians should pass, thou passest away thyself[6] without the Christians." Again he saith: *Ecce veniet tempus ut finiantur et non sint Christiani. Sicut cœperunt ab*[7] *aliquo tempore, ita usque ad certum tempus erunt. Sed cum ista dicunt, ... sine fine moriuntur, et permanet ecclesia prædicando*[8] *brachium Domini omni generationi venturæ*[9]: "They say, Behold the day will come when all these Christians shall have an end. As they had a time to begin, so shall they have a time to continue. But, while they make these cracks, they themselves die without end. But the church continueth still praising the almighty arm of God to every generation that is to come."

August. in Psal. lxx.

August. in eundem Psal.

But ye say: "The authors and professors of our doctrine be damned in hell-fire, and cry, *Peccavi.*" This is a very terrible kind of talk. But it is a rash part for you, M. Harding, so suddenly to skip into God's chair, and there to pronounce your sentence definitive like a judge. But God will judge of your judgment. St Augustine saith: *Alia est sella terrena, aliud tribunal cœlorum. Ab inferiori sententia accipitur, a superiori corona*[10]: "The earthly chair is one thing; the judgment-seat in heaven is another. From the one we receive sentence,

August. in Psal. xxxvi. Par. 3.

[1 Grinting, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Followers, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3 Word, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. xv. 1. col. 685; where *legis præcepta transgressi sunt.*]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. lxx. Enarr. Serm. ii. 4. Tom. IV. col. 736; where *ad parvum, rediet quod,* and *transis tu sine.*]

[6 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Ad, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Prædicans, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 Id. ibid. 12. col. 742; where *ex aliquo, prædicans,* and *superventuræ.*]

[10 Id. in Psal. xxxvi. Serm. iii. 13. col. 290; where *ab inferiore accepit sententiam, a superiore coronam.*]

from the other we receive a crown." O M. Harding, God grant you may once cry, *Peccavi*, lest the time come that ye shall cry out, as it is written in the book of Wisdom: "These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and in a parable of reproach. We fools thought their life madness, and their end without honour. But now are they counted among the children of God, and their portion is among the saints." Wisd. v.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iii. Division 2[11].

Now, as for those things which by them have been laid against us, in part they be manifestly false, and condemned so by their own judgments which spake them; partly again, though they be as false too indeed, yet bear they a certain shew and colour of truth, so as the reader (if he take not good heed) may easily be tripped and brought into error by them, especially[12] when their fine and cunning tale is added thereunto. And part of them be of such sort as we ought not to shun them as crimes or faults, but to acknowledge and confess[13] them as things well done, and upon very good reason. For shortly to say the truth, these folk falsely accuse and slander all our doings, yea, the same things which they themselves cannot deny but to be rightly and orderly done; and for malice do so misconstrue and deprave all our sayings and doings, as though it were impossible that any thing could be rightly spoken or done by us. They should more plainly and sincerely have gone to work, if they would have dealt truly. But now they neither truly, nor sincerely, nor yet christianly, but darkly and craftily charge and batter us with lies, and do abuse the blindness and fondness of the people, together with the ignorance of princes, to cause us to be hated and the truth to be suppressed.

This, lo ye, is the power of darkness, and of men which lean more to the amazed wondering of the rude multitude, and to darkness, than they do to truth[14] and light; and, as St Hierome saith, do openly gainsay the truth, closing up their eyes, and will not see for the nonce[15]. But we give thanks to the most good and mighty God that such is our cause, whereagainst (when they would fainest) they were able to utter no despite, but the same which might as well be wrested against the holy fathers, against the prophets, against the apostles, against Peter, against Paul, and against Christ himself. Hier. adv. Ruffin.

M. HARDING.

... The catholics do not burden you[16] with ought, wherein by their own judgments they condemn themselves, as ye slander them, not only here, but oftentimes in your book. For if they judged otherwise, they would not wittingly do against their judgment. That is the special property of an heretic, whom St Paul biddeth all men to avoid, "knowing that he that is such is perverted, and seemeth[17] even condemned by his own judgment.".. Tit. iii.

... They shew both your blasphemous heresies and your wicked acts.... Luther, ye know, poured out his heresies and villanies, &c.... Your robbing of churches, persecuting of men for standing stedfastly in the faith of the holy forefathers, your incestuous marriages of monks, friars, and nuns, your breach of solemn vows for

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[11 Here Jewel, as is frequently the case, unites into one two or three of Harding's divisions.]

[12 Specially, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13 Profess, Conf.]

[14 To the truth, Conf.]

[15 It is not easy to say what passage is intended by this vague quotation. Possibly the following words may have been in the bishop's mind: Porro aliud est, si clausis, quod dicitur, oculis mihi volunt maledicere.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Apolog. adv. Ruff. Lib. II. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 427.]

[16 Neither burden they you, Conf.]

[17 Sinneth, Conf.]

fleshly pleasure, your profaning and abandoning of holy sacraments, your contempt of ancient and godly ordinances and discipline of the church, and such other things of like estimation....

...For indeed the catholics do persecute you (if such deserved entreating of evil persons may be called persecution), and all good folk besides, we grant, and shall so do so long as they love the truth, and keep them in the unity of the church. Yet with no other mind do they persecute you than Sara did Agar, than Christ the Jews, whom he whipped out of the temple, than Peter did Simon Magus.... Gen. xvi. John ii. Egesippus.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye wis, M. Harding, it might please you to remember, that Bartholomæus Latomus, a doctor of your side, confesseth in writing to all the world, that our request touching the holy ministration under both kinds, according to Christ's first institution, is just and reasonable[1]: Bar. Latom. adv. Bucer.

That Gerardus Lorichius, another of your own side, saith: *Pseudocatholici*[2], *qui reformationem ecclesiæ quoquo modo remorari non verentur*[3]: "They be false catholics" (and this, M. Harding, he speaketh of you, being one of your own); "they be false catholics, that hinder the reformation of the church by all means they be able." He saith you be false catholics, far contrary to the common opinion; and concludeth in the end that the wilful maintenance and sequel of your doctrine in this point is, as he calleth it, *hæresis et blasphemia pestilens et execrabilis*, "an heresy and a blasphemy against God, pestilent and cursed:" Gerard Lor. De Missa Prorogandâ, in 7. Par. Canon.

That others of your side confess that this your use of ministration under one kind, which now ye call catholic, began first not of Christ or his apostles, or any ancient learned father, but only of the error, or, as he better termeth it, of the simple devotion of the people[4]: Steph. Gard. in the Devil's Sophistry.

That Albertus Pighius, the stoutest gallant of all your camp, granteth there have been and be many abuses in your mass[5], notwithstanding ye have told us far otherwise: Albert. Pigh. De Missa Privatâ.

That pope Pius oftentimes granted, and used commonly to say, he saw great causes why priests should be restored to the liberty of marriage[6]: Plat. in Pio II.

That pope Adrian, by his legate Cheregatus, confessed openly at Norenberg, in the general diet of all the princes of Germany, that all the ill of the church came first *a culmine pontificio*[7], "from the top castle of the pope:" Joh. Sleid. Lib. iv.

And, to be short, M. Harding, it might have pleased you to remember that yourself, in your first book, in the defence of your private mass, have written thus: "Marry, I deny not but that it were more commendable and more godly on the church's part, if many well disposed and examined would be partakers of the blessed sacrament with the priest[8]." M. Hard. fol. 22. b. [Answer to M. Jewel's Challenge.]

All these things, M. Harding, be they uses or abuses, reasonable or unreasonable, right or wrong, better or worse; be they never so wicked, never so blasphemous, never so cursed, yet be they stoutly defended still, and no hope offered of amendment; with what conscience of your part, he only seeth that seeth the conscience. You grant ye persecute your brethren where ye have the sword, and may persecute; but as Sara did Agar, as Christ did the Jews; and not otherwise. Verily, M. Harding, that Christ or Sara were persecutors I have not greatly heard, but I remember Chrysostom saith thus: *Nunquid ovis lupum persequitur aliquando? Non, sed lupus ovem. Sic enim... Caim persecutus est Abel, non Abel Caim. Sic Ismael persecutus est Isaac, non Isaac Ismael. Sic ...Judæi Christum, non Christus Judæos. Hæretici Christianos, non Christiani* Gen. xvi. John ii. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 19.

[1 Equidem nunquam negavi utranque speciem pariter in usu fuisse in primis ac vetustissimis ecclesiis, &c.—B. Latom. adv. M. Bucer. Col. 1545. cap. i. fol. E. iiii. 2.]

[2 Sunt pseudocatholici, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Publ. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. II. cap. ii. Sept. Pars Canon. p. 177.]

[4 A Detection of the Deuils Sophistrie, Lond. 1546. fol. 139. 2, &c.]

[5 Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. VI. fol. 123. 2.]

[6 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Pius II. p. 295.]

[7 ...a pontificio culmine malum hoc defluxisse. —J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. IV. fol. 32. 2. Further authorities for this statement will be given hereafter.]

[8 See Vol. I. page 165.]

hæreticos. Ergo ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos[9]: "What, do[10] the sheep persecute the wolf at any time? No, but the wolf doth persecute the sheep. For so Caim persecuted Abel, not Abel Caim. So Ismael persecuted Isaac, not Isaac Ismael. So the Jews persecuted Christ, not Christ the Jews. So the heretics persecute the Christians, not the Christians the heretics. Therefore ye shall know them by their fruits." Persecution for love.

St Augustine saith: *Non ... eo modo persecutionem passi sunt pseudoprophetæ ab Elia, quomodo ipse Elias a rege nequissimo*[11]: "Neither were the false prophets so persecuted by Elias as Elias was persecuted by the wicked king." Surely Chrysostom saith: *Quem videris ... in sanguine persecutionis gaudentem, lupus est*[12]: "Whomsoever ye see rejoicing in the blood of persecution, he is the wolf." August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. xix. Chrysost. in Op. imper. in Matt. Hom. 19.

But ye pretend great good-will, and say ye persecute and murder your brethren for love; as Christ persecuted the Jews. So, I trow, Aristophanes saith Philippides took a cudgel and beat his father, and all for love[13]. Howbeit, M. Harding, neither are you armed as Christ was armed; nor was Christ armed as you are armed. I must say to you, as St Augustine saith unto the heretics the Donatists: *Hanc ... formam ne ab ipsis [quidem] Judæis persecutoribus accepistis. Illi enim persecuti sunt carnem ambulantis in terra; vos evangelium sedentis in cœlo*[14]: "Ye learned not this form of persecution, no not of the Jews. For they persecuted the flesh of Christ walking in the earth: you persecute the gospel of Christ sitting in heaven." Robert Holcote, among other his doubts moveth this question: *An amor sit odium*[15]: "Whether love be hatred, or no." If he were now alive, and saw your dealing, and the kindness of your love, I believe he would put the matter out of question, and say, undoubtedly your love is hatred, it is no love. So Moses saith: "Ismael played or sported with Isaac." But St Paul saith the same playing and sporting was persecution. For thus he writeth: "He that was after the flesh persecuted him that was after the Spirit[16]." In Vesp. August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. lxxxvii. Holk. in I. Sent. Quæst. iii. Art. 8. Dub. 2. Orig. in Gen. Hom. 7. Gen. xxi 9. Gal. iv. 29.

I doubt not but you think of your part it is well done. For so Christ saith: "Whosoever shall murder you shall think he offereth a sacrifice unto God." And yourselves have[17] set to this note in great letters in the margin of your decrees: *Judæi mortaliter peccassent, si Christum non crucifixissent*[18]: "The Jews had sinned deadly, if they had not hanged Christ upon the cross." *Benedictus Deus, qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum*: "Blessed be God, that hath not given us to be a prey unto their teeth." To all the rest it is sufficient for M. Harding to say: "They be blasphemous heresies; wicked acts; Luther's heresies and villanies; robbing of churches; breaches of vows; fleshly pleasures; abandoning of the holy sacraments; malices, slanders, and lies." And besides these things in effect he answereth nothing. Now to answer nothing with something, it were worth nothing. John xvi. 2. Dist. 13. Item. In margine.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 5.

Now therefore, if it be lawful[19] for the[20] folks to be eloquent and fine-tongued in speaking of evil[21], surely it becometh not us in our cause, being so very good, to be dumb in answering truly. For men to be careless what is spoken by them and their own matter, be it never so falsely and slanderously spoken (especially when it is such that the

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[9] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xciv.]

[10] Doth, 1567, 1570.]

[11] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. xix. 43. Tom. IX. col. 230; where *neque* for *non*.]

[12] Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xciv.]

[13] Phidippides. See Aristoph. in Nub.]

[14] August. Op. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. lxxxvii. 193. Tom. IX. col. 272; where *nec ab*.]

[15] Secundum dubium potest esse an odium sit amor.—Rob. Holkot sup. Quat. Libr. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. I. Quæst. iii. Art. viii. Dub. 2. fol. b. viii. 2.]

[16] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Gen. Hom. vii. 2. Tom. II. p. 78.]

[17] Hath, 1611.]

[18] ...Judæi...si non occidissent, similiter peccassent mortaliter.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Gloss. in Dist. xiii. col. 47.]

[19] Leeful, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20] These, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[21] Speaking evil, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

majesty of God and the cause of religion may thereby be damaged), is the part doubtless of dissolute and wretchless persons, and of them which wickedly wink at the injuries done unto the name of God. For although other wrongs, yea, oftentimes great, may be borne and dissembled of a mild and christian man; yet he that goeth smoothly away, and dissembleth the matter, when he is noted of heresy, Ruffinus was wont to deny that man to be a Christian[1]. We therefore will do the same thing which all laws, which nature's own voice doth command to be done, and which Christ himself did in like case, when he was checked and reviled; to the intent we may put off from us these men's slanderous accusations, and may defend soberly and truly our own cause and innocency.

M. HARDING.

...Ye have not proved the truth to be of your side, nor[2] ever shall be able to prove, maintaining the doctrine of the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists, as ye do. Now all dependeth of that point. And because ye have not the truth, whatsoever ye say, it is soon confuted; and whatsoever ye bring, it is to no purpose....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This is the very issue of the case; whether the doctrine that we profess be the truth, or no: which thing through God's grace by this our conference in part may appear. I beseech God, the Author of all truth and the Father of light, so to open our hearts that the thing that is the truth indeed may appear to us to be the truth.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iv. Division 2.

For Christ verily, when the Pharisees charged him with sorcery, as one that had some familiar spirits, and wrought many things by their
John viii. 49. help: "I," said he, "have not the devil, but do glorify my Father; but it is you that have dishonoured me, and put me to rebuke and shame." And St Paul, when Festus the lieutenant scorned him as a
Acts xxvi. 25. madman: "I," said he, "most dear Festus, am not mad, as thou thinkest, but I speak the words of truth and soberness." And the ancient Christians, when they were slandered to the people for man-killers, for adulterers, for committers of incest, for disturbers of the commonweals[4], and did perceive that by such slanderous accusations the religion which they professed might be brought in question, namely if they should seem to hold their peace, and in manner confess the fault; lest this might hinder the free course of the gospel, they made orations, they put up supplications, and made means to emperors and princes, that they might defend themselves and their fellows in open audience.

M. HARDING.

When ye prove that ye have the truth, then may ye be admitted in your defence to allege the example of Christ, of St Paul, and of the first Christians. But now we tell you, being as you[5] are, these examples serve you to no purpose. And, for ought ye have said hitherto, the anabaptists, libertines, Zwenkfeldians,

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[1 Probably the following passage may be that intended: ...quamvis Christiano cetera crimina silendo depellere, exemplo Domini gloriosum sit; sed tamen hoc in fide si fiat, maximum scandalum generat.—Ruf. in Hieron. Invect. Lib. I. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 350.]

[2 ...the truth to be of your side. Which ye have not proved, nor, Conf.]

[3 1567, 1570, omit these references.]

[4 Of common weals, Conf.]

[5 Ye, Conf.]

Nestorians, Eunomians, Arians, and all other pestiferous heretics might say the same as well as ye. Christ was charged of the Jews with using the power of impure spirits blasphemously: Paul was scorned of Festus as a madman without cause: the ancient Christians were accused by the infidels of heinous crimes falsely[6]. *But ye are accused of heresies and sundry impieties by godly, wise, and faithful men, upon zeal, by good advice, and truly. And as for those ancient Christians, when they made apologies or orations in the defence*[7] *of the christian faith, they did it so as became christian men, plainly and openly. Either they offered them to the emperors with their own hands, or put to their names, and signified to whom they gave the same: as St Hilary delivered a book in defence of the catholic faith against the Arians to Constantius: Melito and Apollinaris wrote their apologies to the emperors*[8]: *St Justin the philosopher and martyr gave his first apology for the Christians to the senate of the Romans, the second to Antoninus*[9] *Pius, emperor; Tertullian to the Romans: St Apollonius the Roman senator and martyr did read his book openly in the senate-house, which he had made in defence of the christian faith*[10]. *But ye do your things, that ought to be done openly, in hucker-mucker. Ye set forth your Apology in the name of the church of England, before any mean part of the church were privy to it, and so as though either ye were ashamed of it, or afraid to abide by it. The inscription of it is directed neither to pope, nor emperor, nor to any prince, nor to the church, nor to the general council then being when ye wrote it, as it was most convenient. There is no man's name set to it. It is printed without privilege of the prince, contrary to the law*[12] *in that behalf made, allowed neither by parliament nor by proclamation, nor agreed upon by the clergy in public and lawful synod. This packing becometh you: it becometh not the upright professors of the truth. Wherefore your unlawful book, as it is, so it may be called, an invective, or rather a famous libel and slanderous writ*[13], *as that which seemeth to have been made in a corner, and cast abroad in the streets, the authors whereof the civil law punisheth sharply.*

Luke xi.

Acts xxvi.

Tertull. in Apolog.

The apologies of the old fathers were lawfully published.

Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xvi.

Eccles. Hist. Lib. v. cap. xxi.

The Apology of the Church of England set forth suspiciously and without due order[11].

Untruth.

The Apology a famous libel.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

How far forth these examples may serve us, we remit the judgment thereof to the discreet christian reader. It is not enough thus to cry out, "Impieties and heresies." M. Harding's bare word in this behalf is not sufficient to warrant an evidence. Certainly among other great comforts that we have in God's mercies this is one, and not the least, that, touching the innocency and right of our cause, we may say to you, as Christ said to the Pharisees, "We have not the devil, but we glorify our Father;" or as St Paul said unto Festus, "We are not mad (M. Harding), as ye report of us; but we utter unto you the words of truth and sobriety."

John viii. 49.

Acts xxvi. 25.

But this is a piteous fault. The names of all the bishops, deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and curates of England are not set to our Apology. It is directed neither to the emperor, nor to the pope, nor to the council. Neither is it printed with privilege of the prince. This last clause is a manifest untruth, and may easily be reproved by the printer. Hereof ye conclude it is a slanderous libel, and was written under a hedge, and, as you say, in hucker-mucker.

First, were it granted that all ye say of Hilary, Melito, Justinus, Tertullian, and Apollonius were true, yet must it needs follow that all books that are not subscribed with the authors' names were written in a corner? First, to begin with the scriptures, tell us, M. Harding, who wrote the books of Genesis, of Exodus, of Leviticus, of Numeri, of Deuteronomium, of Josue, of the Judges, of the

[6 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 7. p. 8.]

[7 In defence, Conf.]

[8 Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. IV. capp. xxiv. xxv. foll. 46, 7.]

[9 Antonius, 1567, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[10 Id. ibid. Lib. v. cap. xx. fol. 60.]

[11 This is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[12 To law, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[13 Write, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

Kings, of the Chronicles, of Job, &c. Who wrote these books, I say? Who authorised them? Who subscribed his name? Who set to his seal? The book of Wisdom by some is fathered upon Philo, by some upon Salomon. The epistle unto the Hebrews some say was written by St Paul, some by Clemens, some by Barnabas, some by some other; and so are we uncertain of the author's name. St Mark, St Luke, St John, never once named themselves in their gospels. The apostles' creed, the canons of the apostles, by what names are they subscribed? How are they authorised? To what pope, to what emperor, were they offered? To leave others the ancient doctors of the church, which, as you know, are often misnamed, Ambrose for Augustine, Greek for Latin, new for old; your doctor of doctors, the fairest flower and crop of your garland, Gratianus, is so well known by his name that wise men cannot well tell what name to give him. Erasmus saith of him thus: *Quisquis fuit, sive Gratianus, sive Crassianus*[1]: "Whatsoever name we may give him, be it Gratianus or Crassianus." And again he saith: *Eruditi negant illam Gratiani nescio cujus congeriem ulla unquam publica ecclesiæ auctoritate fuisse comprobatam*[2]: "The learned say that Gratian's collection or heap of matters was never allowed by any public authority of the church." And again: *Non constat ullis argumentis quis fuerit Gratianus, quo tempore opus suum exhibuerit, cujus pontificis, cujus concilii fuerit auctoritate comprobatum*[1]: "It cannot appear by any tokens of record, neither what this Gratian was, nor at what time he offered up his book, nor what council nor what pope allowed it."

Erasm. in Præfat. in tert. Seriem quart. Tom. Hieron.

Erasm. in Præfat. in iv. Tom. Hieron.

Who subscribed the late council of Colaine? Who subscribed the book not long sithence set abroad under the name of the church of Colaine, and named Antididagma?[3] To be short, who subscribed your own late book, entitled "The Apology of Private Mass?[4]" Where were they written? Where were they subscribed? By what authority and under what names were they allowed? I will say nothing of your late famous volume bearing the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius[5]. This book, as you see, hath three great names; notwithstanding the author himself had but two, and yet not one of all these three. What, M. Harding, would you make your brethren believe that all these be but slanderous writers[6], devised only in hucker-mucker, and under a hedge?

Acts xv[7].

The decree the apostles made in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, it appeareth not it was so curiously subscribed with all their names. The protestation of the Bohemians in the council of Basil, the confession of the churches of Geneva and Helvetia, for ought that I know, have no such public subscriptions. Neither is it necessary, nor commonly used, to join private men's names to public matters; neither in so mighty and ample a realm, upon all incident occasions, is it so easy to be done. Briefly, our Apology is confirmed by as many names as the high court of parliament of England is confirmed.

Neither was the same conceived in so dark a corner as M. Harding imagineth. For it was afterward imprinted in Latin at Paris; and hath been sithence translated into the French, the Italian, the Dutch, and the Spanish tongues; and hath been sent and borne abroad into France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poole, Hungary, Denmark, Sueveland, Scotland, Italy, Naples, and Rome itself, to the judgment and trial of the whole church of God. Yea, it was read and sharply considered in your late covent at Trident, and great threats made there that it should be answered, and the matter by two notable learned bishops taken in hand; the one a Spaniard, the other an Italian; which two, notwithstanding,

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[1 Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. Præf. in tert. Ser. sec. Tom. Tom. II. fol. 190. 2; where *nec enim ullis constat*, and *suum exhibuerit opus*.]

[2 Ibid. Præf. Tom. II. fol. 4; where *comprobatam fuisse*. Later editions place these epistles and the observations of Erasmus in the fourth volume.]

[3 The title of this work was "Antididagma, seu Christianæ et Catholicæ relig. per rev. et illustr. Dominos canon. Metropol. Eccles. Coloniens. Propug. adv. librum ... consultoriæ deliberato nomine impressum." Paris, 1545.]

[4 Printed 1562. An answer was published, with the title "The Defence of the Truth." A copy, containing the two treatises, is in Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge.]

[5 The name assumed by bishop Gardiner.]

[6 Writes, 1567, 1570.]

[7 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570, 1609.]

these five whole years have yet done nothing, nor, I believe, intend any thing to do. Indeed, certain of your brethren have been often gnawing at it; but such as care nothing, nor is cared, what they write.

But, if names be so necessary, we have the names of the whole clergy of England to confirm the faith of our doctrine, and your name, M. Harding, as you can well remember, amongst the rest; unless, as ye have already denied your faith, so ye will now also deny your name. To conclude, it is greater modesty to publish our own book without name, than, as you do, to publish other men's books in your own names. For indeed, M. Harding, the books ye send so thick over are not yours. Ye are but translators: ye are no authors. If every bird should fetch again his own feathers, alas! your poor chickens would die for cold. But you say we offered not our book to the pope. No, neither ought we so to do. He is not our bishop: he is not our judge. We may say unto him as the emperor Constantius said sometime to pope Liberius: *Quota es tu pars orbis terrarum?*[8] "What great portion art thou of the whole world?" As for your council of Trident, God wot, it was a silly covent, for ought that may appear by their conclusions. Theod. in Hist. Eccles.

We offered the defence and profession of our doctrine unto the whole church of God, and so unto the pope, and to the council too, if they be any part or member of the church; and by God's mercy shall ever be able in all places both with our hands and with our bodies to yield an account of the hope we have in Jesus Christ. Whereas it liketh[9] you to term our Apology a slanderous libel, I doubt not but whosoever shall indifferently consider your book shall think M. Harding's tongue wanteth no slander.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 3.

But we truly, seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty years have borne witness unto the truth in the midst of most painful torments that could be devised, and when princes, desirous to restrain the gospel, sought many ways, but prevailed nothing, and that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light; we take it that our cause hath already been sufficiently declared and defended, and think it not needful to make many words, seeing[10] the matter[11] saith enough for itself.

M. HARDING.

... The reasons and examples ye bring for it conclude nothing. Because, lacking truth, ye build upon a false ground; whatsoever ye set up, eftsoons it falleth, being stayed by no just proof. Here ye go forth, and fain would ye prop up that matter; but your reasons be as weak as before. There have not so many thousands of your brethren been burnt for heresy in these last twenty years as ye pretend. But, when ye come to boasting, then have ye a great grace in using the figure hyperbole. Then scores be hundreds; hundreds be thousands; thousands be millions....

Servetus burnt for heresy at Geneva. David George. *But what...was Michael Servetus the Arian, who was burnt at Geneva by procurement of Calvin, a brother of yours? David George, that took upon him to be Christ, who was taken up after he was buried, and burnt at Basle, was he your brother?* *Joan of Kent.* *To come near home, Joan of Kent, that filth, who took forth a lesson further than you*[12] *taught her, I trow, or yet preach, was she a sister of yours? So many Adamites, so many Zwenkfeldians, so many hundreds of anabaptists and libertines, as have within your twenty years been rid out of their lives by fire, sword, and water, in sundry parts of Christendom, were they all of your blessed brotherhead?...*

Acts and Monuments. *And this is the chief argument ye make in all that huge dunghill of your stinking martyrs, which ye have intituled "Acts and Monuments." But*

[8 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xvi. p. 94.]

[9 Liked, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Since, Conf.]

[11 The very matter, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[12 Ye, Conf.]

we tell you, it is not death that justifieth the cause of dying; but it is the cause of dying that justifieth the death....

Princes, ye say, were desirous to restrain your gospel; and, though they went about it by many ways, yet prevailed they nothing: therefore your doctrine must needs be the true gospel. As good an argument as this is may thieves make in their defence. For princes be desirous to keep their dominions from robbing, and have ever devised strait laws and punishments for restraint of thieves; yet be thieves every where, and theft is daily committed....

A weak argument of truth.

And, whereas your gospel is a gross gospel, a carnal gospel, a belly gospel, wonder it is not if those people[1] *be not wholly withdrawn from assenting to the same, who be not of the finest wits, and be much given to the service of the belly, and of the things beneath the belly. Yet, where the princes have used most diligence and best means to stop the course of your heresies, there the people remain most catholic; as every man may judge by view of Italy, Spain, Base Almaine, and France, before that weighty sceptre, by God's secret providence for punishment of sin, was committed to feeble hands*[4]*, that for tender age were not able to bear it....*

This carnal gospel soon taketh place amongst[2] *carnal hearers.*

Heresies restrained by due punishment[3]*.*

Your other argument, whereby ye would persuade your gospel to be the truth, is that now (as ye crack) almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light. This argument serveth marvellous well for antichrist. And truly, if he be not already come, ye may very well seem to be his forerunners.... Nay, sirs, if it be true that ye say, that almost the whole world looketh that way, knowing that in the latter days, and toward the end of the world, "iniquity shall abound, and the charity of the more part shall wax cold;" we may rather make a contrary argument, and judge your gospel to be erroneous and false, because the multitude is so ready to receive it. Again, Christ hath not loved his church so little as that the world should now begin to open their eyes to behold the light. For the same cause presupposeth[6] *a former general darkness. It standeth not with Christ's promises made to the church touching his being with the church all days to the world's end, and the Holy Ghost's remaining with it the Spirit of truth for ever, that he should suffer his church to continue in darkness and lack of truth these thousand years past, and now at the latter days to reveal the truth of his gospel by apostates, vow-breakers, church-robbers, and such other most unlike to the apostles....*

The[5] *argument of the defenders serving well for antichrist.*

Matt. xxiv.

The argument of multitude returned upon the defenders to a contrary conclusion.

Matt. xxviii.

John xiv.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whatsoever we say, here appeareth small weight in M. Harding's sayings. We make no boast of the numbers and multitudes of our martyrs. And yet, as St Paul saith, if we should needs boast, we should[7] chiefly boast of such our infirmities. But we rejoice with them, and give God thanks in their behalf, for that it hath pleased him to prepare their hearts unto temptation, to try and purify them as gold in the[8] furnace, and to keep them faithful unto the end.

2 Cor. xi. 30.

As for David George, and Servete the Arian, and such other the like, they were yours, M. Harding, they were not of us. You brought them up, the one in Spain, the other in Flanders. We detected their heresies, and not you. We arraigned them. We condemned them. We put them to the execution of the laws. It seemeth very much to call them our brothers, because we burnt them. It is known to children, it is not the death, but the cause of the death, that maketh a martyr. St Augustine saith: *Tres erant in cruce; unus Salvator; alter salvandus; tertius damnandus. Omnium par*[9] *pœna, sed dispar causa*[10]*:* "There were three hanging on the cross: the first was the Saviour; the second to be saved; the third to be damned. The pain of all three was one, but the cause was diverse."

August. in Psal. xxxiv. Par. 2.

[1 Peoples, Conf.]

[2 Among, Conf. and Def. 1567 and 1570.]

[3 This note is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4 Charles IX.] [5 An, Conf.]

[6 Same presupposeth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Would, 1567, 1570.]

[8 1567, 1570, omit *the*.]

[9 Per, 1570.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. xxxiv. Enarr. Serm. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 238; where *alius salvandus alius*, and *impar caussa*.]

Your anabaptists and Zwenkfeldians we know not. They find harbour amongst you in Austria, Slesia, Moravia, and in such other countries and cities where the gospel of Christ is suppressed; but they have no acquaintance with us, neither in England, nor in Germany, nor in France, nor in Scotland, nor in Denmark, nor in Sweden, nor in any place else where the gospel of Christ is clearly preached. But it hath been your great policy these many late years, when ye murdered the saints of God, first to root out their tongues for fear of speaking, and then afterward to tell the people they were anabaptists, or Arians, or what ye listed. With such policy Nero sometime, that bloody tyrant, burnt the Christians in heaps together, and made open proclamations that they were traitors and rebels, and had fired the city of Rome. Suet. Tranq in Neron.

It pleaseth you, for lack of other evasion, to call the story of martyrs a dunghill of lies. But these lies shall remain in record for ever, to testify and to condemn your bloody doings. Ye have imprisoned your brethren, ye have stript them naked, ye have scourged them with rods, ye have burnt their hands and arms with flaming torches, ye have famished them, ye have drowned them[11], ye have summoned them being dead to appear before you out of their graves, ye have ripped up their buried carcases, ye have burnt them, ye have thrown them out into the dunghill; ye took a poor babe falling from his mother's womb, and in most cruel and barbarous manner threw him into the fire.

All these things, M. Harding, are true: they are no lies. The eyes and consciences of many thousands can witness your doings. The blood of innocent Abel crieth to God from the earth; and undoubtedly he will require it at your hands. Chrysostom saith, as it is alleged before: *Quem videris ... in sanguine persecutionis gaudentem, [is] lupus est*[12]: "Whosoever hath pleasure in the blood of persecution, the same is a wolf." Ye slew your brethren so cruelly, not for murder, or robbery, or any other grievous crime they had committed, but only for that they trusted in the living God. Howbeit, we may say with the old father Tertullian: *Crudelitas vestra nostra gloria est*[13]: "Your cruelty is our glory." Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 19. Tertull. ad Scapul.

Whereas we avouch the power and authority of God's holy word, for that the more it is trodden down the more it groweth, and for that the kings and princes of this world, with all their puissance and policy, were never able to root it out; your answer is, that this reason may serve thieves as well as us. To dissemble your odious comparisons, how lightly soever it shall please you to weigh this reason, yet your forefathers the Pharisees in old time seemed to make some account of it. For thus they murmured[14] and misliked among themselves: *Videtis nos nihil proficere. Ecce mundus totus post eum abiit*: "Ye see we can do no good. Lo, the whole world (for all that we can do) is gone after him." John xii. 19. Tertullian likewise saith: *Exquisitior quæque crudelitas vestra illecebra magis est sectæ. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum*[15]: "The greatest cruelty that ye can devise is an enticement to our sect. How many of us soever ye murder, when ye come to the view, ye find us more and more. The seed of this increase is christian blood." Tertull. in Apolog. So St Augustine: *Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur; ... et multiplicabantur*[16]: "They were fettered, they were imprisoned, they were beaten, they were racked, they were burnt; and yet they multiplied." August. de Civ. Lib. xxii. cap. vi. St Cyprian saith: *Sacerdos Dei, evangelium tenens, et Christi precepta custodiens, occidi potest, vinci non potest*[17]: "The priest of God, holding the testament in his hand, killed he may be, but overcome he cannot be." Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3. So likewise Nazianzene: *Morte vivit: vulnere nascitur: depastum augetur*[18]: "By death it liveth: by wounding it springeth: by diminishing it increaseth." Gregor Naz. in reditum suum ex agro. Θανάτῳ ζῇ, καὶ τομῇ φύεται, καὶ αὔξεται δαπανώμενον.

Thus these holy fathers, when they saw the gospel of Christ increased and grew by persecution, contrary to all judgment of reason and worldly policy,

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[11 Here 1567, 1570 insert *ye have burnt them.*]

[12 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xciv.]

[13 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. 4. p. 88; where *gloria est nostra.*]

[14 Murdered, 1570.]

[15 Id. Apolog. 50. p. 45; where *est magis.*]

[16 August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXII. cap. vi. 1. Tom. VII. col. 661.]

[17 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 138; where *non potest vinci.*]

[18 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xxvi. 10. Tom. I. p. 478.]

they were enforced, contrary to M. Harding's judgment, therein to acknowledge the mighty power and hand of God, and an undoubted testimony of the truth. Justinus, a godly-learned father and martyr, saith thus of himself: *Cum audirem Christianos publice traduci et exagitari*[1] *ab omnibus, viderem autem eos ad mortem, et ad omnia quæ ad terrorem excogitari possent, esse intrepidos, cogitabam nullo modo posse fieri ut illi in aliquo scelere viverent*[2]: "When I" (being an heathen and one of Plato's scholars), "heard that the Christians were accused and reviled of all men, and yet saw them go[3] to their death, and to all manner terrible and cruel torments, quietly and without fear, I thought with myself[4], it was not possible that such men should live in any wickedness." The like writeth Sozomenus of the Christians in the primitive church: *Nec adulatione victi, nec minis perterriti, magnum omnibus argumentum dabant, sese de maximis præmiis in certamen descendere*[5]: "The Christians, neither relenting by fair means, not[6] shrinking for threats, made it well appear to every man that it was for some great reward they suffered such trouble."

Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. viii.

Sozom. Lib. i. cap. i. Δῆλον πᾶσιν ἐποίησαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ μεγίστων ἄθλων τὸν ἀγῶνα... ὑπομένουσι.

These learned fathers therefore saw that M. Harding could not see, the increasing of the gospel through death and persecution, maugre the might of worldly princes, is an evident token of the truth. The prophet David saith: "The princes came and consulted together against God and against his Christ... But he that dwelleth in heaven will laugh them to scorn." "There is no wisdom, there is no policy, there is no counsel against the Lord."

Psal. ii. 2, 4.
Prov. xxi. 30.

Further you say, our gospel is gross, and the people dull, and sensual, and given to their belly and beastly pleasure, and therefore the apter and readier to receive the same. O M. Harding, what a desperate cause is this, that cannot stand without such manifest blasphemy of the gospel of Christ and despiteful reproach of God's people! Certainly St Paul saith: "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation." And the prophet David saith: "The people is Christ's inheritance." What hath the people so much offended you, that you should either in this place so scornfully and so reproachfully report of them, or in your former book so disdainfully call them swine and dogs?[7] Yet is it not so long sithence yourself were an earnest professor of the same gospel, were it never so gross. Where was then your fineness and sharpness of wit? where was your belly? where was the rest? You should not so soon have forgotten your own self.

Rom. i. 16.
Psal. ii. 8.

M. Hard. fol. 155. b. [Answer to M. Jewel's Challenge.]

Surely, M. Harding, neither will the sensual man, drowned in filthy and beastly pleasures, take up his cross and follow Christ, and yield his neck to your sword, or his body to your fire; neither is it a gross and[8] sensual gospel that will lead him to the same.

You say it standeth not with God's promise to forsake his church a thousand years. It is much for you, M. Harding, openly to break God's commandments, to defile his holy sanctuary, to turn light into darkness and darkness into light; and yet nevertheless to bind him to his promise. All men be liars, but God only is true, and prevaileth when he is judged. God knoweth his own. Christ will be evermore with his church, yea, although the whole church of Rome conspire against him.

Psal. lii.
2 Tim. ii. 19.

Addition.

☞ M. Hard. fol. 90. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding saith, we "succeed the Donatists, and renew their wretched objection against the church," &c. Howbeit we are no Donatists, as his own conscience well knoweth. The Donatists inclosed the church of God within the bounds[9] of one country, and said there was no church but only their own, which was in Africa. In like sort, and with like truth, M. Harding so often and so constantly telleth us this day, there is no church nor salvation but under the obedience of the see of Rome. It is easy therefore to see who are the children of those fathers. We say, as all the holy and learned doctors have said, the church of God hath been ever

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[1 Excogitari, 1570.]
[2 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. viii. p. 99.]
[3 Them to go, 1567, 1570.]
[4 Meself, 1567, 1570.]
[5 Sozom. in eod. Lib. I. cap. i. p. 327.]
[6 Nor, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[7 See Vol. II. page 678.]
[8 Or, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[9 Bands, 1570.]

from the beginning, and shall continue unto the end, and overspreadeth all the parts of the world, without limitation of time or place. Notwithstanding sometimes by care and diligence she is kept neat and clean, sometimes by negligence she is laid waste and overgrown with weeds; and therefore she is compared unto a garden. Sometimes her light is clear and beautiful, sometime she waneth[10] and groweth dark; and therefore she is compared unto the moon. Cant. iv. 12. Cant. vi. 10.

The church, you say, hangeth not of your well-doing. God's name therefore be blessed! For if it hung of you, it could not stand. It hangeth only of the assurance of God's promise; and the same promise God extended as well to Hierusalem and Antioch, as he did to the see of Rome. But now Antioch, where Peter had his first apostolic seat, and Hierusalem, where Christ himself first planted his gospel, are both forsaken and left utterly without faith and knowledge of God. Notwithstanding God is true in all his words, yet unto the wicked he saith: *Non est mihi voluntas in vobis:* "I have no will nor pleasure in you. I will receive no sacrifice at your hands." And St Paul saith to the church of Rome, even to the same church wherein you so immoderately glory, and assure yourself it cannot err: *Noli altum*[11] *sapere, sed time:* "Presume not, but stand in awe. For if God have not spared his own people of Israel and Jerusalem (unto whom he made his promise that his name should dwell there for ever), how much less will he spare thee! Mark well the mercy and sharpness of God: his sharpness against them that are fallen from him; but his mercy towards thee (O thou church of Rome), if thou continue still in his mercy: otherwise even thou shalt likewise be hewn down." Thus, M. Harding, St Paul adviseth the church of Rome to walk in awe, with fear and reverence; and not to presume of herself that she cannot err. M. Hard. fol 89. [Detect.] Mal. i. 10. Rom. xi. 21.

The argument that you form thereof, taken, as you say, out of the scriptures, is[12] very simple. For thus it standeth: Christ hath promised to be with his disciples, and with his faithful for ever unto[13] the end of the world; *ergo*, the church of Rome can never err in matter of faith.

The prophet Jeremy adviseth you better: "Say not," saith he, "The temple of God, the temple of God." We have his temple, we have his word, we have his promise. "Put no confidence in such words. They be words of lying and vanity," saith the prophet: they will deceive you. Jer. vii. 4.

So saith the prophet Micheas of the priests that deceived the people: *Super Dominum requiescunt, dicentes*[14], *Nonne est Jehova in medio nostri? Ideo non veniet super nos malum. Idcirco propter vos Sion ut ager arabitur, et Hierusalem erit in acervum, et mons domus in excelsa sylvæ:* "They rest themselves quietly upon the Lord," that is to say, they embolden themselves upon his promises. "Behold," say they, "is not the Lord in the midst amongst us? Therefore none ill shall happen to us. Even therefore," saith the prophet, "shall the castle of Sion be ploughed up as the corn-field, and Hierusalem shall lie as a heap of stones, and the mount of the temple shall stand waste as a forest." ☙ ❧ Mic. iii. 11.

But why do you so much abate your reckoning? Why make you not up your full account of your[15] fifteen hundred threescore and six years, as ye were wont to do? Ye have here liberally and of yourself quite stricken off five hundred threescore and six years, that is to say, the whole time wherein the apostles of Christ, and holy martyrs, and other learned fathers and doctors lived; in which whole time it appeareth by your own secret confession the church of God might well stand both without your private mass (for then was there none), and also without many other your like fantasies. Neither ought you, M. Harding, so deeply to be grieved, and to call us apostates and heretics, for that we have reformed either our churches to the pattern of that church, or ourselves to the example of those fathers. Verily in the judgment of the godly five hundred

[10] Sometimes she wanteth, 1570.]
[11] Autem, 1570.]
[12] As, 1570.]
[13] Until, 1570.]
[14] Discentes, 1611.]
[15] 1567, 1570, omit *your*.]

of those first years are more worth than the whole thousand years that followed afterward.

M. Hard. fol. 94. b. [Detect.]

Addition. "This," saith M. Harding, "is a manifest blasphemy, and little becometh a christian man." But wherefore[1], I hear small reason. The primitive church, which was under the apostles and martyrs, hath evermore been counted the purest of all others without exception. And therefore the ancient fathers oftentimes appeal to the judgment thereof, as unto the infallible standard and measure of truth. St Chrysostom, speaking hereof, although not specially to this purpose, saith: *Vere tum cœlum ecclesia fuit, Spiritu cuncta administrante, cuncta ecclesiæ capita moderante, &c.... Nunc vero vestigia tantum rerum illarum tenemus*[2]: "Then verily the church was a heaven, the Spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the church. But now we scarcely have the steps and tokens of those things." And immediately after he saith further: "The church now may be likened to a woman that hath lost her old modesty, having only certain tokens and shews of her former felicity, as the chests[3] and foreseals of precious things, being utterly void of the treasure[4]." This[5] said St Chrysostom touching the decay of the church; and yet he thought his words imported no blasphemy. If the form of the church were so much altered in Chrysostom's days, that is above eleven hundred years past, what may we then think of the times of darkness that have followed sithence? It was no blasphemy therefore, M. Harding, to say, as we say: The first five hundred years of the church are more worth than the whole thousand that followed afterward. This rather is open blasphemy, to compare the church of Rome that now is to a perfect[6] man, as you do, and the primitive church of the apostles and holy martyrs unto an infant. This surely is blasphemy against God.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 36.

Hieron. ad Pammach. et Oceanum.

Therefore I will answer you with the words of St Hierome: *Quisquis es assertor novorum dogmatum, quæso te ut parcas Romanis auribus, parcas fidei, quæ apostolico ore laudatur. Cur post quadringentos annos docere nos niteris, quod antea nescivimus? Cur profers in medium, quod Petrus et Paulus edere noluerunt? Usque ad hunc diem sine ista doctrina mundus christianus fuit*[7]: "Thou that art a maintainer of new doctrine, whatsoever thou be, I pray thee, spare the Roman ears: spare the faith that is commended by the apostles' mouth. Why goest thou about, after now[8] four hundred years, to teach us that faith which before we never knew? Why bringest thou us forth that thing that Peter and Paul never uttered? Evermore until this day the christian world hath been without this doctrine."

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 7.

For, if the popes would, or else if they could weigh with their own selves the whole matter, and also the beginnings[9] and proceedings of our religion, how in a manner all their travail hath come to nought, no body driving it forward, and without any worldly help; and how on[10] the other side our cause, against the will of emperors from the beginning, against the wills of so many kings, in spite of the popes, and almost maugre the head of all men, hath taken increase, and by little and little spread over into all countries, and is come at length

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[1 Therefore, 1611.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. X. p. 339.]

[3 Geasts, 1570.]

[4 Ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν γυναικὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐημερίας ἐκπεσούσῃ, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα κατεχούσῃ πολλαχοῦ μόνον τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐπραγίας ἐκείνης, καὶ τὰς μὲν θήκας τῶν χρυσίων ἐπιδεικνυμένῃ καὶ τὰ κιβώτια, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀφῃρημένῃ.—Id. ibid.]

[5 Thus, 1570, 1609.]

[6 Perfite, 1570.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. Epist. xli. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 346; where *quæ apostoli voce laudata est*, and *quod ante*.]

[8 Now after, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 Beginning, Conf.]

[10 One, 1611.]

into[11] kings' courts and palaces; these same things, methinketh, might be tokens great enough to them, that God himself doth strongly fight in our quarrel, and doth from heaven laugh at their enterprises; and that the force of the truth is such as neither man's power nor yet hell-gates are able to root it out.

M. HARDING.

It is well that ye use the term of the beginning and proceedings of your religion. For indeed of late years it began, not at Jerusalem, but at Wittenberg. Neither was it first delivered unto you by an apostle, but by an apostata. Still it proceedeth, and the farther off from the end. And well may ye name it your proceedings; for there is no stay in it: what liketh to-day misliketh to-morrow. The silly beguiled souls that follow it be, as St Paul saith, "ever learning, and never reaching to the knowledge of the truth."...

2 Tim. iii.

Did not your religion begin first of covetise, and grew it not afterward of rancour and malice, which Martin Luther conceived against the Dominican friars in Saxony, because Albert, the archbishop of Mentz and elector of the empire, had admitted them to be preachers of the pardon of a croisade against the Turks, contrary to an ancient custom, whereby the Augustine friars, of whom Luther was one, had of long time been in possession of that preferment? Is it not well known what a stir friar Luther made against John Tetzet the friar of St Dominic's order, for that the said Tetzet was made chief preacher of a pardon wherein was great gain, and thereby himself was bereft of that sweet morsel, which in hope he had almost swallowed down?...

Untruth.

The first beginning of this new gospel, and the occasion that first moved Luther to heresy.

Where you[12] say your religion is spread abroad, and hath taken so much increase against the wills of princes and almost maugre the head of all men; that is as false as your religion is....

Did not the great slaughter of your hundred thousand boors of Germany signify to the world your cause to have had the help of man? What may we judge of the great league of German princes made at the diet of Smalcalde for defence of your Lutheran gospel?...

The diet of Smalcalde.

The troubles and tumults of France, raised by your brethren the Huguenots, and the lamentable outrages committed there for your gospel's sake, be they not a witness of fresh memory, that your religion is maintained, set forth, and defended with power and help of men?...

The Huguenots of France[13].

That it is now at length come even into kings' courts and palaces, it moveth wise men no less to suspect it than to praise it....

The coming of Luther's gospel into princes' courts is a weak argument for the truth[13].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye make yourself game, M. Harding, for that the preaching of the gospel issued first out of Wittenberg, and not from Rome; notwithstanding Wittenberg is a noble and a famous university, so generally frequented out of all foreign countries, and so much commended for all kinds of tongues and liberal knowledge, as not many the like this day in Christendom.

But be it that Wittenberg were so simple a borough as M. Harding imagineth, yet were it not more simple than was the town of Nazareth; in which poor town, notwithstanding, first appeared the most glorious and greatest light of the world. Christian modesty would not disdain the truth of God in respect of place. That rather becometh the proud looks of the scribes and Pharisees. They despised Christ and his disciples, and called them Nazarenes in despite of his country. And therehence, it is likely, first grew that scornful question used by Nathaniel: *Nunquid ex Nazareth potest aliquid esse boni?* "Can any good thing come from Nazareth," so poor a town? So Celsus the heathen despised the religion of Christ, because it came (not from Rome or Athens,

John i. 46

[11 At length even into, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[12 Ye, Conf.]

[13 These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567. The first appears also in 1570, 1609.]

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. i.

but) from the barbarous Jews. For thus Origen reporteth of him: *Dogma Christianum affirmat a barbaris cepisse ortum, hoc est a Judæis*[1]: "He saith the doctrine of the Christians had his beginning only from a barbarous nation, that is to say, from the Jews."

1 Cor. i. 27.

But this is the mighty hand and power of God. He chooseth "the weak things of the world to confound the strong, and the foolish things of the world to confound the wise." He overthroweth the great Goliath with a silly sling, and bloweth down antichrist in all his glory with the breath of his mouth. "I thank thee, O Father," saith Christ, "for that thou hast hid these things from the wise and politic, and hast revealed the same unto the simple." The faith of Christ is not bound to place. "The whole earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness of the same." "There is now no distinction of Greek and barbarous.... We are all one in Christ Jesus[2]."

1 Sam. xvii. 49.
2 Thess. ii. 8.
Matt. xi. 25.
Psal. xxiv. 1.
Gal. iii. 28.

Notwithstanding, the gospel of Christ that we profess neither had his beginning from that learned father Doctor Luther, nor came first from Wittenberg. It is the same gospel whereof it is written by the prophet: "The law shall come out of Sion, and the word of God out of Hierusalem."

Mic. iv. 2.

Touching your long tale of Doctor Luther's avarice and sale of pardons, I mind not, nor need not to answer you. It is a simple stale slander. Yet it often serveth your turn of course, when other things begin to fail. Indeed friar Tecel the pardoner made his proclamations unto the people openly in the churches in this sort: Although a man had lain[3] with our lady the mother of Christ, and had begotten her with child, yet were he able by the pope's power to pardon the fault[4]. Against this and other like foul blasphemies Doctor Luther first began to speak. Now, whether this occasion were sufficient or no, let M. Harding himself be the judge.

Joh. Sleid. Lib. xiii.

We grant, the princes and estates of the world have now laid their power to assist the gospel. God's holy name therefore be blessed! Howbeit, the gospel came not first from them. It sprang up and grew by them many wheres against their wills.

Neither is the gospel therefore the more to be suspected, because it hath entered into princes' courts. Daniel was in king Nabuchodonosor's palace, and taught him to know the living God. St Paul rejoiced and took comfort in his bands, for that there were some even in Nero's court that began to hearken to the gospel. And Eusebius saith: *Valeriani aula erat jam ecclesia Dei*[5]: "Valerian the emperor's court was now become the church of God." Athanasius saith unto the emperor Jovinian: *Conveniens est pio principi, &c.*[6]: "The study and love of godly things is very meet for a godly prince. For so shall you surely have your heart evermore in the hand of God." Likewise saith St Cyril to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian: *Ab ea quæ erga Deum est pietate reipublicæ vestræ status pendet*[7]: "The state and assurance of your empire hangeth of your religion towards God."

Phil. i.
Theod. Lib. iv. cap. iii.
Cyril. in Epist. ad Theod. et Valent.

So likewise saith Sozomenus of the emperor Arcadius: Μόνη ἡ εὐσέβεια ἀρκεῖ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν· ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης μηδέν ἐστι τὰ στρατεύματα[8].

Sozom. Lib. ix. cap. iii.

Therefore it behoveth princes to understand the cases of God's religion, and to receive Christ with his gospel into their courts. For God hath ordained kings, as the prophet David saith, to serve the Lord; and, as Esay saith, to be nurses unto his church.

Psal. ii. 11.
Isai. xlix. 23.

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. I. 2. Tom. I. p. 320.]

[2 Jesu, 1567, 1570.] [3 Lyen, 1567.]

[4 Is inquam inter alia docebat, se tantam habere potestatem a pontifice, ut etiam si quis virginem matrem vitiasset ac gravidam fecisset, condonare crimen ipse posset, interventu pecuniæ: deinde, non modo jam commissa, verum etiam futura peccata condonabat, &c.—J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XIII. Luther. Lib. in Henr. Bruns. fol. 147. 2.]

[5 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. x. p. 209.]

[6 Πρέπουσα θεοφιλεῖ βασιλεῖ φιλομαθὴς προαίρεσις καὶ πόθος τῶν οὐρανίων. οὕτως γὰρ ἀληθῶς καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχεις ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ.—Theodor. in eod. Lib. IV. cap. iii. p. 153.]

[7 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. De Rect. Fid. Tom. V. Pars II. p. 2. See Vol. II. page 1014, note 5. Conf. Cyril. Op. Lat. Basil. 1566. Theodos. et Valent. ad Cyril. Epist. xvii. Tom. IV. col. 41; where *a pietate quæ in Deum est reipublicæ nostræ constitutio pendet.*]

[8 ... μόνην εὐσέβειαν ἀρκεῖν πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν· ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης μηδὲν εἶναι στρατεύματα, κ.τ.λ.—Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. IX. cap. i. p. 646.]

If there be occasions of vanities or wickedness in princes' courts, yet is there no court therein comparable to the court of Rome. For there St Bernard saith, *Mali proficiunt, boni deficiunt*[9]: "The wicked wax: the godly wane."

Ye strive in vain, M. Harding: this counsel is not of man: it is of God. If princes with their powers could not stay it, much less can you stay it with untruths and fables. The poor beguiled souls of whom ye speak are neither so silly nor so simple but they are able to espy your follies. The truth of God will stand. Vanity will fall of itself. Remember the counsel of Gamaliel: "Fight not against the Spirit of God." Acts v. 39.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 3.

For they be not all mad at this day, so many free cities, so many kings, so many princes, which have fallen away from the seat of Rome, and have rather joined themselves to the gospel of Christ.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding's answer hereto is long: the effect thereof in short is this[10]:

The faith of the holy Roman church is the very catholic faith, which whoso forsake shall be companions with devils in everlasting fire.

And where ye say, "So many free cities, so many kings," I pray you, how many free cities can you name that have received your sacramentary religion? Nay, the free cities of Germany, as many as have forsaken the catholic church, do they not persecute you the sacramentaries? But, say ye, they be fallen from the seat of Rome. So be the Greeks also in a point or two; yet condemn they you for heretics.

Neither be all the free cities in[11] *all the country of Germany fallen from the see apostolic. Of five parts of that great country at least two remain catholic.*

Let us see, how make ye up the number of so many kings ye speak of? The realms of England and Scotland, because by God's providence the government of them is devolved to women, forasmuch as they be no kings, though they have the full right of kings, of them I speak not. Now only two christened kings remain, the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden. Get you now up into your[12] *pulpits like bragging cocks on the roost, flap your wings, and crow out aloud, "So many free cities, so many kings."*

But what think you of all the world before this day? were all cities and[13] *provinces, all countries, all kings, all princes, &c., till friar Luther came, and with his nun told us a new doctrine, and controlled all the old, were all these mad?*

The virtuous men of the Society of Jesus, have they not brought many countries, many kings, many princes to the faith of Christ, by preaching the doctrine of the catholic church? We will not follow your foolishness in boasting, &c. The faith professed in the holy Roman church is now preached in Peru, in the kingdom of Ignamban, in the kingdom of Monopotapa, in Cambaia, in Giapan, in Cina, in Tartaio, in Basnaga, in Taprobana, in Ormuz, in Ceilon, in Zimor, in Bacian, in Machazar.

The miracles wrought by these holy fathers, which converted these countries, I trow ye will not account to be madness. Thus your vain boast in wickedness, wrought by the power of Satan, is put to silence, &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"The faith of the Roman church," saith M. Harding, "is the very catholic faith of Christ, which whoso forsaketh, be he king or emperor, he shall be companion with devils in everlasting fire." Thus much, I trow, M. Harding learned of the counterfeit decree of Anacletus. For thus it pleaseth him to gloss and interlace the words of Christ: *Super hanc petram, id est, super eccle-* Anacl. Epist. I.

[9 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 11. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 439. See Vol. I. page 382, note 9.]

[10 These following paragraphs are for the most part in Harding's words, much condensed and abridged.]

[11 And, Conf.]

[12 You, 1611.]

[13 All, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

siam Romanam, ædificabo ecclesiam meam[1]: "Upon this rock, that is to say, upon the church of Rome, I will build my church." And therefore pope Bonifacius, for a full resolution of the matter, saith thus: *Subesse Romano pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis*[2]: "We declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that it is of the necessity of salvation for every mortal creature to be subject unto the bishop of Rome." And the gloss likewise upon the same: *Quicquid salvatur est sub summo pontifice*[3]: "Whatsoever creature is saved is under the highest bishop." Here is no mention neither of Christ nor of his gospel: salvation and damnation hangeth only of the bishop of Rome. This thing once granted, the case is clear: the pope himself hath resolved the doubt. What should we need a better trial? Notwithstanding, Cornelius, the bishop of Bitonto, in the late chapter at Trident, of the bishop and holy see of Rome saith thus: *Utinam a religione ad superstitionem, a fide ad infidelitatem, a Christo ad antichristum, a Deo ad Epicurum,... velut prorsus unanimes non declinassent, dicentes in corde impio et ore impudico, Non est Deus*[4]: "O would God" (the pope and all[5] his cardinals) "had not fallen with common consent and altogether from true religion to superstition, from faith to infidelity, from Christ to antichrist, from God to Epicure, saying with the[6] wicked heart and shameless mouth, There is no God." In like sense of the same bishops and see of Rome St Bernard saith: *Servi Christi serviunt antichristo*[7]: "The servants of Christ serve antichrist." Cornelius saith the bishops of Rome are fallen to superstition, to infidelity, to antichrist, to Epicure, and are not ashamed to say there is no God. Yet, saith M. Harding, the faith of Rome is the catholic faith; and whoso departeth from the same, be he king or emperor, he shall be companion with the devil in hell-fire. And thus to say is no mere madness!

Extr. de Major. et Obed. Unam sanct.

Gloss. in eod. cap.

Cornel. Episc. Bitont. in Concil. Trident.

Psal. xiv. 1.

Bernard. in Cant. Cantic.

That the princes and free cities of Germany ever persecuted us, it is utterly untrue, and like the rest of your tales. Notwithstanding some of them have dealt sharply with certain of this side, in consideration either of conscience, as they thought, or of the stay and quietness of their subjects; yet in open consultation and public diet they never suffered this doctrine to be condemned[8]. They rejoice in God in our behalf; and, being there, they received us under their protection, and offered us such freedom and courtesy as they seldom have[9] offered the like to any nation. Certain of them, by your own confession, have already agreed to all the points of our doctrine. But none of them all, no not one, would ever suffer the same doctrine of ours to be condemned[10] in open assembly, and to be judged for heresy.

What the Grecians this day think of us I cannot tell. Notwithstanding, it appeareth by their letters, written purposely to the church[11] of Bohemia, that they allow well of our doctrine, and utterly condemn yours. For thus they write[12] unto them: Οὐκοῦν, ποθεινότατοι ἀδελφοὶ καὶ υἱοὶ, εἰ οὕτω ἐστὶν ὡς ἀκούομεν καὶ ἐλπίζομεν, ἐπισπεύσατε τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἕνωσιν[13]: "Wherefore, loving brethren and children, if it be so as we hear and hope, make haste that we may join together in unity."

Epist. Eccles. Constant. ad Eccles. Prag.

And again, thus it is recorded in the late council of Lateran: *Græci in tantum cœperunt abominari Latinos, ut... si quando sacerdotes Latini super eorum altaria celebrassent, ipsi non vellent prius in illis sacrificare, quam ea, tanquam*

In Concil. Lat. cap. iv.

[1 ... ad sedem...apostolicam, super quam Christus universam construxit ecclesiam, dicente ipso ad beatum principem apostolorum Petrum: Tu es (inquit) Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—Anaclet. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 58.]

[2 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212.]

[3 Gloss. in eod. col. 205.]

[4 Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 993. See Vol. II. page 900, note 5.]

[5 1567 omits *all.*]

[6 1567, 1570, 1609, omit *the.*]

[7 Ministri Christi sunt, et serviunt antichristo.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 15. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393.]

[8 This sentence does not appear in 1567.]

[9 1567 omits *have.*]

[10 The words after *condemned* do not appear in 1567.]

[11 Churches, 1567, 1570.]

[12 Writte, 1567.]

[13 Epist. Constant. Eccles. ad Bohem. in S. Le Moyne Var. Sacr. Lugd. Bat. 1685. Tom. I. p. 298; where οὕτως.]

per hoc inquinata, lavissent[14]: "The Greeks began so much to abhor the Latins, that, if it had happened the Latin priests had ministered upon their altars, they would not afterward make oblation upon the same before they had washed them; as thinking their altars defiled by the Latins' handling." Wherefore, M. Harding, whatsoever the Grecians think of us, it appeareth hereby they utterly refuse your communion, and condemn you for heretics.

But who would have thought M. Harding had been so skilful in proportions? The whole country of Germany, saith he, being divided in equal portions, two of five remain still in the obedience of the see of Rome. We give God thanks it is as it is. Indeed certain towns subject to the bishops, in outward usage of their churches, remain still as they were before. Yet nevertheless, in most places[15] where the churches are popish, the people of all sorts are protestants, and love the truth, and are much ashamed of your follies. It was God's secret providence that certain of yours should remain amongst us a season, as the Canaanites remained amongst the people of Israel. Otherwise within few years ye would deny that ever your disorders had been so great.

It is very hard, and in manner not possible, to convert the whole people of so great a country all at once. The hairs of a man's beard or head never wax white all together. Christ compareth the kingdom of God unto leaven, which the woman taketh and layeth in a lump of dough: it worketh and laboureth by little and little, until it have leavened all the whole. In this sort Eusebius seemeth to compare the two parts of the Roman empire dissenting in judgment of religion; the east part to the night, and the west to the day[16]. But Christ will draw all unto himself; and then shall God be all in all.

Luke xiii. 21.

Eusebius.

John xii. 32. 1 Cor. xv. 28.

But here, to match our so many kings and so many princes, M. Harding hath brought us a many of news out of Ignamban, Monopotapa, Cambaia, Giapan, Bisnaga, Ormuz, and other strange and far countries. There, he saith, so many and so many kings and princes are lately converted and brought to the obedience of the see of Rome. I marvel he saith not, the man in the moon was likewise newly christened, to make up the muster.

Howbeit, all these things must needs be true. For Christ's own fellows, or, as M. Harding uttereth it in better wise, the holy fathers of the Society of Jesus, have sent home word as well hereof as also of sundry miracles wrought by the same holy fathers. Verily, so the name of Christ be published, whether it be by them or by us, by light or by darkness, God's holy name be blessed! But of many their miracles I have no skill. For thus these holy fathers write, as it is said before, that with holy water they have driven mice out of the country, and made barren women to bear children[17], and such other the like marvellous miracles. Neither are we bound of necessity to believe all such miracles whatsoever without exception. Alexander of Hales saith: *In sacramento apparet caro, interdum humana procuratione, interdum operatione diabolica*[18]: "In the sacrament itself there appeareth flesh, sometime by the conveyance of men, sometime by the working of the devil." Likewise saith Nicolas Lyra: *Aliquando in ecclesia fit maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus, vel eis adhærentibus, propter lucrum*[19]: "Sometime even in the church the people is shamefully deceived with feigned miracles, wrought either by the priests, or else by their companions, for lucre's sake." Miracles be not evermore undoubted proofs of true doctrine. Therefore St Augustine saith unto Faustus the Manichee: *Miracula non facitis: quæ si feceritis*[20], *tamen ipsa in vobis caveremus*[21]: "Ye work no miracles; and yet, if ye wrought any, at your hands we would take heed of them." The prophet Jeremy saith: *Seduxerunt populum*

Copus, Dial. p. 18.

Alexander de Hales, Par. iv. Quæst. liii. Memb. 4. Art. 3. Sol. 2.

Nicol. Lyra, in Dan. cap. xiv.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xiii.

Jer. xxiii.

[14 ... in tantum Græci cœperunt, &c. quod...si quando, &c. eorum celebrassent altaria, non prius ipsi sacrificare volebant in illis, quam, &c.—Inst. Concil. Lat. cap. 4. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 949.]

[15 1567 omits *in most places.*]

[16 The editor has not been able to find the passage referred to.]

[17 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. iii. p. 18. See before, page 179, note 11.]

[18 ... hujusmodi apparitiones [carnis vel sanguinis] quandoque accidunt humana procuratione, et sorte diabolica.—Alex. Alens. Summ. Theol. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars IV. Quæst. XI. Memb. II. Art. iv. 3. p. 410.]

[19 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Pars IV. fol. 330. 2; where *fit in ecclesia.*]

[20 Faceretis, 1567, 1570.]

[21 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. XIII. cap. v. Tom. VIII. col. 254; where *faceretis etiam ipsa.*]

meum in mendaciis suis et in miraculis suis: "They have deceived my people by their lies and by their miracles."

Vesputius. Touching the conversion of the East India, Vesputius writeth, there were many godly bishops there, and sundry whole countries converted and christened long before that either the Portugales or the Jesuits came thither[1]; and yet had never heard of the name of the bishop of Rome.

As for the rest of the West Spanish Indies, the people there lived not only without all manner knowledge of God, but also wild and naked, without any civil government, offering up men's bodies in sacrifice, drinking men's blood, and eating men's flesh. Some of them worshipped the sun and the moon, some an ancient old tree, some, whatsoever they saw first in the morning, they thought the same for that day to be their god. Some worshipped certain familiar devils, and unto them sacrificed young boys and girls[2].

Pet. Mart. Mediolanen.

Being in this miserable state, and naturally by the very sense and judgment of common reason abhorring and loathing their own blindness, what marvel is it if they were easy to be led into any religion, specially carrying such a shew of apparel and holy ceremonies?

Addition

Addition. ☞ "Here," saith M. Harding, "M. Jewel attributeth the glorious conversion[3] of the Indians to the leading of natural reason. This," saith he, "is his heathenish heart. What could Porphyry, or Julius[4], or Celsus say more?" And what maketh you, M. Harding, to be so vehement? Is nature so blind that she can no way discern what is likely or unlikely in any part of religion? Wherefore then doth St Paul say, speaking only of natural men and of the light of nature, "That thing that may be known of God is opened unto them: the invisible things of God are known (naturally) by the creatures of the world; even the everlasting power of God, and his divinity"? Or why saith he, "The heathens, that have not the law of God, yet by nature do the things that pertain to the law; and, having no law, they are a law to themselves, and shew forth the work or effect of the law written within (by nature) in their hearts"? St Ambrose addeth further: *Gentilis duce natura credit in Christum: ... Gentilis ... per solam naturam intellexit auctorem*[5]: "The heathen by the leading of nature believeth in Christ: the heathen only by nature hath known God the maker of the world." In the short commentaries that bear the name of St Hierome it is written thus: *Cognoverunt Deum, sive per naturam, sive per facturam et rationem*[6]: "The heathens knew God either by nature or by creation and way of reason." And again: *Homo naturaliter potest scire de Deo, [et] quod sit, et quod justus sit*[7]: "Man may by nature know of God, both that he is, and that he is just." If these sayings be so heathenish and Jewish in us, why are they suffered in St Paul, in St Hierome, in St Ambrose, and in other holy fathers?

M. Hard. fol. 96. b. [Detect.]

Rom. i. 19.

Rom. ii. 14.

Ambros. ad Rom. cap. ii.

Hieron. ad Rom. cap. i.

I say not that nature alone is able to lead us into the perfection of faith, or to endue our hearts with the Spirit of God. But thus I say: Nature of herself is oftentimes able to discern between truth and falsehood. Cicero saith only of the ability and force of nature: *Utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa convincere*[8]. By which confession it appeareth, although he were not able by skill of nature to find the truth, yet was he able by the same to reprove the falsehood. And therefore, speaking of the vanity of his own heathen religion, he saith: *Quid negotii est hæc poetarum et pictorum portenta convincere*[9]? "What mastery is it (even only by the light of natural wisdom) to reprove the fabulous wonders of painters and poets?"

De Natura Deor. Lib. i.

Tuscul. i.

[1 In the collection entitled Novus Orbis, there are many accounts of voyages and descriptions of the East and West Indies, &c., by various persons, and among them Vesputius; but the reference here to this last-named author seems erroneous. See, however, Aloys. Cadamust. Nav. cap. liii.; Joseph. Ind. Nav. capp. cxxxii. cxxxiii.; Lud. Rom. Patrit. Nav. Lib. VI. capp. i. ii. in Nov. Orb. Basil. 1537. pp. 56, 144, &c. 251, &c.]

[2 Pet. Mart. De Insul. nup. invent. in eod. pp. 553, 561, 4.]

[3 Conversation, 1570.]

[4 Julian is doubtless meant.]

[5 Credens gentilis, duce natura, in Christum, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. ii. Tom. II. Append. col. 41. These commentaries are not genuine.]

[6 *Quia cum cognovissent Deum.* Sive per, &c. —Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i. Tom. V. col. 929.]

[7 Item quod potest naturaliter, &c.—Id. ibid. col. 928.]

[8 Cic. De Nat. Deor. Lib. I. cap. xxxii, fin.]

[9 Id. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I. cap. vi.]

The heart of man is naturally inclined to religion; notwithstanding, being blinded with original sin, in the choice thereof it oftentimes falleth into horrible errors. When the Christians in Rome had chosen a void plat in the city, and therein had builded themselves a church for the service of Christ, and the taverners or victuallers there had laid claim to the same plat, for that it seemed to stand commodiously for their utterance; Alexander Severus the emperor, being an heathen, and void of faith, and led only by the guiding of nature, having the hearing of the matter, answered the taverners in this sort: "It is better that God be any way worshipped in that place than you should have it[10]." The Tartarians of late years, having no certain religion of their own, submitted themselves to the religion of the Turks[11]. Nature taught them it was better to have the Turkish religion than none at all[12].

Ælius Lamprid. in Alex.

Vesput. in Nov. Orb. fol. 485.

This therefore is it that I say, M. Harding: The poor Indians, living by man's flesh, and going naked, having no manner sense nor knowledge of God, but falling down either before an old tree, or before the sun and the moon, or whatsoever thing they[13] saw first in the morning; when they saw the religion of Rome, with so many ceremonies and shews of holiness, very nature taught them to think the same far better than their own. What heathenish infidelity find you herein, or what blasphemy against the power of God? As blind as your Indians are this day, if they might see both your and our religion set open before them, I doubt not but nature herself would lead them to judge[14] that ours is the light, and yours darkness. St Paul, speaking of the disorder of praying unto God that he saw among the Corinthians, saith thus: *Nonne natura ipsa docet vos?* "Doth not very nature teach you this thing?"

1 Cor. xi. 14.

All this notwithstanding, I say not that nature is able to lead us into all the secrecies and mysteries of Christ's gospel. Christ himself saith: "God oftentimes hideth these things from the (natural) wise, and great learned men, and revealeth the same unto babes." And again: "No man cometh to my Father, but by me." And: "No man cometh to me, unless he be drawn by my Father." And unto Peter he saith: "Flesh and blood hath not revealed these things to thee, but the Spirit of my Father which is in heaven."

Matt. xi. 25.

John xiv. 6.

John vi. 44.

Matt. xvi. 17.

As for the conversion of the wild Indians, which you call so glorious, I pray God it may not justly be said unto you that Christ said unto the Pharisees: "Ye seek about by sea and by land to find one novice; and, when ye have gotten him, ye make him the child of hell double worse than yourselves."

Matt. xxiii. 15.

And what if God would use this mean for the time, afterward the better to lead the said nations to the clear light of the gospel, as St Augustine saith the shoemaker useth his bristle, not to sew withal, but to draw in his thread? No doubt, M. Harding, if your doctrine and ours were laid together, the very Indians themselves, be they never so rude, would be able to see a great difference.

But let the bishop of Rome win abroad, and lose at home. You remember the old proverb: *Dionysius Corinthi.* Dionysius, when he had lost his kingdom at home at Syracusa[15], he got himself to Corinth, and there became a schoolmaster, and so seemed to continue a kingdom still.

We make no boast, M. Harding, nor get us to roost, as ye say, nor flap our wings in the behalf of these princes and countries, so many and so many, as it pleaseth you to sport, that have submitted themselves to the gospel of Christ. Neither are the same so many and so many so few as you would seem to make them. The kingdom of England, the kingdom of Scotland, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Sweden, the dukes of Saxony, the duke of Brunswick, the palsgrave of Rhene, the duke of Wirtenberg[16], the landgrave of Hessia, the marquis of Brandeburg, the prince of Russia, all other the earls and noblemen and great cities through the whole country of Ger-

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[10 Æl. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. cap. xlix. in Hist. August. Script. Hanov. 1611. p. 352.]

[11 Instead of this sentence, 1567 has, *So the great king of Tartary of late, finding himself and his people without any manner religion, was contented to borrow some religion of the Turks. For men would rather clothe themselves with leaves and barks than to go quite naked, and rather eat acorns than die for hunger.*]

[12 Vesputius seems again mistakenly referred to. See Math. à Michov. De Sarm. As. Lib. I. cap. v. in Nov. Orb. pp. 490, 1; which is in all probability the passage intended.]

[13 Thy, 1611.]

[14 Lead to judge, 1570.]

[15 Syracusæ, 1567, 1570.]

[16 Wittenberg, 1609, 1611.]

many, the mighty commonweals of Helvetia, Rhetia, Vallis Tellina, with so many hundred thousands besides in France, Italy, Spain, Hungary, and in the kingdom of Poole; certainly all these well reckoned cannot seem so few as you[1] would have it. Ye wis, M. Harding, it grieveth you full sore they are so many. If God of his mercy bless those things that he hath mercifully begun, it will be high time for you shortly to seek a new refuge.

We boast not ourselves of these things. There is no cause. It is not the work of man: it is the only hand of God. David saith: "Let the heavens rejoice: let the earth be glad:" "the voice (of the apostles) is sounded abroad into all the world." The angels of God sang: "Glory be to God on high." The angel in the Apocalypse crieth amain: *Cecidit, cecidit Babylon illa magna:* "Down, down is fallen that great Babylon." Tertullian saith: *Parthi, Medi, Elamitæ, &c.*[2]: "The Parthians, the Medians, the Elamites, the people of Mesopotamia, of Armenia, of Phrygia, of Cappadocia, of Pontus, of Asia, of Pamphylia, Ægypt[3], of Africa, of Rome, of Hierusalem, of Getulia, of Mauritania, of Spain, of France, of Britanny, of Sarmatia, of Dacia, of Germany, of Scythia, and many other nations and provinces, known and unknown, have received the gospel of Christ." Thus said they, the angels and prophets of God, and holy fathers, and yet without boasting, or flying[4] to roost, or clapping of wings. Give us leave therefore, M. Harding, in the like case to solace ourselves with the consideration of God's mighty and merciful works, and humbly to rejoice at the triumph of the cross of Christ.

Psal. xix. 4. Luke ii. 14. Rev. xiv. 8. Tertull. contr. Jud.

Arnobius saith unto the heathens: *Ne nobis de nostra frequentia blandiamur. Multi nobis videmur; sed Deo admodum pauci sumus. Nos gentes nationesque distinguimus; Deo una domus est mundus hic totus*[5]: "Let us not flatter ourselves of our great multitudes. Unto ourselves we seem many; but unto God we are but few. We put difference between nation and nation; but unto God this whole world is but one house." This counsel, M. Harding, is wholesome for either part to follow, that whoso will rejoice may rejoice in the Lord.

Arnob. contr. Gent. Lib. viii.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 4.

And, although the popes had never hitherunto leisure to consider diligently and earnestly of these matters, or though some other cares do now let them, and divers ways pull them, or though they count these to be but common and trifling studies, and nothing to appertain to the popes' worthiness; this maketh not why our matter ought to seem the worse. Or, if they perchance will not see that which they see indeed, but rather will withstand the known truth, ought we therefore by and by to be counted heretics, because we obey not their will and pleasure?

M. HARDING.

... Sith Christ hath given to the pope in Peter, whose lawful successor he is, commission to feed his sheep; wholesome feeding being the end of that commission, it is[6] *not to be doubted but he that ordained the end hath also ordained means belonging to the end. Therefore it is not the duty of a good and humble sheep to give forth a malicious surmise, that the shepherd will not see that he seeth indeed, but rather will withstand the known truth. And whatsoever*

John xxi.

[1 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2 Cui enim et aliæ gentes crediderunt; Parthi, Medi, Elamitæ, et qui inhabitant Mesopotamiam, Armeniam, Phrygiam, Cappodociam, et incolentes Pontum, et Asiam, et Pamphyliam, immorantes Ægyptum, et regionem Africæ quæ est trans Cyrenem inhabitantes? Romani et incolæ; tunc et in Hierusalem Judæi, et ceteræ gentes: ut jam Getulorum varietates, et Maurorum multi fines; Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita; et Sarmatarum, et Dacorum, et Germanorum, et Scytharum; et abditarum multarum gentium; et provinciarum et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum, et quæ enumerare minus possumus?—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 7. p. 212.]

[3 Of Ægypt, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Fleeing, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Arnob. Disp. adv. Gentes, Rom. 1542. Lib. VIII. fol. 100; where *nec nobis*. This book is attributed to Minucius Felix. Conf. M. Minuc. Fel. Octav. Lugd. Bat. 1672. p. 318.]

[6 It, 1567.]

sheep be disobedient, and refuse to hear the voice of their shepherd, whom Christ hath made over them, the same be not of Christ's fold. And, maintaining contrary doctrine to their shepherd's true doctrine, justly may they be accounted heretics.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To be Peter's lawful successor, it is not sufficient to leap into Peter's stall. Lawful succession standeth not only in possession of place, but also, and much rather, in doctrine and diligence. Yet the bishops of Rome, as if there were nothing else required, evermore put us in mind and tell us many gay tales of their succession. Pope Symmachus saith: *In papa si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt quæ a loci [præ]decessore præstantur*[7]: "If the pope want virtues and goodness of his own, yet the virtues that are given him by (Peter) his predecessor are sufficient." And the gloss upon the same: *Petrus fecit papam hæredem bonitatis suæ*[8]: "Peter hath made the pope heir of his goodness."

Head shepherd.

Dist. 40. Non nos.

Gloss. ibid. in verb. Cum hæreditatem.

But St Hierome saith far otherwise: *Non sanctorum filii sunt qui tenent loca sanctorum*[9]: "They be not evermore holy men's children that sit in the rooms of holy men." Likewise saith Alphonsus de Castro, a special assistant of that side: *Quamvis teneamur ex fide credere verum Petri successorem esse supremum totius ecclesiæ pastorem, tamen non tenemur eadem fide credere Leonem aut Clementem esse verum Petri successorem*[10]: "Notwithstanding we be bound by faith to believe that the true successor of Peter is the highest shepherd of the whole church, yet are we not bound by the same faith to believe that Leo or Clement (being bishops of Rome) are the true successors of Peter."

Dist. 40. Non est facile.

Alphons. contr. Hæres. Lib. i. cap. ix.

The words that Christ spake unto Peter import no sovereignty, but were common to all the rest. St Cyprian saith: *Hoc erant utique . . . ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis*[11]: "The rest of the apostles were even the same that Peter was, all endued with like fellowship both of honour and power[12]." What special privilege then can the pope claim by the succession of St Peter? Or what talketh he of feeding the whole flock of Christ, that never feedeth any part thereof? Wherein is the pope like St Peter? Or wherein ever was St Peter like the pope?

John xxi. 15, 16, 17.

Cypr. De Simplicit. Prælat.

Yet M. Harding doubteth not to give his definitive sentence: "Whatsoever sheep is not obedient to the head shepherd is not of the flock of Christ." The pope also himself boldly warranteth the same. Thus he saith of himself: *Quicunque præceptis nostris non obedierit, peccatum idololatriæ et paganitatis incurrit*[13]: "Whosoever obeyeth not our commandments falleth into the sin of idolatry and infidelity." And therefore pope Stephen thus advanceth[14] the authority of his own see: *Sacrosancta domina nostra Romana ecclesia*[15]: "Our holy lady the church of Rome."

Dist. 81. Si qui sunt. In Gloss.

Dist. 79. Oportebat.

But Christ, speaking of himself, saith: "I am the true shepherd;" and, "Whoso heareth these words of mine, and doth[16] the same, I will liken him to a wise man." St Paul, being but one of the sheep, saith thus: "I withstood Peter" (as M. Harding saith, the head shepherd) "even unto his face, for that he walked not uprightly to the gospel of Christ." Yet was he a sheep of the flock of Christ. Hostiensis in this case seemeth reasonable: his words be these: *Omnes debent obedire papæ, quicquid præcipiat, nisi sequi possit peccatum*[17]: "All men

John x. 14. Luke vi. 47.

Gal. ii. 2, 11, 14.

De Conc. Præbend. Prop. Host. De rescriptis. Si quando. verb. Sed nunquid.

[7 In quo si desunt bona, &c.—Symmach. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 1. col. 193.]

[8 Ad hoc transmisit, ut essent hæredes bonitatis suæ.—Gloss. ibid.]

[9 Hieron. in eod. ibid. can. 2. col. 194. These words cited by Gratian from Jerome do not appear in that father.]

[10 Quamvis enim credere teneamur ex fide verum &c. non tamen tenemur &c.—Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. ix. fol. 19.]

[11 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8.]

[12 And of power, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Qui vero huic saluberrimo præcepto obedire noluerit, idololatriæ peccatum incurrit....Peccatum igitur paganitatis incurrit, quisquis, dum Christianum se asserit, sedi apostolicæ obedire contemnit.—Gregor. VII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. can. 15. col. 389. Conf. Gloss. ibid.]

[14 Avanceth, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Ex Concil. Steph. Papæ III. in eod. ibid. Dist. lxxix. can. 3. col. 378.]

[16 Doeth, 1567, 1570.]

[17 In subditis autem tantam habet plenitudinem potestatis, quia ex quo aliquid præcipit obediendum est: etiam si dubium sit utrum mortale sit...Sed si certum sit quia illud quod præcipit est mortale, recognoscendus est papa cœlestis.—Host. sup. Tert. Decretal. Par. 1512. De Concess. Præb. Tit. viii. cap. 4. fol. 34. Conf. Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. viii. cap. 4. fol. 57.]

must obey the pope, whatsoever he command, so there follow no sin of his commandment." Likewise Felinus, a notable canonist: *Non obstante plenitudine potestatis quæ est in papa, non est obediendum ei, peccato*[1] *imminente*[2]: "Notwithstanding the fulness of power that is in the pope, when sin shall follow his bidding, we may not obey him."

If the pope will claim the head pastorship over the whole flock of Christ, or rather, if he will be taken for any pastor at all, let him then feed the flock: let him break the bread of life without leaven: let him speak the word of God truly, without fables; and we will hear him. Otherwise St Augustine hath warned us: *Sua . . . si docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere. Certe enim tales sua quærunt, non quæ [sunt] Jesu Christi*[3]: "If they will teach you doctrines of their own, see ye hear them not," and whatsoever such thing they command you, "see ye do it not. For undoubtedly such men seek for their own matters, and not the things that pertain to Jesus Christ."

August. in Johan. Tract. 46.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 6.

If so be that pope Pius were the man (we say not which he would so gladly be called), but if he were indeed a man that either would account us for his brethren, or at least would take us to be men, he would first diligently have examined our reasons, and would have seen what might be said with us, what against us, and would not in his bull, whereby he lately pretended a council, so rashly have condemned so great a part of the world, so many learned and godly men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, only upon his own blind prejudices and fore-determinations, and that without hearing of them speak, or without shewing cause why.

M. HARDING.

Speak of pope Pius what ye will and what ye can. Neither your praise can advance his estimation, nor your dispraise abase it. His singular virtues be well known. God is highly to be praised, for that he hath provided for his flock so good a shepherd. As for you, as he taketh you to be men, so not his brethren, because ye have cut off yourselves from the catholic church. . . . Your reasons have been diligently and exactly examined already. In respect of your reasons, learning, and holy scriptures which ye bring, ye are found such as Balsazar king of Babylon was signified by the hand that appeared writing before him in the wall. . . .

A comparison. brtween the defender[4] *and Balsazar king of Babylon.*

What it is, heretics to be admitted to reasoning, it is and hath been evermore too well known. Be they never so throughly confuted, they yield not. Overcome they may be, reformed they will not be. Therein no good lightly is done. . . .

No good wrought by reasoning with heretics[5].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If pope Pius were so good a man, and so fit and worthy a pastor for the church of God, why then did his cardinals of late labour so earnestly by treason and conspiracy to depose him, being, as you say, so good a man? Or, if it were not so, why then did he himself complain thereof so bitterly in an oration pronounced openly in Rome in the consistory[6]? Is it not lawful for so good a man to live in Rome? Is the same proclamation now practised among the cardinals in Rome that was sometime used in the council-house at Ephesus, *Nemo nostrum frugi esto*[7], "Let no good man be amongst us?" This oration is abroad in print. If you doubt the authority thereof, we wrote it not: it is none of ours[8].

Oratio Pii Papæ.

ἡμέων οὐδεὶς ὀνήστος ἔστω.

[1 Peccatum, 1611.]

[2 ...non obstante &c. dicit Host. in ca. proposuit de concess. præb. quod omnes tenentur obedire papæ, quicquid præcipiat, nisi sequi possit peccatum.—Felin. Sand. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. iii. cap. 5. Pars I. fol. 78. 2.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlvi. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 604; where *velint docere.*]

[4 Defenders, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5 This marginal note is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6 Pii IV. Orat. 10-15. in Goldast. Polit. Imp. Franc. 1614. Pars XXVII. 11. pp. 1273, 4.]

[7 Diog. Laert. De Vit. Philos. Lib. IX. Heraclit. Ephes.; where μηδὲ εἷς.]

[8 These two sentences were first introduced in the edition of 1570.]

Ye say pope Pius would not vouchsafe to call us his brethren. No marvel, seeing his own dear and first-begotten children the cardinals would no longer have him to be their father. It is sufficient for us that Christ the Son of God is content to call us his brethren. Matt. xxviii. John xx. 17.

Ye have excommunicate us, as the Pharisees did the apostles, because we speak unto you in the name of Christ. But your own law saith: *Excommunicatus non potest excommunicare*[9]: "He that is excommunicate himself cannot give sentence to excommunicate others." And your own Gelasius saith: *Neminem ligare debet iniqua sententia*[10]: "A wicked sentence" of excommunication "bindeth no man." But before all others God himself saith: *Ego benedicam maledictionibus vestris:* "I will bless that you curse," saith the Lord. You say you have weighed our reasons, and have found them too light. Now surely that is a good light answer. Even in such light sort Julianus the apostata wrote sometime unto the christian bishops: Ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων, κατέγνων: "I have read your reasons: I know them well enough; and therefore I have condemned them." But the same christian bishops answered him again: Ἀνέγνως, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔγνως· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἂν κατέγνως[11]: "It may be ye have read our reasons, but ye understood them not; for, if ye understood them, ye would not condemn them." St Paul[12] also likewise saith: *Nam*[13] *si cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriæ crucifixissent:* "If they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory." John ix. xii. xvi. xxiv. Quæst. I. Audivimus. xi. Quæst. 3. Cui est illata. Mal. ii. 2. Psal. cix. 28. Sozom. Lib. v. cap. xviii. 1 Cor. ii. 8.

But unto many of your side, M. Harding, I fear me we may over truly say as St Hilary saith unto the Arian heretics: *Vere Deum nesciunt; atque utinam . . . nescirent; cum procliviori enim venia ignorarent*[14]: "Indeed they know not God; and would God they knew him not: then their ignorance were the easier to be pardoned." Hilar. de Synod. adv. Arian.

You say there is no disputation to be had with heretics. Yet your fathers in the council of Basil, and your friends in the last council of Trident, I will not say had disputations, but certainly yielded and gave place unto the Bohemians and unto such others as you call heretics. In Append. Concil. Basil. Hæc sanctus. Concil. Trident. Sess. vi.

Addition. ☞ "This lie," saith M. Harding, "is so clear and evident, that our confutation is needless. Neither is it told wherein these councils should yield, nor where that yielding should be found." *The answer.* So clear, saith M. Harding, is this lie. Howbeit, if he had better considered his books, he might[15] have found that this so clear a lie is an evident truth. First, the council of Basil, contrary to the order of the Roman church, yielded unto the Bohemians the holy communion in both kinds; and yet the same Bohemians they called heretics. The words there, among others, are these: *Indultum liberationis communionis sub utraque specie*[16]. The like might you have found in cardinal Cusanus, if ye had well sought it. Thus he writeth unto the priests of Bohemia: *Neque ita est ut scribitis, nos compactiones ignorare. Nam illæ aliquam correctionem, nobis tunc præsidentibus in natione Germanica, receperunt; maxime in capite de libertate communionis; ubi apponi fecimus, facultatem in eventum dari sacerdotibus, posse communicare populum modo qui ibi ponitur*[17]: "Neither is it so as you write, that we know not the agreement or composition. For the same composition was corrected when I was president in Germany, specially in that article that toucheth the liberty of the communion; whereunto I caused to be added, that upon a further proof the priests should have liberty to communicate the people in that sort that there is mentioned." Here have you that thing which you say is not possible to be found; and you have it confirmed and avouched by a cardinal of the church of Rome. Touching the same article the late council of Trident hath likewise yielded, howbeit with many long and solemn protestations. The words begin thus: *Ut sub utraque specie communicare volentes, &c.*[18]: "We ordain that Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 98. a. [Detect.] Concil. Tom. III. in Append. Concil. Basil. p. 243. Hæc sanctus. Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 6. De Libertate Communionis. Posse communicare populum. Concil. Trident.

[9 ..excommunicatus te excommunicare non potuit.—Alex. II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXIV. Quæst. i. can. 4. col. 1383.]

[10 ..neminem potest iniqua gravare sententia.—Gelas. in eod. ibid. Caus. XI. Quæst. iii. can. 47. col. 938.]

[11 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. p. 507.]

[12 As St Paul, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Non, 1611.]

[14 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Synod. seu de Fid. Orient. 63. col. 1186.]

[15 Mought, 1570.]

[16 Resp. fact. Ambas. Imp. in Concil. Basil. Append. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 243.]

[17 N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. vi. p. 850.]

[18 Primo. Ut sub utraque specie communicare

Sess. vi. ap. Kemnit. p. 150. edit. Franc. An. Dom. 1578. Nam in ipso concilio frustra quæras[1].

whatsoever church or nation will receive the communion under both kinds, first they agree both in heart and word with all the ordinances of the church of Rome: secondly, that they shall be subject and obedient unto the pope, as reverent children unto their father," &c.

Thus, M. Harding, have your councils yielded even unto them that they themselves have condemned for heretics. Now have I told you both wherein these two councils have yielded, and also where this yielding may be found. ☞ Therefore I rede you henceforth not to be so ready in dealing of lies. ☜

But ye have reason: ye can foresee your best advantage. It were the readiest way to disclose your shame. You never yet came to disputation, but some of your company shrank away from you. As I before have reported out of Tertullian: *Veritas nihil veretur, nisi abscondi*[2]: "Truth feareth nothing, but lest she be hid." If the God of Israel come into the temple, the idol of Dagon must needs fall down.

Tertull. in Apolog. 1 Sam. v. 3.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 1.

But, because he hath already so noted us openly, lest by holding our peace we should seem to grant a fault, and specially because we can by no means[3] have audience in the public assembly of the general council, wherein he would no creature should have power to give his voice, or to declare[4] his opinion, except he were sworn and straitly bound to maintain his authority—for we have had good experience hereof in the[5] last conference at the council of Trident, where the ambassadors and divines of the princes of Germany and of the free cities were quite shut out from their company; neither[6] can we yet forget how Julius the third, above ten years past, provided warily[7] by his writ, that none of our sort should be suffered to speak in the council (except that there[8] were some man[9] peradventure that would recant and change his opinion)—for this cause chiefly we thought it good to yield up an account of our faith in writing, and truly and openly to make answer to those things wherewith we have been openly charged; to the end the world may see the parts and foundations of that doctrine, in the behalf whereof so many good men have little regarded their own lives; and that all men may understand what manner of people they be, and what opinion they have of God and of religion, whom the bishop of Rome, before they were called to tell their tale, hath condemned for heretics, without any good consideration, without any example, and utterly without law or right, only because he heard tell that they did dissent from him and his in some point of religion.

M. HARDING.

Two causes of making the apology.

...Ye allege two causes. The first is, lest by holding your peace ye should seem to grant a fault. The second, which ye make the more[10] *special, is because by no means ye could have audience in the late general council. Your second cause is false, as hereafter it shall be shewed. Your first is naught,*

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volentes, in reliquis omnibus, tum quoad sacramentum hoc quam cetera sacramenta, item in quacunque materia, quoad fidem, doctrinam ritumque conveniant corde et oris confessione, cum iis omnibus quæ a S. Romana ecclesia sunt recepta....Tertio. Quod sanctissimo Domino nostro papæ, ut legitimo universalis ecclesiæ episcopo et pastori, debeant fideli et sincero animo, ut reverentes filii, omnem reverentiam exhibere.—M. Chemnic. Exam. Concil. Trident. Franc. 1596. Pars II. p. 136.]

[1 This part of the reference, which mentions the work of Chemnicius, was first inserted in 1609.]

[2 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 1. p. 1. See before, page 160, note 11.]

[3 Mean, Conf.]

[4 Or declare, Conf.]

[5 His, Conf.]

[6 Nother, Conf.]

[7 Warely, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 Except there, Conf.]

[9 Conf. omits *man*.]

[10 Make more, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

In councils any man may shew his opinion, but none may give a voice or suffrage, and sentence definitive, but only bishops.

as that which sheweth your pride, vain-glory, and pertinacy....Well, ye do but as heretics before you have ever done. It must not be looked for at your hands that ye acknowledge any fault: for that were humility, which virtue all heretics be far from, &c....To give a voice or suffrage, and utter sentence definitive, it pertaineth only to bishops.... Now ye be[11] *no bishops, but some of you mere laymen, and most of you apostates....*

Whether the ambassadors and divines of the princes of Germany and of the free cities there were at any time, upon any consideration of their misliked demeanour, or for any other just cause, restrained from the company of the fathers in the late general council at Trent....again, whether pope Julius the third provided by any writ that none of your sort should be suffered to speak in the council, the cause of recantation excepted;...what ye say touching this matter, because ye say it without proof, we have found you, in so many other points of greater importance, so far to step aside from truth, that for this we cannot believe you. But that yourselves by no means could have audience in the council at Trent, and that the ambassadors and divines of the princes and free cities of Germany were from thence quite shut out; how true that is, I report me to the three safe-conducts which the three popes, under whom that council was holden, granted forth and confirmed in that behalf....Wherefore belie the council no more, complaining that ye could not there have audience and be heard.

Three safe-conducts granted[12].

An account of faith by the defenders yielded up in writing without due order in all respects[12].

Ye yield up an account of your faith in writing, ye say. But to whom do ye yield it up? And by whom is it yielded? From whom cometh the same? Do ye acknowledge no lawful judge, no lawful consistory in the whole world? Commit ye your whole matter to the temerity of the people? Why have ye not set your names to the book that containeth the profession of your faith and of your whole conscience?...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding thought it answer sufficient to upbraid us with suspicion of untruth. Howbeit I have no doubt but both the truth and the untruth by the particulars will soon appear.

First, that all bishops, having voice definitive, and interest in councils, are solemnly sworn in all the[13] decrees and canons to uphold the authority of the pope, he thought it the wisest way to dissemble it: for it had been great want of modesty to deny it. The form of the oath recorded in the pope's own decretals is this: *Ego, N. &c. papatum Romanæ ecclesiæ et regulas sanctorum patrum adjutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines*[14]: "I, N., swear that I will be an helper to defend and maintain the papacy of the church of Rome, and the rules of the holy fathers" the popes, "mine own order saved, against all men alive." But these rules and privileges of the holy fathers the popes are these: [a]That the pope is above all general councils[15]; [b]that his bare will must be holden as a law[16]; [c]that, whatsoever he do, no man may say unto him, Why do you thus[17]? [d]that his judgment is more certain than the judgment of all the world[18]; [e]that, if the whole world give sentence in any matter contrary to the pope's pleasure, yet it seemeth we are bound to stand to the judgment of the pope[19]; and, [f]as M. Harding saith, that the pope, whatsoever he say or do, as being pope, can never err. These and other the like be the privileges that the pope claimeth unto himself: all which the bishops are bound by oath and by their allegiance to defend [g]against all men alive.

Extr. de Jurejurand. Ego, N.

[a] Extr. de Elect. et Elect. Potest. Significasti.
[b] Extr. de Trans. Episc. Quanto. In Gloss.
[c] Extr. de Concess. Præbend. Proposuit. In Gloss.
[d] Pigh. Lib. vi. cap. xiii.
[e] ix. Quæst. 3. Nemo. In Gloss.
[f] M. Hard. fol. 334. b. [Conf.]

[11 Being, Conf.]

[12 These marginal notes are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[13 Their, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14 Gregor. ad Petr. Subdiac. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. II. Tit. xxiv. cap. 4. col. 798. This oath has been enlarged and altered. See Barrow's Works, Lond. 1741. Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, Vol. I. pp. 553, 4.]

[15 Paschal. in eod. ibid. Lib. I. Tit. vi. cap. 4. col. 112. See Vol. I. page 442, note 15.]

[16 Ibid. Lib. I. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See Vol. I. page 442, note 17.]

[17 Extrav. Joan. XXII. in eod. De Conc. Preb. Tit. iv. Gloss. in cap. 2. col. 56. See Vol. I. page 442. Conf. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. viii. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 1071.]

[18 Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. fol. 248. 2.]

[19 Innoc. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can 13. col. 877.]

Now, where you say that bishops only have sentence definitive in the councils[1], ye seem willingly and without cause to report untruth. For Æneas Sylvius, being himself afterward pope, and named Pius Secundus[2], would have told you the contrary. These be his words: *Apparet, alios quam episcopos* [*in conciliis*] *habuisse vocem decidentem*[4]: "It is plain that certain others, besides[5] bishops, had voice definitive in the councils.

Æn. Sylv. De Gest. Concil. Basilien.[3] Lib. i.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ In the report hereof M. Harding hath found great advantage. "For when he wrote that book," saith he, "he was Æneas Sylvius Picolomineus, not Pius Secundus; and afterward, being pope, he recanted that error." Thus, good reader, thou seest the man is all one; but his name is changed. Yet here is matter sufficient so[6] to raise a tragedy. First, touching his name, it forceth not greatly. Neither was Paul an apostle when he was born at Tharsus in Cilicia; yet notwithstanding St Augustine saith: *Dicimus Paulum apostolum in Tharso Ciliciæ* [*fuisse*] *natum*[7]: "We say that Paul the apostle was born in the country of Cilicia, and in the city of Tharsus." Such quarrels are scarcely meet for children.

M. Hard. fol. 99. b. [Detect.]

August. de Consen. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. xvii.

"But afterward," saith M. Harding, "being pope, he recanted this error." No doubt, upon great deliberation and good advice. For, being one of the council of Basil, he said: "The council is above the pope." Afterward, being pope himself, he was better instructed: "I see," said he, "before I was much deceived. Now the pope is above the council." Such a thing it is to be rapt up suddenly into the third heavens.

But forasmuch as M. Harding saith all this that I have here alleged out of Pius Secundus and Johannes Gerson is little-worth stuff (for so he calleth it), and that I have added to these words, *in conciliis*, of mine own; which words he saith are not found in the author, and that this is "lying for advantage," (for this is the ordinary modesty of his speech;) I have thought it good to lay forth some part of the said words more at large.

M. Hard. fol. 100 a. [Detect.]

Thus therefore saith Æneas Sylvius, who afterward was named Pius Secundus: *Nec in conciliis dignitas patrum, sed ratio sectanda*[8] *est, &c. Nec ego cujusvis episcopi mendacium, quamvis ditissimi, veritatem præponam pauperis presbyteri, &c.*[9]: "In councils reason or truth is to be considered more than the dignity of the prelates. Neither will I more esteem a lie pronounced by a bishop, be he never so rich, than the truth uttered by a poor simple priest. Nor should a bishop disdain, being rude and unlearned, if the people be not ready to follow after him. Nor do you that be bishops despise your inferiors. The first man that died for Christ, and shewed the way unto martyrdom, was not a bishop, but a Levite, &c. And to report unto you some examples of old councils, we shall find in them all, that the bishops were there together with their inferiors, &c. In the Acts of the Apostles thus it is written: 'It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.' To us, that is to say, to the apostles and elders. Neither doth this word, *visum est*, signify a consultation, but a full discussing and decision of the matter. Therefore it appeareth that certain others, besides bishops, had

De Gest. Concil. Basil. Lib. i. in Orat. Arelat. In conciliis.

Conciliorum.

Et nobis.

[1 Council, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2 Pius Secundus, being himself a pope, 1567.]

[3 Constantien. 1567.]

[4 Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. I. p. 27.]

[5 Beside, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6 1570, 1609 omit *so*.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Consens. Evang. Lib. II. cap. xvii. 38. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 48; where *apostolum Paulum*.]

[8 *Sepctanda*, i. e. *spectanda*, 1570.]

[9 Neque in concilio, ut ipse ait, dignitas patrum, sed ratio spectanda est, &c....Nec ego &c. veritati præponam pauperis presbyteri. Nec dedignari episcopus debet, si aliquando ignarus et rudis sequacem non habeat multitudinem....Nec vos rogo, episcopi, tantopere inferiores contemnite. Primus enim, qui pro Christo obiit, quique viam aliis ad martyrium aperuit, non episcopus, sed tantum Levita fuit.... Atque ut veterum conciliorum referamus exempla, in omnibus illis interfuisse minores cum episcopis inveniemus...Dicitur ergo in Actibus apostolorum quinto decimo: Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis; quod verbum *nobis* ad eos quippe refertur, qui fuerant antea nominati, apostolos et seniores. Nobis ergo apostolis scilicet et senioribus. Neque hoc verbum, *visum est*, consultationem illic, sed decisionem significat. Unde apparet alios quam episcopos habuisse vocem decidentem. Alibi quoque in eisdem Actibus, cum essent apostoli magnum aliquid tractaturi, nequaquam ausi sunt per se definire, sed vocaverunt duodecim multitudinem...apparet voluisse apostolos nobis exemplum dare, ut in rebus arduis inferiores admitteremus, ideoque in conciliis postea celebratis reperimus interfuisse presbyteros.—Orat. Lud. Card. Arelat. in Æn. Sylv. Op. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. I. pp. 27, 8.]

a voice definitive in the council. And in the Acts, when the apostles had any great matter to determine, they durst not to discuss it by themselves alone, but called the multitude to sit with them, &c. It appeareth that the apostles gave us an example, that in great weighty matters we should call some others to us. And therefore in the councils that were holden afterward we find that inferior priests sat together with the bishops," &c. In concilio. In conciliis.

But here M. Harding findeth fault, that I have corrupted mine author, and thrust in these words, *in conciliis*, of mine own. And yet in the very same place he might have found these very words, *concilium, conciliorum, in concilio, in conciliis*, used sundry times all together. And indeed the whole speech there is only of councils.

These, good reader, and other like, be the errors that Pius, being once pope, would needs recant. Then he saw that in his councils the dignity of the prelates is more to be weighed than the truth. Then he saw that a lie, pronounced by a bishop, being rich, is more to be esteemed than the truth uttered by a simple priest. Then he saw that a priest, being himself unlearned and ignorant, ought to disdain if the people be not ready to follow after him. These be the things that he recanted. The pope's recantation.

Howbeit, M. Harding telleth us these are not the words of Æneas Sylvius, but of one Ludovicus, the cardinal of Arles. And this he reckoneth for a great main lie. Here may I easily answer M. Harding: If this were not Æneas Sylvius' own saying, why then did he, as you have confessed, recant it afterward? If he did afterward recant it, how may it appear it was not his own? Are popes so full of humility, that they will recant words they never spake? ☞ ☞ M. Hard. fol. 100 a. [Detect.] M. Hard. fol. 99. b. [Detect.]

Likewise saith Gerson: *Etiam ad laicos hoc potest extendi, et plus aliquando quam ad multos clericorum*[10]*:* "This" privilege of giving sentence in councils[11] "may be extended even unto the lay sort; yea, and that oftentimes better than unto many priests." But hereafter[12] more at large. Joan. Gerson. Quæ veritates sint credendæ. Cor. 4.

Addition. ☞ Hereto saith M. Harding: "You falsely, impudently, and foully belie Gerson; for Gerson in this place speaketh not of the authority of giving sentence definitive in general councils[13]." *The answer.* It is reason that M. Harding make dole of lies at his pleasure. Verily, thus much at least Gerson saith: "The deliberation or conference and knowledge of matters of faith may belong to the lay-people, and unto them much more and better sometime than to many priests." This, M. Harding, is as much as I either say or can require, and this is enough, unless ye think your priests have authority to judge and conclude without knowledge: for so seemeth Gerson by his division to allow conclusion and judgment to the priests, and deliberation and knowledge to the people. ☞ ☞ Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 100. b. [Detect.]

But whether we be bishops or no, M. Harding is no competent nor indifferent judge. For "whoso will judge uprightly must be void of anger, hatred, love, envy, and other like affections." Which sentence, being otherwise profane, is used and allowed[14] by the apostolic legates in the council of Trident[15]. Surely the godly say that, as your bishops do no part of bishops' duty, and therefore indeed are no bishops at all; so your late covent at Trident, whatsoever glorious name it pleaseth you to give it, yet notwithstanding indeed and verily was no council. Sallust. in Bell. Catil. Concil. Trid. sub Paul. III.

Whether pope Julius by his bull utterly embarred the divines and ambassadors of the princes and free cities of Germany from all audience and disputation in the council, or no, I report me to pope Julius' own bull touching the same. His words be these: *Erit concilium, ut qui temere loquuti sunt, aut dicta recantaturi veniant, aut eorum inaudita causa, in executionem jam ordinatarum constitutionum hæretici declarentur et condemnentur*[16]*:* "There shall be a council, that they that Breve Julii III. citat. a Calvin.

[10 Joan. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Decl. Verit. quæ Cred. sunt. Cor. iv. Tom. I. col. 26. See Vol. II. page 677, note 9.]

[11 Council, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 But hereof hereafter, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Council, 1570, 1609.]

[14 Halowed, 1567, 1570.]

[15 ...recte monet ethnicus ille...cum dicet, Omnes homines, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab ira, odio, amicitia, vacuos esse debere.—Adm. per leg. apostol. ad Concil. Gen. Trident. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 970.]

[16 The editor is indebted to two learned friends for the suggestion that Paul III. was the pope intended instead of Julius. See Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Paul. III. Admon. ad Car. V. Tom. VIII. pp. 178-82. Calv. Schol. in Epist. Paul. III. pp. 182-9. The following passage is to the point: En

Council of Trident.

have spoken rashly, either may recant their sayings, or else, without farther[1] hearing or reasoning of the matter, they may be denounced and condemned for heretics, according to the constitutions already made."

Joh. Sleid. Lib. xiii.

Likewise saith John Sleidan, touching the conference had sometime at Augusta: [*In colloquio*] *frequenter ad initium actionis hoc dicebant; nolle se vel tantillum de opinione et doctrina sua decedere; sed quicquid facerent, eo fieri, ut in sententiam suam nos adducerent*[2]: "In the conference that was had between us and them, they told us at the first, that they would not yield one whit from their opinion and doctrine; but that, whatsoever they did, they did it only to the intent to bring us to their judgment."

I could farther allege Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Johannes Fabritius Montanus, Petrus Paulus Vergerius, the bishop of Justinopolis, to like purpose: but perhaps M. Harding would refuse their authorities, and call them partial; yet in a matter so evident, and so openly known, it had been great folly for them to dissemble.

Illyr. in Recusat. Concil. Trid.

Illyricus saith: *Nostri audiri non potuerunt, quamvis id amplissimi Cæsaris legati orarent*[3]: "Our divines and orators could in nowise be heard, notwithstanding the emperor's most worthy ambassadors had desired it."

Joh. Fabrit.

Johannes Fabritius saith: *Fateor extensionem factam esse ad alias nationes; sed tamen additur, eam formam non nisi ad illos pertinere, qui resipiscere et ad ecclesiæ gremium redire velint*[4]: "I grant the safe-conduct was extended to other nations; but it is added withal, that the same form or liberty should pertain to none others, but only to them that would repent, and return to the bosom of the church." And again he saith: *Tantum aberant ab arce disputationum, ut ne ad vestibulum quidem accedere potuerint*[4]: "The divines of the princes of Germany were kept so far off from the high castle of disputation, that they could not be suffered to approach to the entry."

Petr. Paul. Verg. de Concil. Trid.

Petrus Paulus Vergerius saith, that the bishop of Vegla in Dalmatia was sore shaken up in the same council, and threatened with deprivation and other extremities, only for a little inkling of the truth.

Howbeit, what need we more authorities? No man is herein so plain and peremptory as M. Harding himself. This is his determinate answer and full resolution in the case: "Your reasons are no more to be heard, unless ye repent, and revoke your errors." Again: "Our doctrine hath been approved too long to be put a daying in these days." Again: "Such wicked changes as ye have made, it is lawful to make neither with council nor without council." Again: "We tell you, that your change of religion and manifold heresies ought not to have been attempted, nor without the bishop of Rome's commandment nor with his commandment." These be your words, M. Harding: this you say you tell us plainly; and therefore, I trow, we must believe you. And so ye seem to conclude with the words written in the prophet Jeremy: *Non audiemus verbum quod locutus es nobis in nomine Domini, sed faciendo faciemus omne verbum quod egredietur ex ore nostro*: "We will not hear the word that thou hast spoken to us in the name of the Lord, but we will do every word that shall come from our own mouth."

M. Hard. fol. 20. b. [Conf.] M. Hard. fol. 271. b. [Conf.] M. Hard. fol. 274. a. [Conf.] M. Hard. fol. 333. b. [Conf.]

Jer. xliv. 16.

August. Epist. 152.

We may therefore say of you as St Augustine sometime[5] said of the heretics,

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quid premat sanctissimum patrem. Non audiendo aut disceptando tractari vult causam protestantium, sed hoc commodissimum fore putat, si ab illis damnandis exordiatur. Quanquam vix isto honore etiamnum eos dignabitur, ne rem actam agere iterum incipiat, sed exequendam in eos sententiam mandabit.—p. 187. Conf. pp. 184, 8.]

[[1] Further, 1570, 1609.]

[[2] J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XIII. fol. 140. 2; where *de sua opinione et doctrina discedere*, and *suam sententiam*.]

[[3] Perhaps the following may be intended: Editus est jam pluribus linguis libellus, qui exponit, quam indignis modis tractati ac vexati sint legati Vuirtenbergenses ac Argent. Tridenti anno 1551. frustra etiam ipsis Cæsareis legatis, viris longe clarissimis, eorum causam agentibus.—M. Flac. Illyr. Præf. ad Scripta Quæd. Pap. et Monarch. de Concil. Trident. Basil. fol. a. 4. Illyricus a little farther on speaks of a work published by Vergerius in 1554, which may contain the statement mentioned below; but this work the editor has not been able to find.]

[[4] In Brixiana [fidei forma] enim appendix quædam adjecta est, quæ appellatur, Extensio ad alias nationes...et tamen additur, eam formam non nisi ad eos pertinere, qui resipiscere, et ad ecclesiæ gremium ...redire voluerint...Cogitare autem possumus, quantum Germani theologi a disputationis arce abfuerint, quibus ne ad vestibulum quidem ejus rei aditus patuerit.—J. Fabric. Mont. Orat. contr. Conc. Trident. Basil. 1562. pp. 10, 27. Conf. Oration of J. Fabrit. Montanus agaynste the Councell of Trente. Lond. 1562. foll. B. iii. D. ii.]

[[5] Sometimes, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

the Donatists: *Cum omnis anima suspensa exspectaret in tanta collectione quid ageretur, illi vehementer instabant ut nihil ageretur. Quare hoc, nisi quia causam suam malam sciebant, et facillime se posse convinci, si ageretur, dubitare non poterant*[6]? "When every body was looking carefully what should be done in so great an[7] assembly, they (the Donatists heretics) laboured what they could, that nothing utterly should be done. And why so? They knew their cause was naught; and could not doubt but that, if any conference or disputation should be had, they should soon be reproved."

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 2.

And, although St Hierome would have no body to be patient when he is suspected of heresy[8], yet we will deal herein neither bitterly nor brablingly, nor yet be carried away with anger and heat; though he ought to be reckoned neither bitter nor brabler that speaketh the truth. We willingly leave this kind of eloquence to our adversaries, who, whatsoever they say against us, be it never so shrewdly or despitefully said, yet think it is said modestly and comely enough, and care nothing whether it be true or false. We need none of these shifts, which do maintain the truth. Further, if we do shew it plainly[9], that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left these men, but[10] rather have returned to the apostles and old catholic fathers; and if we shall be found to do the same not colourably or craftily, and[11] in good faith before God, truly, honestly, clearly, and plainly; and if they themselves which fly our doctrine, and would be called catholics, shall manifestly see how all these[12] titles of antiquity, whereof they boast so much, are quite shaken out of their hands, and that there is more pith in this our cause than they thought for; we then hope and trust that none of them will be so negligent and careless of his own salvation, but he will at length study and bethink himself to whether part he were best to join him. Undoubtedly, except one will altogether harden his heart, and refuse to hear, he shall not repent him to give good heed to this our defence, and to mark well what we say, and how truly and justly it agreeth with christian religion.

M. HARDING.

I see well we must look to your fingers.... Ye spit forth your gall and choler by and by at the first.... Through your whole book in word ye pretend truth, zeal, plainness, and sober dealing; but indeed pour out little other than lying[13], *spite, scoffs, and immoderate railing....*

The effect of the rest is this: *Ye have joined yourselves to the synagogue of antichrist: ye serve the stage: ye have begun to play your tragedy on falsely, shamefully, darkly, and guilefully: your brags and promises, your cracks of God's holy word, your errors, your heresies, your contagious poison, your slanders, your new clergy's doctrine, &c.*[14]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Donat. Epist. cxli. 3. Tom. II. col. 457; where *posse vinci.*]

[7 1567, 1570, 1609, omit *an.*]

[8 Nolo in suspicione hæreseos quemquam esse patientem.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Epist. xxxviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 307.]

[9 Plain, Conf.]

[10 And, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 But, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Those, Conf.]

[13 Lies, Conf.]

[14 These are merely expressions picked out of Harding's reply, which extends in a similar strain to a full page.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The saying of St Hierome is avouched by the like saying of Ruffinus, an ancient writer. Thus he saith: *Unam notam hæreseos qui dissimulat, non est Christianus*[1]: "Whoso dissembleth when he is called heretic is no christian man." For the rest blame me not, good christian reader, if I use no more words than need requireth. If I thought it worthy the while, I could answer all these things more at large. I trust in our whole Apology there appeareth no such immoderate kind of railing. But, if I should follow M. Harding's humour, and write but the one half of that he writeth, then perhaps I might worthily be called a railer.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 2.

For where they call us heretics, it is a crime so heinous that, unless it may be seen, unless it may be felt, and in manner may be holden with hands and fingers, it ought not lightly to be judged or believed when it is laid to the charge of any Christian. For heresy is a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the body and[2] Spirit of Christ.

M. HARDING.

The definition ye seem to make of heresy is not sufficient. For, as ye define it, so every deadly sin is heresy: for every deadly sin is a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the body and Spirit of Christ. Heresy is a false doctrine against the right belief, by him that professeth the faith stubbornly either avouched or called in doubt. In which definition this word "stubbornly" is added, because it is not error only in those things that be of faith, but stubbornness in error that maketh an heretic, as St Augustine teacheth. "Who," saith he, "in the church of Christ savour any thing that is unwholesome and crooked, if, being sharply admonished to savour that is whole and right, they resist stubbornly, and will not amend their venomous and deadly doctrines, but stand to defend them, they be heretics[3]*."....But now, the law of upright dealing, especially*[4] *in God's cause, so requiring, ye must pardon us if, as among husbandmen we call a rake a rake, a spade a spade, a mattock a mattock, so among divines we call heresy heresy, and likewise falsehood*[5]*, lying, slandering, craft, hypocrisy, apostasy, malice, blasphemy, every such crime by his proper name, without all glossing....*

The defenders' definition of heresy found insufficient.

The true definition of heresy.

Lib. xviii. de Civit. Dei, cap. li.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye say this is not the right definition of heresy. Verily, M. Harding, this is but a simple quarrel. It was not my mind in this place to utter any definition of heresy, either right or wrong. You know right well that such curiosity in this kind of writing is not needful. It is sufficient our words be true, although they include no definition.

For just proof of heresy three things necessarily are required. First, that it be an error: secondly, that it be an error against the truth of God's word; for otherwise every error maketh not an heresy: thirdly, that it be stoutly and wilfully maintained; otherwise an error in God's truth without wilful maintenance is not an heresy. St Augustine saith: *Errare possum, hæreticus esse non possum*[6]: "In an error I may be; but an heretic I cannot be."

Augustinus.

[1 Ruf. in Hieron. Invect. Lib. I. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 350. See before, page 184, note 1. Conf. J. Pic. Mirand. Op. Basil. 1601. Apolog. Tom. I. p. 77; where the passage is quoted nearly in the words which Jewel uses.]

[2 1611 repeats *and*.]

[3 Qui ergo in ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt; hæretici fiunt.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. li. 1. Tom. VII. col. 533.]

[4 Specially, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5 Falsehead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 These words have not been found; but for passages in which an idea somewhat similar occurs, see August. Op. De Verb. Apost. Serm. clxiv. 14.

It was not so necessary in this matter so precisely to seek us[7] definitions. I thought it sufficient only to declare the horror of heresy. For, as touching the definition, St Augustine saith: *Quid sit hæresis, regulari quadam definitione comprehendi, sicut ego existimo, aut omnino non potest, aut difficillime potest*[8]: "To express by orderly definition what thing maketh an heretic, as I judge, it is either impossible, or very hard." Therefore you, M. Harding, and your fellows are the more blame-worthy, for that of every your fantasies ye have made an heresy. Ludovicus Vives, one of your own school, thus complaineth thereof: *Hæresis nomen rebus levissimis impingitur: idem facerent Scotistæ de Thomistis, nisi scholarum consuetudo aures* [9]*emollivisset*[10]: "The name of heresy is laid upon every light matter: so would the Scotists handle the Thomists, saving that the custom of the schools hath brought their ears in ure." Thus pope Nicolas saith: *Qui. .Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium... auferre conatur, hic proculdubio labitur in hæresim*[11]: "Whosoever goeth about to abrogate the privilege of the church of Rome, he no doubt is an heretic."

August. ad Quodvultd. Epist. 2.

Ludov. Viv. de Corrupt. Art.

Dist. 22. Omn.

That ye speak of stubbornness in defence of heresy, I pray God, M. Harding, it do not over near touch yourself. I pray God you do not wilfully defend that thing wherein you know and see manifest and open error. Verily St Hierome saith: *Quicunque... aliter scripturam intelligit quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo scripta est, licet ab ecclesia non recesserit, tamen hæreticus appellari potest*[12]: "Whosoever expoundeth the scriptures otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost, by whom they were written, doth require, although he be not yet departed from the church, yet may he well be called an heretic." Likewise the old father Tertullian saith: *Quicquid contra veritatem sapit, hæresis est, etiam vetus consuetudo*[13]: "Whatsoever thing savoureth against the truth, it is an heresy, be it never so much an old custom." Likewise your tyrannical and filthy restraining of priests' lawful marriage Udalricus, the bishop of Augusta, calleth *periculosum... hæresis decretum*[14], "a dangerous decree of heresy."

xxiv. Quæst. 3. Hæresis est.

Tertull. De Virg. Veland.

Udalr. August. Episc. ad Nicol. Pap.

Now touching simple error and wilful defence St Hilary saith: *Illis in eo quod nesciunt potest adhuc in tuto esse salus, si credant: tibi* [*vero*] *jam omnia ad salutem clausa sunt, qui negas quod jam ignorare non potes*[15]: "They, forasmuch[16] as they know not the truth, may have their salvation in safety, if afterward they believe; but all hope of health is shut from thee, forasmuch as thou deniest that thing that thou canst not choose but know."

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. vi.

To conclude, unto you, M. Harding, who oftentimes of small errors, oftentimes of undoubted and known[17] truths, without regard of definition, have fancied great and horrible heresies, Alphonsus de Castro, a doctor of your own, saith thus: *Idcirco fit ut hi qui tam leviter de hæresi pronunciant, non expendentes de qua re loquantur, sæpe sua ipsorum sagitta feriantur, incidantque in eam foveam quam aliis parabant. Nam velle humanas scripturas in divinarum ordinem connumerare, hoc verius ego dixerim hæresim; quod faciunt hi qui humanis scriptis dissentire*[18] *impium autumant, perinde ac divinis*[19]: "Therefore it happeneth that they that so rashly pronounce and call every thing heresy, not considering whereof they speak, be often stricken with their own dart, and fall into the

Alphons. de Castr. de Hær. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 79.

Tom. V. col. 796. De Hær. Lib. ad Quodvultd. Tom. VIII. col. 4. De Grat. Christ. contr. Pelag. et Cœlest. cap. xxx. 31. Tom. X. col. 243.]

[7 Up, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Quid ergo faciat hæreticum, regulari &c.—Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Tom. VIII. col. 4.]

[9 Emollivissent, 1611.]

[10 ...quod crimen ita vulgatum est, ut rebus quoque levissimis impingatur...Idem inter se facerent Thomæ addictus de Scotico, hic vicissim de illo, nisi quod scholæ assuefactio...audiendi sensum mitigasse ac emollivisse animum videtur.—J. Lod. Viv. Op. Basil. 1555. De Caus. Corrupt. Art. Lib. I. Tom. I. p. 340.]

[11 Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100; where *in hæresim labitur*.]

[12 Hieron. in eod. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xxiv. Quæst. iii. can. 27. col. 1428; where *de ecclesia*.]

[13 Quodcunque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Virg. Veland. 1. p. 192.]

[14 B. Udalr. August. Epist. ad Nicol. Prim. ad calc. G. Calixt. De Conjug. Cleric. Tract. Franc. 1653. p. 446.]

[15 Hilar. Op. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VI. 50. col. 912; where *salus esse, clausa sunt ad salutem*, and *ignorare jam*.]

[16 Forsomuch, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17 Unknown, 1611.]

[18 Assentire, 1611.]

[19 Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. vii. fol. 14; where *quo fit ut hi*, and *feriantur sagitta*.]

same pit that themselves have digged for others. For this would I rather call heresy, to account men's writings among[1] the scriptures of God. So do they that think it a wicked matter to dissent from the writings of man, no less than if it were the judgment of God."

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 3.

But this was ever an old and solemn property with them and their forefathers; if any did complain of their errors and faults, and desired to have true religion restored, straightway to condemn such[2] for heretics, as men new-fangled and factious[3]. Christ for no other cause was called a Samaritan, but only for that he was thought to have fallen to a certain new religion, and to be the author of a new sect. And Paul the apostle of Christ was called before the judges to make answer to a matter of heresy; and therefore he said: "According to this way which they call heresy I do worship the God of my fathers, believing all things which be written in the law and in the prophets."

Acts xxiv.

M. HARDING.

...If ye mean Huss, Hierome of Prague, Wicliffe, Almaric[4], Abailard, the Apostolics, Peterbrusians, Berengarians, Waldenses, Albingenses, image-breakers, or such like[5], which ever found fault with the church in their time, and cried for a restoring of religion, as though it had been quite lost, and would themselves have the glory of it, by bringing in their heresy in place of the catholic doctrine, under the name of God's word, which hath always been the property of all heretics[6]—if, I say, ye mean these, or any of these, we also call them heretics, and for such we condemn them.

The defenders' predecessors.

But, sirs, ye forget yourselves foully. How agreeth this with that ye say hereafter oftentimes, that the light of the truth was quite put out, and that Luther and Zuinglius first brought the gospel abroad into the world?...

Contradiction found in the defenders.

Were it true that Christ was called a Samaritan for the cause ye assign, thereof what conclude ye? We see whereabout ye go. Ye would seem to join with Christ, with Paul, and with the first Christians. But truly they refuse your company....

But we tell you, Christ was the true Samaritan indeed, that is to say, "the keeper," as he that is keeper of mankind; and therefore he shunneth[7] not the name: yet was he not a Samaritan as the Jews meant. Paul likewise (who was not, as ye say, to speak properly, called before the judges to make answer to a matter of heresy), being accused to Felix by Tertullus that he was of the sect or heresy of the Nazarenes (so were the Christians first called), did not only not deny, but openly confessed that, according to that way or state of life which the Jews called a sect or heresy, he worshipped God. For it is to be considered, that in those times the name of heresy was not so infamous, as it may be judged by the place of the Acts, cap. v., unless somewhat be added, whereby it may be understanded to be taken in rate of a vice, as 1 Cor. xi., Gal. v. So the word was then indifferent, and might be taken in good part or evil part. Tertullian useth it in good part, where, speaking of the Christians, he calleth them sectam[8], *"a sect," into which Latin word the Greek word* hæresis *is turned. Now these examples of Christ, Paul, and the first Christians serve not your[9] defence. Christ was called of the Jews a Samaritan unworthily after the sense of*

Samaritan. John viii.

Acts xxiv.

Heresy.

Apolog. cap. xxi. Secta.

[1 Emonges, 1567, 1570.]
[2 Such one, Conf.]
[3 Factions, 1570.]
[4 Amalrike, Conf.]
[5 Such the like, Conf.]
[6 Of heretics, Conf.]
[7 Shunned, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[8 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 21. p. 22. Conf. 40. p. 36, &c.]
[9 Not to your, Conf.]

their thought: ye are called heretics worthily. Paul, burdened with the name of heresy, forasmuch as thereby was signified the kind of life of those that believed in Christ, the word being indifferent, was honoured rather than reviled. And Tertullian calleth the christian people a sect (as he might) without blemish or note of any evil. Your case is not like; for ye are charged with heresy as it is taken in the worst part....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O how many waste words hath M. Harding to spare! Here once again he cometh in with Huss, Hierome of Prague, Wicliffe, Almaric, Abailard, Apostolics, Peterbrusians, Berengarians, Waldenses, Albingenses, image-breakers, to fray his simple reader with a terror of strange names. We say, Luther and Zuinglius were the first publishers of the gospel; and yet again we say, the same Luther and Zuinglius were not the first. We have forgotten ourselves foully. We write contradiction against ourselves. We would seem to join with Christ and Paul; but truly they refuse our company. And so forth, I know not what.

Verily, M. Harding, we never said Luther and Zuinglius were the first publishers of the gospel. If we should so say, we should report untruth, as you do often. Christ and his apostles were the first.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "A great untruth. You say no less, page 17[10]. Thus, Doctor Luther began to preach the gospel of Christ. If he that beginneth to publish be the first publisher, then you said that Luther was the first publisher." *The answer.* It is a great loss of time, M. Harding, to quarrel at words, yourself being assured of the meaning. You know well I mean not that Doctor Luther was the first man that ever preached the gospel of Christ: for Christ himself and his apostles were before him. But thus I say: In this latter[11] age, after your so long darkness, he was the first. But I have said: "Doctor Luther began to publish the gospel." There you say, by mine own confession, Doctor Luther was the first publisher of the gospel. Gravity, M. Harding, and sober dealing would become you better. I say he began: *Ergo*, say you, he was the first. How followeth this conclusion of these premises? That you may understand your error by the like, St Peter saith, *Incipiam vos commonere*[12]: "I will begin to advertise you." Will you conclude hereof that St Peter advertised them never before, or that no man ever gave them advertisement before St Peter? In the Acts of the Apostles it is written thus: "Peter and John were beginning to enter into the temple." Will you therefore tell us that Peter and John were never in the temple before that day? Or that no man ever came there before them? This is not that gravity, M. Harding, that you have professed unto the world. Having respect unto these latter[13] days, Doctor Luther was the first that preached the gospel. But having respect unto[14] the gospel itself, so Doctor Luther was not the first. For it had been preached by Christ and his apostles, and by infinite other holy fathers, many hundred years before Luther was born. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 101. b. [Detect.]

2 Pet. i.

Acts iii. Incipientes introire in templum.

These worthy and learned fathers, Luther and Zuinglius, and other like godly and zealous men, were appointed of God, not to erect a new church, but to reform the old; whereof you have[15] made a cave of thieves, to kindle again the light that you had quenched, and to bear witness to the truth of God.

You say, Christ and Paul will none of our company; as if you were privy of their counsel[16]. But perhaps, M. Harding, this is *clavis errans*, and therefore can neither open nor shut; or, as St Hierome saith, *Pars aliqua supercilii Pharisaici*[17]: "Some part of the high looks of the Pharisees." Christ him-

Hieron. in xvi. cap. Matt.

[10 The reference is to the edition of 1567. For the passage meant see before, page 174.]

[11 Later, 1570.]

[12 Commovere, 1570.]

[13 To these later, 1570; to these latter, 1609.]

[14 To, 1570, 1609.] [15 Had, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16 Council, 1570.]

[17 ...aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75.]

John xiv. self hath said: "Whoso loveth me will keep my word; and my Father loveth him; and my Father and I will come to him, and dwell with him." St Peter
1 Pet. ii. saith: "Whoso trusteth in him shall not be confounded."

Of Abailard and Almaric, and certain other your strange names, if they have taught any thing contrary to the truth of God[1], we have no skill: they are none of ours. Of John Huss, Hierome of Prague, and Berengarius, and other like virtuous learned men, we have no cause to be ashamed. Their doctrine standeth still, and increaseth daily, because it is of God. But as for yours, because it is only of yourselves (for it is known for the most part at what time and under what pope each thing first began, as your transubstantiation under pope Innocentius the third, anno 1214, &c.)[2], therefore it falleth daily, and is now forsaken the world through.

Addition. *Addition.* ☞ Here M. Harding crieth out impatiently: "The more is your shame, if any spark of shame be left in you. Neither the whore taketh shame of her filthiness. Thou hast gotten thee a whore's forehead. Past-shame wretches!" ☜
M. Hard. fol. 103. a. [Detect.]

Christian Faith called Heresy.

You say that the simple name of sect or heresy, wherewith St Paul was charged, was not so infamous or odious in those days, and that Tertullian called the religion of Christ a sect or heresy, without any manner blemish or note of evil. It was needless for M. Harding to avouch untruth so earnestly without cause.

I grant, the name of heresy or sect among the philosophers was not infamous.
Cic. in Parad. Cicero saith: *Cato in ea hæresi est, quæ nullum sequitur florem orationis.* But in case of religion it was evermore amongst all men taken in ill part, and condemned and counted odious. Touching St Paul, in how good part the Jews called him heretic, it may easily appear by the[3] words of Tertullus his accuser:
Acts xxiv. *Invenimus hunc virum pestilentem, et moventem seditionem omnibus Judæis per universum orbem, ac principem sectæ Nazarœorum:* "We have found this man to be a pestilent and a wicked fellow, moving sedition among the Jews throughout the whole world, and a captain of the heresy of the Nazarenes." In such good part
John vii. they said unto Christ: "Art thou greater than was our father Abraham?" Thou
John viii. art a false prophet, and deceivest the people: "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast the devil."

John xvi. The like good part Christ promised aforehand to his disciples: "They shall
Matt. x. cast you out of their synagogues:" "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." In such good part and meaning was St Paul called an heretic. And
Nicol. Lyr. in xxiv. cap. Act. so, M. Harding, besides others, your own doctor Nicolaus Lyra would soon have told you[4].

But much more I marvel ye should so unadvisedly say that Tertullian called the christian people a sect or heresy in good part, and, as you say, without any blemish or note of evil. For the same Tertullian in the same Apology saith
Tertull. in Apolog. the heathens commonly called the Christians *incestos, homicidas, infanticidas, sacrilegos, pessimos, nocentissimos, publicum odium, hostes humani generis, omnium scelerum reos, deorum, imperatorum, legum, morum, naturæ totius inimicos*[5], "advouterous against kind, man-killers, killers of children, church-robbers, most wicked, most hurtful, the public hatred, the enemies of mankind, guilty of all kind of wickedness, enemies against the gods, against the emperors, against the laws, against good order, against nature itself." Wheresoever they saw them, they made
Tertull. in Apolog. an outcry upon them: *Christianos ad leonem, ... non licet esse Christianos*[6]: "Have these Christians to the lion:" "it is not lawful these Christians should live."
August. de Civ. Lib. ii. cap. iii. So St Augustine saith: *Factum est vulgi proverbium, Pluvia defecit causa Christianorum*[7]: "It is now become a common proverb among the people, 'Our rain

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[1 1567 omits this clause of the sentence.]

[2 The words between the parenthesis are not in 1567.]

[3 These, 1567, 1570.]

[4 ...secta Christianorum quam confitetur se tenere tanquam sanctam et bonam &c.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra. Basil. 1502. Act. Apost. cap. xxiv. Pars VI. fol. 203. 2.]

[5 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 2, &c. pp. 2, 4, &c. These different names are noted in various parts of the treatise.]

[6 Id. ibid. 4. 40. pp. 5, 36; where *non licet esse vos.*]

[7 ...illud quoque ortum est vulgare proverbium: Pluvia defit, caussa Christiani.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. II. cap. iii. Tom. VII. col. 33.]

faileth us because of these Christians'." So Eusebius saith the religion of Christ was called *impiorum Christianorum hæresis*[8], "the heresy of godless[9] Christians." These words, M. Harding, I trow were never uttered without all manner blemish and note of evil. St Hierome saith: *Quod...magis mirum sit, etiam illud de Actibus Apostolorum videtur esse relegendum, fidem nostram in Christum et ecclesiasticam disciplinam jam tunc a perversis hominibus hæresim nuncupatam*[10]: "And that we may the more marvel, we may once again read this place of the Acts of the Apostles, where we find that the christian faith and ecclesiastical discipline was even then of wicked men called an heresy."

Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. xviii.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. iii.

Even as rightly, M. Harding, and upon as good grounds, you have again this day condemned the same gospel of Christ, and in as good part and meaning have called it heresy. But we may truly and simply say with St Paul: "According to this sect, which you call heresy, we worship the God of our fathers, which is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Acts xxiv.

The Apology, Chap. viii. Division 1.

Scriptures and Doctors.

...But the more sore and outrageous a crime heresy is, the more it ought to be proved by plain and strong arguments, especially in this time, when men begin to give less credit to their words, and to make more diligent search of their doctrine, than they were wont to do. For the people of God are otherwise instructed now than they were in times past, when all the bishops of Rome's sayings were allowed for gospel, and when all religion did depend only upon their authority. Now-a-days the holy scripture is abroad, the writings of the apostles and prophets are in print, whereby all truth and catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresy may be disproved and confuted.

M. HARDING.

The defenders' heresies sufficiently and fully confuted already by sundry great clerks, Lanfrancus, Guimundus, Petrus Cluniacensis, Thomas Walden, B. Fisher.

Where ye require your heresy, forsomuch as it is so heinous a crime, by plain and strong arguments to be proved, it is not unknown how sufficiently and substantially that is performed already by men of excellent learning, as well of this age as of times past. Was not Berengarius, the first author of your sacramentary heresy, by most plain and strong arguments confuted of Lanfrancus bishop of Canterbury and Guimundus bishop of Aversa? Were not the Peterbrusians so, whose heresy ye hold against the blessed sacrifice of the mass, of the learned abbat Petrus Cluniacensis? Was not Wicliffe so of Thomas Walden, a learned man of England? Hath not Luther and Œcolampadius been so confuted in our time of that holy and learned father bishop Fisher?...

But what shall I speak of particular men, were they never so excellent, by whom they have been confuted, sith by public sentence of the church they have been condemned, both in general and provincial councils? Therefore we think it not needful now again to prove your doctrine, so sufficiently condemned, to be heresy....That the people be "now otherwise instructed than they were in times past," we confess: but whether better now than in our forefathers' days, they that can consider the lives of them now, and of them that were then, may easily judge....

In what case the pope's sayings are to be taken for truth.

"The sayings of the bishop of Rome were never allowed for the gospel." His private sayings and common talk might be erroneous, no less than other men's. But what he said by way of judgment and sentence definitive in doubtful points touching religion, such sayings of Peter's successor (for whom Christ prayed that his faith might not fail, and who was com-

Luke xxii.

[8 ...λέγοντες, αἵρεσιν ἄθεον Χριστιανῶν πεφάνθαι.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xviii. p. 114.]

[9 Of the godless, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. iii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 438; where *in Christo*.]

Scriptures and Doctors.

Untruth.

manded by Christ to strengthen his brethren) we take for truth, and the same obediently receive. So the fathers assembled in council at Chalcedon received and agreed to the saying and writing of pope Leo, no less than if Peter the apostle and first bishop of Rome himself had spoken. The pope's authority we acknowledge supreme above all other authority in earth touching the government of the church; yet was it never said ne thought by the catholics, that all religion depended only thereon, as your slanderous report beareth men in hand....

Untruth.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Lanfrancus, Guimundus, abbas Cluniacensis, Thomas Waldensis, John Fisher, and other your like doctors, M. Harding, are over young, all within the space of these[1] last five hundred years; far unlike St Austin[2], St Hierome, St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, and others the ancient learned fathers and doctors of the church. Neither is there any sufficient cause to the contrary, but that Berengarius, John Wicliffe, John Huss, Doctor Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and others, either for learning, or for truth, or for judgment in the scripture[3], or for antiquity, may well and safely be compared with them. At the least I hope we may say of them as St Augustine once said of the doctors and fathers of his time: *Neque...quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut scripturas canonicas habere debemus; ut nobis non liceat, salva honorificentia, quæ illis debetur, ...aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare aut respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserunt[4] quam veritas habet[5]:* "Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they never so worthy and catholic, as we weigh the canonical scriptures; but that, saving the reverence that is due unto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we happen to find that they have thought otherwise than the truth may bear."

August. ad Fortunat. Epist. 3.

Likewise the councils ye mean are very new, and therefore bear the less authority, for that they be so many ways contrary to the old. Hereof hereafter more at large. Certainly there is none of your errors so gross and palpable, but by some of your late councils it hath been confirmed.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ "This talk," saith M. Harding, "is Lucifer-like, and saucy, and malapert. For wherein," saith he, "are the late councils so many ways contrary to the old?" *The answer.* He might as well have demanded, wherein is darkness so many ways contrary to the light? For is he so great a stranger in these cases? I doubt not but he doth well remember it was decreed in the old council of Africa, that no priest should appeal out of that country to the bishop of Rome[6]. Likewise it is concluded in the old councils holden at Tela[7], Hippo[8], and Milevetum[9], that no priest should appeal, but only to the councils holden in Africa. But the latter[11] new councils have made it lawful to appeal to the pope from the farthest[12] ends of the world. And pope Pius II. and pope Julius II. have solemnly determined, that whoso appealeth from the pope to a council shall be judged an heretic[13].

M. Hard. fol. 111. b. [Detect.]

Concil. Aphr. cap. 92.

Concil. Telent. cap. 17.

Concil. Milev. cap. 22.[10]

In Bull. Leon. X.

The old council of Nice alloweth the bishop of Rome equal power with the other three patriarchs, making every of them within their own provinces in jurisdiction and authority like unto other[14]. But the latter[11] new councils have made the same bishop of Rome head and prince over all primates and patriarchs throughout the world. And M. Harding saith, the said patriarchs were only the

Ruff. 1. cap. vi.

M. Hard. in his Answer, Art. iv. fol. 84. b.[15]

[1 This, 1567.]

[2 Augustine, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Scriptures, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Senserint, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Fortun. Common. seu Epist. cxlviii. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 502; where *atque respuere*, and *senserint*.]

[6 Concil. Afric. cap. 92. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 517. See Vol. I. page 355.]

[7 See Vol. I. page 388, note 7.]

[8 Concil. Hippon. Abbrev. cap. 12. in eod. ibid. p. 434.]

[9 Concil. Milev. cap. 22. in eod. p. 484. See Vol. I. page 388, note 8.]

[10 This reference is not in 1570.]

[11 Later, 1570.]

[12 Furthest, 1570, 1609.]

[13 ...in vocem temerariæ appellationis prorupit, ad futurum concilium, contra constitutionem Pii II. ac Julii II. prædecessorum nostrorum, qua cavetur, taliter appellantes hæreticorum pœna plectendos.—Bull. Apostol. Leon. Papæ X. in eod. Tom. III. p. 718.]

[14 Fact. Nic. Concil. 6, 8. in Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. vi. fol. 107. 2.]

[15 See Vol. I. page 402.]

pope's deputies, that is to say, served him at commandment as his men. And in the late new council of Lateran, under pope Leo, these words are openly pronounced and well allowed of: *In papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli quam terræ*[16]: "In the pope there is all power above all powers, as well of heaven as of earth." The like might be said of private mass, of the half-communion, of transubstantiation, and of the rest. But by these few we may easily see how near the new councils resemble the old. ☞

Concil. Lat. sub Leon. X. Sess. 10. In Orat. Episc. Petracens.

Thereby[17] we may justly say to you as St Augustine sometime said to Maximinus the Arian heretic: *Nec ego Nicænam [synodum tibi], nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes tanquam præjudicaturus objicere. Scripturarum auctoritatibus ... res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet*[18]: "Neither may I lay to thee the council of Nice, nor mayest thou lay to me the council of Ariminum, either of us thinking thereby to find prejudice against the other. But let us lay matter to matter, cause to cause, and reason to reason by the authority of the scriptures."

August. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. cap. xiv.

Yet we say not as you, M. Harding, would fain gather, that St Augustine by these words despised the authority of the Nicene council: for certainly he had it ever, as we also have it, in great reverence. But thus we say: St Augustine, disputing with an heretic, as we do with you, and saying[19] that councils might be alleged against councils, as the council of Ariminum against the council of Nice, was therefore contented not to use the authority of any council at all; but, as himself saith, by the authority of the scriptures to lay matter to matter and cause to cause[20].

Addition. ☞ "The council of Ariminum, though there were in[21] it eight hundred bishops, yet was it allowed for no council," saith M. Harding, "for want of Damasus the pope's confirmation; as Sozomenus and Theodoretus have witnessed." *The answer.* Here, M. Harding, you have conveyed in a pretty fitton[22] under some colour of truth; both Theodoretus and Sozomenus will reprove you. For the council of Ariminum was misliked, not only for that it was not confirmed by the pope, as ye would seem to tell us, but also for that it lacked the confirmation of sundry others. Sozomenus saith thus: "They allow not the decrees of the council of Ariminum, for that neither the bishop of Rome nor other bishops had consented unto it, and for that the said decrees had misliked many that were there assembled[23]." To like purpose writeth also Theodoretus, and in manner with like words[24]. I grant the bishop of Rome was the chief. Yet his only authority was not sufficient to allow or disallow general councils. For, as it appeareth by your own authors, the consent of others was required thereto as well as his. Thus, M. Harding, ye seek unduly to beguile the simple by untrue report. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 112. b. [Detect.]

Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii. ὡς μήτε... Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου μήτε τῶν ἄλλων συνθεμένων αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς πολλῶν τῶν αὐτόθι συνελθόντων ἀπαρεσκόντων τοῖς τότε παρ' αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις.

Ye grant there is more light and knowledge now than was before. The greater is either your fault or your folly, M. Harding, that in the broad day and open light so busily set forth the works of darkness. St Chrysostom saith: *Hic est multo impudentior. Ex furibus enim leges eos gravius puniunt qui interdiu furantur*[26]: "He is very shameless that worketh deceit in the open light. For of all thieves the law most sharply punisheth them that rob in the day-time." Therefore St Cyprian saith unto you: *Ignosci ... potuit simpliciter erranti: ... post inspirationem vero et revelationem factam qui in eo quod erraverat perseverat prudens et sciens, sine venia ignorantiæ peccat: præsumptione enim atque obstinatione ... superatur*[27]: "He that is deceived, and erreth of simplicity, may be pardoned; but, after that the truth is once revealed, whoso continueth never-

Theod. Lib. ii. cap. xxi. Chrysost. in Psal. ix. Cypr. ad Jubaian.

[16] Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Sess. x. Concil. Later. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 269. Crabb. Concil. Tom. III. p. 671. See Vol. I. pages 93, 4, note 2.]

[17] Therefore, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[18] August. Op. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704; where *Nicenum nec tu debes Ariminense tamquam præjudicaturus proferre concilium.*]

[19] Seeing, 1570.]

[20] This paragraph does not appear in 1567.]

[21] At, 1570, 1609.]

[22] Fitton: fiction.]

[23] Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xxiii. p. 542; where ἀπαρεσθέντων τοῖς.]

[24] Theodor. in eod. Lib. II. cap. xxii. pp. 108, 4.]

[25] The words of this quotation are not in 1570.]

[26] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Expos. in Psal. ix. Tom. V. p. 110.]

[27] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist. lxxiii. p. 204; where *potest.*]

theless in his former error wittingly and willingly, sinneth without pardon of ignorance, as being overcome by presumption and wilfulness."

You say, notwithstanding all this great light we talk of, yet our lives are nothing comparable to the lives of them that have been before us. This, M. Harding, hath ever been an old complaint in all ages, as may appear by St Cyprian[1], St Augustine[2], and other ancient fathers. It was a common proverb in old times: *τὰ πέρυσι βελτίω*: "Things a year past are evermore better than things present." For every thing to us seemeth the greater as it seemeth nearest to touch our senses. And, because we feel not our fathers' evils, therefore we imagine they had no evil at all. The wise man saith: *Ne dixeris, quæ causa est quod priora tempora meliora fuerint quam præsentia; stulta enim est hujusmodi interrogatio:* "Never demand wherefore the times past were better than the times present; for indeed it is a foolish question."

Cypr. ad Demetr. August. de Civ. Dei.

Eccles. vii.

But, M. Harding, wherefore do you thus condemn our lives in respect of our fathers? Certainly you must needs confess there are fewer blasphemies, fewer oaths, fewer breaches of matrimony, fewer stews, fewer concubines, fewer frays, fewer murders amongst us this day than commonly were at any time amongst[3] our fathers. Howbeit, to let our fathers pass, if it shall please you to lay our lives to your lives, although we acknowledge many our imperfections, yet, God's name be blessed! we have no cause to fly[4] the comparison.

Pope above God's word.

The pope's words, you say, were never taken for gospel. Yes, M. Harding, and somewhat also above the gospel. For proof whereof it may please you to remember the words of certain your late doctors. Sylvester Prierias, late master of pope Leo's palace, writeth thus: *Indulgentiæ auctoritate scripturæ non innotuere nobis, sed auctoritate ecclesiæ Romanæ Romanorumque pontificum, quæ major est*[5]: "Pardons are not warranted unto us by the authority of God's word, but by the authority of the Roman church and of the bishops of Rome, which is more than God's word." If this be not sufficient, he addeth further[6]: *A doctrina Romanæ ecclesiæ et Romani pontificis sacra scriptura robur et auctoritatem trahit*[7]: "The holy scripture taketh strength and authority of the doctrine of the bishop and church of Rome[8]."

Sylvest. Prier. contr. Luth.

Your greatest doctor, Albertus Pighius, saith: *Apostoli quædam conscripserunt, non ut scripta illa præessent fidei et religioni nostræ, sed potius ut subessent*[9]: "The apostles wrote certain things, not to the end that such writings should be over our faith and religion, but rather that they should be under." Your canonists say: [a]*Papa potest dispensare contra jus divinum*[10]: "The pope may dispense against the law of God." [b]*Papa potest dispensare contra jus naturæ*[11]: "The pope may dispense against the law of nature." [c]*Papa potest dispensare contra* [12]*apostolum*[13]: "The pope may dispense against St Paul the apostle." [d]*Papa potest dispensare contra novum testamentum*[14]: "The pope may dispense against the new testament." [e]*Papa potest dispensare de omnibus præceptis veteris et novi testamenti*[15]: "The pope may dispense with all the command-

Albert. Pigh. Hier. Lib. i. cap. ii.

[a] xvi. Quæst. 1. Quicunque in Gloss.
[b] xv. Quæst. 6. Author. in Gloss.
[c] Dist. 34. Lect. et Dist. 82. Presbyt.
[d] Abbas Panorm. Extr. de Div. cap. fin.
[e] Summ. Angel. in Dict. Papæ.

[1 Id. Ad Demetrian. pp. 186, 7.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. II. capp. iii. xviii. 3. xxv. 2, &c. Tom. VII. cols. 33, 46, 55, &c.]

[3 Among, 1567, 1570.] [4 Flee, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Sylvest. Prier. In Luth. Concl. Dial. in Luth. Op. Witeb. 1552-80. Tom. I. fol. 166. See Vol. I. page 76, note 3.]

[6 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Id. ibid. fol. 159. 2. See Vol. I. page 216, note 4.]

[8 Here in 1567 was a sentence subsequently omitted. It recited the title given to a book of Cardinal Cusa.]

[9 ... excitavit sacer... Spiritus... quorundam virorum pium studium, ut literis commendarent...redemptionis...historiam:...non quidem, ut scripta illa præessent fidei religionique nostræ, sed subessent potius.—Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Assert. Col. 1538. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 6.]

[10 There seems to be an error in the reference. Instead of *Quicunque, De decimis* should have been cited. The words there are ...non est absurdum, quod privilegium concedatur, quamvis sit contra jus divinum.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XVI. Quæst. i. Gloss. in can. 45. col. 1113.]

[11 ...contra jus naturale potest dispensare.—Ibid. Caus. XV. Quæst. vi. Gloss. in can. 2. col. 1083.]

[12 Apostolorum, 1570.]

[13 ...papa dispensat contra apostolum.—Ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxiv. Gloss. in can. 18. col. 173.

...concilium dispensat contra apostolum.—Ibid. Dist. lxxxii. Gloss. in can. 5. col. 398.]

[14 ...papam ex maxima causa posse dispensare contra novum testamentum.—Panorm. sup. Quart. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Divort. Tit. xix. cap. ult. fol. 47.]

[15 ...licet papa non possit dispensare universali-

ments, both of the old and also of the new testament." Hereof more hereafter, as farther occasion shall be offered.

These be your own doctors' words, M. Harding: they be truly reported: they be no slanders. And therefore Franciscus Zabarella[16], a cardinal of Rome, saith thus: [f]*Persuaserunt pontificibus quod omnia possent, et sic quod facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, et sint plusquam Deus*[17]: "They have made the popes believe that they might do all things whatsoever they listed, yea, notwithstanding they were things unlawful; and thus have they made them more than God." [f] Francis. Zabarell.

You say, the pope in his common talk may be deceived, and err as other men may, but in his judgment-seat and sentence definitive of religion he cannot err; as if ye would say, The pope hath one spirit in the consistory, and another at home: much like as one said sometimes unto Cicero in reproach of his inconstancy: *Aliud stans, aliud sedens de republica loqueris:* "Touching the commonweal, ye have one mind sitting and another standing." Sallust. in Ciceron.

But Christ said unto Peter: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail." Luke xxii. Therefore, say you, we receive obediently whatsoever the pope speaketh in place of judgment. Hereby ye seem to give us secretly to understand that Christ's prayers were available for the pope, to keep him from error, not in the church, or pulpit, or closet, or any other common or private place, but only in the consistory and council in debating doubtful cases of religion.

But how holdeth this argument? Christ prayed for Peter that his faith should not fail; *ergo*, the pope cannot err. Verily St Augustine saith: *Nunquid pro Petro rogabat, pro Johanne et Jacobo non rogabat? Ut de ceteris taceamus*[18]: "What, did Christ pray for Peter; and did he not pray for John and James? I will not speak of the rest." Neither did Christ pray for Peter only, or for the apostles, but for all the faithful that ever should be, as himself saith: "I pray not only for them, but also for all them that through their preaching shall believe in me." August. in Quæst. Nov. Test. Quæst. 75. John xvii.

Howbeit, what saith M. Harding, he so obediently receiveth the pope's decrees? Ye wis, the popes themselves will not so receive them. Platina saith: *Acta priorum pontificum sequentes pontifices aut infringunt aut omnino tollunt. Nihil enim aliud isti pontificuli cogitabant, quam ut nomen et dignitatem majorum suorum extinguerent*[19]: "The next pope either breaketh or utterly repealeth his predecessors' decrees. For these little petty popes had none other study to busy themselves withal, but only to deface the name and dignity of the former popes." Platin. in Steph. et in Rom.

Where you say, the whole council of Chalcedon so esteemed the voice of pope Leo, as if it had been the voice of Peter himself, this, M. Harding, is a manifest untruth, as it shall soon appear. I grant the name of Leo, for his great learning and gravity, was much regarded. So St Ambrose for the like cause was called *orbis terrarum oculus, sacerdotum archisacerdos, ... et fundamentum fidei*[20], "the eye of the world, the head priest of all priests, and the foundation of the faith." Athanas. ad Heron. So Paphnutius, being no pope, was heard against all the rest of the council of Nice[21]. Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii. xxxvi. Quæst. 2. So St Hierome, being neither pope nor bishop, was received against this whole council of Chalcedon[22]. Quia legitima.

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ter in præceptis secundæ tabulæ...si occurreret casus particularis in quo deficeret ratio legis...tunc papa posset dispensare....Et quod dico de præceptis secundæ tabulæ, idem dic de omnibus præceptis veteris et novi testamenti.—Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Papa 1. fol. 225.]

[16 Zarabella, 1567.]

[17 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. pp. 703, 4. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3.]

[18 Pro Petro rogabat, et pro Jacobo et Johanne non rogabat, ut cæteros taceam?—August. Op. Quæst. ex Nov. Test. Quæst. lxxv. Tom. III. Append. col. 73.]

[19 Stephanus...tanto odio persecutus est Formosi nomen, ut statim ejus decreta abrogaverit...Romanus ...Stephani...decreta et acta statim improbat abrogatque. Nil enim aliud hi pontificuli &c. quam et &c. extinguere.—Plat. de Vit. Pontif. Col. Agrip. 1551. Steph. VI. Rom. I. p. 126.]

[20 There is an error here. It was Athanasius that was so termed; and the expressions are found in an oration of Gregory Nazianzene. See Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Heron. Orat. xxv. 11. Tom. I. p. 462.]

[21 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. i. cap. xxiii. pp. 356, 7.]

[22 Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xxxvi. Quæst. ii. can. 8. col. 1882. Conf. cans. 1, 4. col. 1881.]

Neither did the council follow Leo alone, as the universal bishop and head of the church; but joined him together with others, as esteeming them of equal authority. For thus they made their general shout: *Omnes ita credimus: Leo papa ita credit:... Cyrillus ita credit:... Leo et Anatolius ita credunt*[1]: "Thus we all believe: thus pope Leo believeth: Cyrillus thus believeth: Leo and Anatolius thus believe."

Concil. Chalc. Act. ii.

And with what credit can M. Harding say, the whole council of Chalcedon yielded unto pope Leo, as if it had been unto Peter himself? For it is certain that the same whole council decreed against Leo; and likewise Leo against the council. For the council decreed, contrary to the old canons, that the bishop of Constantinople among the four patriarchs should be the second in dignity, and that the same bishop of Constantinople should have and enjoy one authority and like privileges with the bishop of Rome. The words be these: *Æqua sanctissimæ sedi novæ Romæ privilegia tribuerunt, rationabile judicantes urbem eam, ornatam jam imperio et senatu, æquis senioris regiæ Romæ privilegiis frui, et in ecclesiasticis, sicut illa habet, majestatem habere negotiis*[2]: "The fathers give[3] equal privileges unto the holy see of new Rome (which was Constantinople), thinking it to be reasonable that the same city of Constantinople, being now furnished with empire and council, should enjoy equal privileges with the princely city of the old Rome, and in all ecclesiastical affairs should bear the same majesty that Rome beareth." This thing pope Leo much misliked, and found great fault with the council, and would in no wise consent unto it. Thus he writeth: *Quæ per occasionem synodi male sunt attentata reprehenderam*[4]: "I reproved those things that were evil attempted by the council of Chalcedon." And again: *Nullum unquam potuerunt nostrum obtinere consensum*[5]: "They were never able to get our consent."

Concil. Chalc. Act. xvi. p. 936.

Leo. Epist. 59.

Leo. Epist. 53.

Church depend-eth of the Pope.

And, when these matters were passed by the consent of all the bishops, Lucentius, pope Leo's legate, came whining in, and besought the council that the whole matter might be repealed. The words written in the council be these: *Lucentius dixit: Sedes apostolica, quæ nobis præcepit, præsentibus humiliari non debet. Et ideo quæcunque in præjudicium canonum hesterna die gesta sunt, nobis absentibus, sublimitatem vestram petimus, ut circunduci jubeatis.... Viri*[6] *illustrissimi judices dixerunt, Quod interlocuti sumus, tota synodus approbavit*[7]: "Lucentius" the pope's legate "said: 'The apostolic see of Rome, whose commission we have, may not by any these doings be defaced. Therefore we beseech your honours, that whatsoever was concluded here yesterday in our absence, in prejudice of the canons, ye will command the same to be blotted out.' The honourable judges made him answer: 'That we have talked of, the same the whole council hath allowed'."

Concil. Chalc. Act. xvi.

Thus many ways, M. Harding, the untruth of your tale plainly appeareth. For the council of Chalcedon esteemed not the voice of Leo as if he[8] had been the voice of Peter, as you say; but rather contrariwise made light of it, and weighed it none otherwise than they saw cause.

Therefore Liberatus saith thus touching the same: *Cum Anatolius, consentiente concilio, primatum obtinuisset, legati vero Romani episcopi contradicerent, a judicibus et episcopis omnibus illa contradictio suscepta* [*non*] *est. Et licet sedes apostolica nunc usque contradicat,* [*tamen*] *quod a synodo firmatum est, imperatorio patrocinio permanet* [9]*quodammodo*[10]: "When Anatolius, the bishop of Constantinople, by consent of the council had obtained the primacy, notwithstanding the bishop of Rome's legates stood against it, yet their gainsaying

Liberat. cap. xiii.

[1 Concil. Calched. Act. ii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 343.]

[2 Id. Act. xvi. in eod. col. 795. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 936.]

[3 Gave, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Martian. August. Epist. lix. col. 392.]

[5 Id. ad Anatol. Episc. Epist. liii. 3. col. 379.]

[6 Vires, 1611.]

[7 Concil. Calched. Act. xvi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. cols. 818, 9.]

[8 It, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 1567 omits *quodammodo*.]

[10 ...cognoverunt, quid Anatolius consentiente concilio egerat, et obtinuerat. Quibus ejus præsumptioni contradicentibus, a judicibus &c. imperatoris &c.—Liberat. Breviar. cap. xiii. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 112. It is suggested in the margin that the word *non* ought to be supplied.]

could not be received neither of the judges nor of the bishops; and, albeit the apostolic see of Rome withstand it still, yet the decree of the council, by the emperor's warrant, after a sort[11] continueth in force."

Church dependeth of the Pope.

But you never taught us, ye say, that the whole state of the church dependeth of the pope. It is not your doctrine: you never spake it. And therefore we are railers and slanderers that so report you. If it be so indeed, M. Harding, as you say, wherefore then suffer you cardinal Cusanus to write thus? *Veritas adhæret cathedræ. Quare membra cathedræ unita, et pontifici conjuncta, efficiunt ecclesiam*[13]: "The truth cleaveth fast to the (pope's) chair. Therefore the members united to the chair and joined to the pope make the church." Wherefore suffer you Johannes de Parisiis, one of your[14] catholic doctors, to write thus? *Fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor. Quod quidem de Christo intelligi non potest; sed de aliquo alio ministro, qui præsit loco ejus*[15]: "There shall be one flock, and one shepherd. Which thing cannot be taken of Christ: we must needs understand it of some other minister, that ruleth in his stead."

Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2[12].

Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. iii.

Wherefore suffer you Hosius, your grand captain, to write thus? *Unum toti præesse ecclesiæ usque adeo est necessarium, ut absque hoc ecclesia una esse non possit*[16]: "It is so necessary a thing, that one only man overrule the whole church, that without the same the church cannot be one." Wherefore suffer you your canonists to say, *Constat... ecclesiam ideo [esse] unam, quia in universali ecclesia unum est caput supremum,... scilicet papa*[17]: "It is plain that therefore the church is one, because that in the whole universal church there is one supreme head, that is, the pope?"

Hos. in Confess. Petr. cap. xxvii.

Clem. Lib. v. Ad nostrum. In Gloss.

To be short, why do you yourself[18], M. Harding, allege St Hierome's words directly, as ye would have us believe, to this purpose, *Ecclesiæ salus a summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet*[19]? Which words into English ye have turned thus: "The safety of the church hangeth of the worship of the high priest. He meaneth the pope, Peter's successor." In which last clause ye misconstrue and rack St Hierome's words far contrary to his meaning: for St Jerome meant not hereby the bishop of Rome, but every several bishop within his own charge; every which bishop he calleth the highest priest, as in my former reply it is declared more at large[20].

M. Hard. fol. 80. b. Hieron. contr. Lucifer. Art. iv. Div. 15.

If these things be true, why are they now denied? if they be false, why are they not condemned? I trust it may appear by these few, that we report the truth truly, and are no slanderers.

The Apology, Chap. viii. Division 2.

Sithence then they bring forth none of these for themselves, and call us nevertheless heretics, which have neither fallen from Christ, nor from the apostles, nor yet from the prophets, this is an injurious and a very spiteful dealing.

M. HARDING.

Nay, sirs, ye shall not so carry away the conclusion with a lie. But contrariwise, sithence we bring forth many scriptures for the truth, which ye impugn, as yourselves shall see when we come to confute your doctrine, which here followeth; and sithence, notwithstanding that ye will not yield to the scriptures, but pervert the true meaning of them with glosses and interpretations of your own heads, frame new opinions contrary to that ye have received, and that the church hath ever taught; the catholics will still call you heretics, and the church will condemn you for heretics, and so account you until ye recant and repent....

Untruth.

[11 1567 omits *after a sort.*]

[12 In 1567 this reference here and elsewhere (see below, page 223) stood Nicolaus Cusanus De Author. Eccl. et Concil. supra et contra scripturam.]

[13 ...Veritas enim cathedræ adhæret &c. ecclesiam efficiunt.—Nic. de Cusa, Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. p. 833.]

[14 Our, 1570.]

[15 Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. iii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Han. et Franc. 1611-14. Tom. II. p. 111.]

[16 Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. xxvi. Tom. I. p. 55. See before, page 120, note 7.]

[17 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. v. Tit. III. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 274; where *est unum.*]

[18 See Vol. I. page 372.]

[19 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295; where *in summi.*]

[20 See Vol. I. pages 372, &c.]

But ye have not fallen from Christ, ye say, nor from the apostles, nor yet from the prophets. As though they that depart from the Roman church, which is the catholic church, which divers times in the Apology ye confess, fell not from Christ, and consequently from the apostles and prophets. Saith not Christ in the gospel, "He that heareth not the church, let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican?" Saith he not also, "He that despiseth you despiseth me?"...

That the defenders be fallen from Christ.

Matt. xviii.

Luke x.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whether part rightly and reverently useth the scriptures of God, and whether perverteth them by shifts and glosses, I trust it shall in part appear by this conference. Indeed, M. Harding, it is no great mastery, by your interpretations and handlings, to have store enough and plenty of scriptures. For this is one special ground of your divinity: [a] *Papa potest ex nihilo facere aliquid, et sententiam quæ nulla est facere aliquam*[1]: "The pope is able of nothing to make something; and of no sentence to make some sentence." By your doctrine it is lawful and good logic to reason thus: [b] *An gloriabitur serra adversus eum qui trahit illam*[2]? "Shall the saw boast against him that draweth it?" [c] *Non est servus supra dominum*[3]: "There is no servant above his lord;" *ergo*, no man may dare to judge the pope. Or thus: [d] *Omnia munda mundis; coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil* [*est*] *mundum*[4]: "All things are clean to the clean; but unto the filthy and infidels nothing is clean;" *ergo*, it is not lawful for priests to marry.

[a] Extr. de Trans. Epist. Quanto in Gloss.

[b] Dist. 21. Inferior sedes. Isai. x.

[c] Matt. x. Concil. Roman. sub Sylv. I.

[d] Ad Tit. i. Dist. 82. Proposuisti.

Or as you, M. Harding, sometimes have delighted to reason: [e] *Nolite dare sanctum canibus*: "Give not holy things to dogs;" *ergo*, it is not lawful for the christian vulgar people to read the scriptures[5].

[e] Matt. vii. M. Hard. in his former book, fol. 155. b.

Thus may you easily be well stored, and full freight of scriptures enow[6], and, as [f] St Hierome saith, may carry them captive to serve your turn[7]. But St Hierome could also have told you: [g] *Non in verbis scripturarum est evangelium, sed in sensu*[8]: "The gospel standeth not in the bare words of the scriptures, but in the meaning." Therefore we may say unto you as St Cyprian once said to the Novatian heretics: [h] *Audite... Novatiani, apud quos scripturæ cœlestes leguntur potius quam intelliguntur*[9]: "Hearken hereto, ye Novatian heretics, amongst whom the heavenly scriptures are read rather than well perceived."

[f] Hieron. ad Pammach. Exempla captiva serviunt... ad victoriam.

[g] Hieron. in i. cap. ad Gal.

[h] Cypr. ad Novat. Tom. i.

You say, the church of Rome by our[10] own confession is the catholic church; which church forasmuch as we have forsaken, we have forsaken Christ and his apostles. For saith not Christ in the gospel, say you, [i] "He that heareth not the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen and a publican?" and, "He that despiseth you despiseth me?"

[i] Matt. xviii. Luke x.

We grant, M. Harding, the name of the church of Rome is catholic; but the errors and abuses thereof are not catholic: neither is it the church that we find fault withal, but the great corruptions and foul deformities that you have brought into the church.

Howbeit, your policy herein is apparent. Your reader, be he never so simple, may soon see your whole drift. Ye magnify the church with all manner titles of authority, not for any special regard ye bear the church indeed, but only to settle yourselves in an infinite tyranny, and to make us believe that you only are the church, and to give credit to all your fantasies; yea, although ye be

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[1 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. I. De Transl. Episc. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See Vol. I. page 69, note 14.]

[2 ...aut exaltabitur serra contra eum, qui trahit eam?—Nicol. Papa in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prima Pars, Dist. xxi. can. 4. col. 96.]

[3 Concil. Rom. II. sub Silvestr. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Epil. Tom. I. col. 1542. See Vol. I. page 68, note 7.]

[4 Innoc. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxii. can. 2. col. 395.]

[5 See Vol. II. page 678.]

[6 Enough, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Apolog. Epist. xxx. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 236; where *servierunt*.]

[8 Nec putemus in &c. esse evangelium &c.—Id. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 230.]

[9 Ad Novat. Hæret. Tractat. ad calc. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. p. 16. This piece is not by Cyprian.]

[10 Your, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

the defacers and enemies of the church. Verily the bare name of the church is not sufficient. St Paul saith that antichrist, the man of sin, shall sit in the temple of God; whereby no doubt he meant the church. 2 Thess. ii.

But, M. Harding, hear you the voice of God: leave your fables: speak God's holy word, and speak it truly: be ye faithful ministers of the truth. Then whosoever shall be found to despise your doctrine, be he king or emperor, we will not doubt to call him an heathen and publican. But, if he be an heathen that will not hear your church, what is he then that will not hear Christ? Æneas Sylvius, being afterward pope himself, saith thus: *Si Romanus pontifex non audiet ecclesiam, Christum quoque non audiet, et tanquam ethnicus et publicanus haberi debet*[12]: "If the bishop of Rome will not hear the church, he will not hear Christ, and therefore must be taken as an heathen and publican." St Augustine saith: *Oves meæ vocem meam audiunt, et sequuntur me.... Auferantur chartæ humanæ: sonent voces divinæ*[14]: "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me. Away with man's writings: let the voice of God sound unto us." Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Concil. Basil.[11] Paral.[13] Ursperg. p. 411. August. de Ovib.

Surely Doctor Luther himself, against whom M. Harding so vehemently and so often inflameth his choler, in humble and reverent manner writeth thus: *Nos colimus Romanam ecclesiam in omnibus. Tantum illis resistimus qui pro ecclesia obtrudunt Babyloniam*[15]: "We honour the church of Rome in all things. Only we withstand them that instead of the church have thrust in the confusion of Babylon." In like sense St Cyprian saith: *Non est pax,... sed bellum; nec ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab evangelio separatur*[16]: "It is not peace; it is war: neither is he joined to the church that is divided from the gospel." Now, how carefully the church of Rome is led by the gospel of Christ, we may easily learn by Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal of the same church of Rome. Thus he saith: *Sequuntur... scripturæ ecclesiam;... et non e converso*[17]: "The scriptures of God follow the church; but contrariwise the church followeth not the scriptures." To conclude, we may say unto you as St Augustine said sometime to Petilian the Donatian heretic: *Utrum nos schismatici sumus*[18], *an vos, nec ego, nec tu, sed Christus interrogetur, ut indicet*[19] *ecclesiam suam*[20]: "Whether of us be schismatics, we or you, ask you not[21] me: I will not ask you: let Christ be asked, that he may shew us his own church." Paral.[13] Ursperg. p. 472. Cypr. Serm. 5. De Lapsis. Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2. August. contr. Liter. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. lxxxv.

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 1.

With this sword did Christ put off the devil when he was tempted of him: with these weapons ought all presumption which doth advance[22] itself against God to be overthrown and conquered. "For all scripture," saith St Paul, "that cometh by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to confute, to instruct, and to reprove, that the man of God may be perfect[23], and thoroughly framed to every good work." Thus did the holy fathers alway fight against the heretics with none other force than with the holy scriptures. 2 Tim. iii.

M. Harding.

... That the holy fathers did evermore fight against the heretics with none other force than with the holy scriptures, that we deny....

[11 Constant. 1567.]

[12 ...si ecclesiam Romanus pontifex non audiat, Christum &c. audiat &c. debeat.—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. I. p. 11. Conf. Rer. Memor. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 411.]

[13 By a strange misprint this appears in 1609, 1611, as *Paul*.]

[14 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Pastor. Serm. xlvi. cap. xiv. 32, 3. Tom. V. col. 242.]

[15 Tandem protestatur Lutherus se colere Romanam ecclesiam et sequi in omnibus; solum illis resistat, qui nomine ecclesiæ Romanæ Babyloniam nobis statuere moliuntur.—Act. M. Luther. in Rer. Memor. Paraleip. p. 472.]

[16 Cypr. Op. De Laps. pp. 128, 9.]

[17 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. vii. p. 858.]

[18 Simus, 1567.]

[19 Judicet, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Utrum autem schismatici nos simus, &c.—August. Op. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. lxxxv. Tom. IX. col. 271.]

[21 1570 omits *not*.]

[22 Avaunce, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[23 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

For what did the fathers in the first general council holden at Nice? Did they fight against Arius and the maintainers of his heresy with no other force than with the scriptures? When those heretics refused the word homousion, *whereby it is*[1] *signified the Son of God to be of one and the same substance with God the Father, for that it was not to be found in the scriptures, besides which they stiffly denied, as ye do, that any thing ought to be received; did not the catholic bishops of*[2] *the other side fly to the ancient fathers? Did they not appeal to the judgments of those fathers which had given sentence of the matter then being in controversy, before that Arius and those that held of his side were born?...*

In the second council assembled at Constantinople, were not the heretics of sundry sects, by a witty and a godly policy contrived between Nectarius the bishop and Theodosius the emperor, through the suggestion of the great clerk Sisinnius, driven to receive the doctors, who lived before their heresies were heard of, as witnesses of true christian doctrine worthy of credit[3]*?...* *Histor. Tripart. Lib. v. cap. x.*

Macedonius in that council was condemned, who therefore denied the Holy Ghost to be God, because the scriptures give not unto him that name. But the bishops there assembled, as Photius that learned bishop writeth, declared out of the teaching of the fathers and divines before their time, that the Holy Ghost is to be adored, worshipped, and glorified, as being of one nature and substance together with the Father and the Son[4]*.* *Macedonius.*

In the third council kept at Ephesus... the[5] *heretic Nestorius boasted, as ye do, of the scriptures, saying they were of his side, and would neither speak nor hear ought but scriptures, scriptures; and alleging a place or two out of the gospel, where Mary is called the mother of Jesus, stoutly: "Find me in all scripture," quoth he, "where Mary is called the mother of God*[7]*." Hereto what said that holy and learned bishop Cyrillus, chief in that council?* Hanc nobis fidem divini tradidere discipuli; et licet nullam[8] fecerint dictionis hujus mentionem, ita tamen sentire a sanctis patribus edocti sumus[9]: *"This faith," saith he, "the disciples of God have by tradition left unto us. And, although they have made no express mention of this word* deipara, *yet so to think we have been taught of the holy fathers."...* *Nestorius ever called for scriptures*[6]*, as the heretics at this day do, whatsoever sect they be of.* *Epist. I. Tom. iv.* Deipara *not found in scripture, yet received and kept.*

"When they reasoned about rules touching faith to be made," saith Vincentius Lirinensis, writing of that council, "to all the bishops there assembled, to the number almost of two hundred, this seemed most catholic, most faithful, and best to be done, that the sentences of the holy fathers should be brought forth among them; to the end that by[10] *their consent and decree the religion of the old doctrine should be confirmed, and the blasphemy of the profane novelty condemned*[11]*." Behold, sirs, what weapons the fathers have used against heresies besides the holy scriptures.*

In the fourth council which was celebrated at Chalcedon,... the[12] *heretic Eutyches, as ye and all heretics have done, cracked much of the scriptures, and required his matter to be discussed by scriptures. "Tell me," quoth* *Eutyches claimed his opinion to be tried by the scriptures.*

[1 Whereby is, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[2 On, Conf.]

[3 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IX. cap. xix. foll. S. 4. 5.]

[4 Τὸ δὲ πανάγιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν Πνεῦμα, ἅ τε δὴ ὁμοφυὲς καὶ ὁμορούσιον, ἰσοσθενές τε καὶ παντοδύναμον, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι καὶ συνδοξολογεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὰς πατρικάς τε καὶ θεολογικὰς φωνάς, ἀνεκήρυξαν.—Phot. Epist. Lond. 1651. Ad Michael. Bulg. Princ. Epist. i. 10. p. 7.]

[5 This, Conf.]

[6 Scripture, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Πανταχοῦ τῆς θείας γραφῆς...γέννησις ἡμῖν καὶ πάθος οὐ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραδίδοται· ὡς καλεῖσθαι...τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Χριστοτόκον, οὐ θεοτόκον.—Epist. Nestor. ad Cyril. Epist. iii. in Concil. Ephes. Pars I. cap. ix. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. III. col. 326.]

[8 Nullum, 1611.]

[9 Epist. Cyril. Alex. ad Monach. Ægypt. 4. in eod. Tom. III. col. 21.]

[10 That they by, 1570.]

[11 Ubi cum de sanciendis fidei regulis disceptaretur,...universis sacerdotibus, qui illo ducenti fere numero convenerant, hoc catholicissimum, felicissimum atque optimum factu visum est, ut in medium sanctorum patrum sententiæ proferrentur...ut scilicet rite atque solenniter ex eorum consensu atque decreto antiqui dogmatis religio confirmaretur, et prophanæ novitatis blasphemia condemnaretur.—Vincent. Lirin. Contr. Hær. 1591. cap. xlii. pp. 97, 8.]

[12 This, Conf.]

he mockingly to every one that reasoned with him, "in what scripture lie the two natures[13]*?"* . . .

But let us hear what the learned bishops of that council said thereto. We find in the first action of the council that they cried out aloud: Ea quæ sunt patrum teneantur[14]: *"The things that the fathers have taught, let them be kept." Again, when they come to the definitive sentence they say:* Sequentes igitur sanctos patres, &c.[15]: *"Following the holy fathers, we do all with one accord teach men to confess one and himself the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect*[16] *himself in Godhead, and perfect*[16] *himself in manhood." And for authority of the fathers in high points of faith, a bishop in that reverend assembly, named Eudoxius, pronounced a notable sentence, saying thus: "Every one that consenteth not to the exposition of the holy fathers doth alienate himself from all priestly communion, and from the presence of Christ*[17]*." Thus we have alleged the four first general councils, which St Gregory honoureth as the four gospels*[18]. . . .

The teaching of the fathers to be kept. Act. v.

A notable saying of a learned father for the exposition of the fathers.

But the thing being so evident as it is, and so well known even to yourselves, if ye be learned, the authority of these chief councils may suffice.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye have taken in hand a needless labour. For you know right well we despise not the authority of the holy fathers, but rather in this self-same place have alleged together St Augustine, St Hierome, and St Ambrose, three of the most ancient and approved fathers; and throughout the whole discourse of this Apology, in the defence of the catholic truth of our religion, next unto God's holy word, have used no proof or authority so much as the expositions and judgments of the holy fathers. We despise them not therefore, but rather give God thanks in their behalf, for that it hath pleased him to provide so worthy instruments for his church; and therefore we justly reprove you, for that so unadvisedly and without cause ye have forsaken the steps of so holy fathers.

The[19] four general councils wherein you dwell so long, as they make nothing against us, so in sundry points they fight expressly against you.

First, they were summoned by the emperors Constantinus, Theodosius I., Theodosius II., and Martianus, and not by any right or authority of the pope; as hereafter it shall be shewed in place convenient more at large. [a]Julius the bishop of Rome was summoned by the emperor's writ to appear at the council of Nice, as well as others[20]. [b]And pope Leo afterward was charged by like authority to appear at the council of Chalcedon[21].

[a] Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xvi.

[b] Concil. Chalc. Act. 1. fol. 748. Eodem tenore...Leo vocatus est.

[c]In the council of Nice the bishop of Rome was not president, but Eustathius the bishop of Antioch[22]. In the same [d]council of Nice the bishop of Rome hath his authority and jurisdiction made equal and level with the other three patriarchs[23]. [e]And in the council of Chalcedon the bishop of Constantinople is made equal in authority with the bishop of Rome[25]. To be short, [f]the said council of

[c] Euseb. de Vit. Const. Orat. 3. Theod. Lib. i. cap. vii.[24]

[d] Concil. Nicen. can. 6.

[e] Concil. Chalc. Act. 16. p. 936.

[f] Liberat. cap. xiii.

[13 Concil. Constant. Act. VI. in Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 213. See Vol. I. page 467, note 16.]

[14 Concil. Calched. Act. I. in eod. Tom. IV. cols. 127, 36.]

[15 Ἑπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι, καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι.—Ibid. Act. V. cols. 566, 7.]

[16 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17 Πᾶς οὖν ὁ μὴ συναινῶν τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσι παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἑαυτὸν ἀλλοτριοῖ πάσης ἱερατικῆς κοινωνίας, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας. —Concil. Constant. Act. II. in eod. col. 189.]

[18 ...sicut sancti evangelii quatuor libros, sic quatuor concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. I. Indict. IX. Ad Johan. Episc. Constant. Epist. XXV. Tom. II. col. 515. Conf. Lib. III. Indict. XI. Ad Savin. Subdiac. Epist. X. col. 632. Lib. IV. Indict. XII. Ad Theodel. Reg. Epist. XXXVIII. col. 718.]

[19 These, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. XVII. p. 350. Conf. Vales. Annot. in loc.: Error est Sozomeni, qui Julium posuit pro Silvestro.]

[21 Theodos. et Valent. Epist. ad Diosc. in Chalced. Concil. Act. I. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 748.]

[22 Euseb. De Vit. Constant. Lib. III. cap. XI. in Hist. Eccles. Script. p. 403. Conf. Vales. Annot. in loc.

Theod. in eod. Lib. I. cap. VII. p. 25.]

[23 Concil. Nicen. can. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 32.]

[24 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[25 ...sedi senioris Romæ...patres...privilegia reddiderunt. Et...episcopi æqua sanctiss. sedi novæ Romæ privilegia tribuerunt, &c.—Concil. Chalced. Act. XVI. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 936. Vid. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 795.]

Doctors alleged by Heretics.

Chalcedon, for this last and some other like causes, Leo the bishop of Rome would not allow. Which thing notwithstanding, the council standeth still in force, whether the pope will or no[1].

These be the four first general councils, which M. Harding compareth in authority with the four evangelists.

"But these heretics, Arius, Nestorius, Macedonius, and Eutyches, in these four general councils utterly despise[2] all the ancient fathers, and boasted themselves," saith M. Harding, "of the scriptures, and evermore cried out, 'Scriptures, scriptures'." Touching the Arians, that they alleged certain doubtful and dark places of the scriptures to serve their purpose, it is certain and manifest. But that either they despised, or that the catholics against them avouched the exposition and authority of any father, M. Harding's only word must be our warrant: for neither allegeth he any one author for proof hereof, nor yet nameth any of all these fathers.

Notwithstanding, let us grant these heretics cried out, as M. Harding saith, "Scriptures, scriptures." Even so did the same heretics likewise cry out, even as now M. Harding doth, "Fathers, fathers." Socrates saith: *Et Ariani Origenis libros citabant in testimonium, ut illi quidem judicabant, sui dogmatis*[3]: "And the Arian heretics alleged the learned father Origen's books, as they thought, for proof and witness of their doctrine."

Socrat. Lib. iv. cap. xxi. ὡς ᾤοντο.

The heretic Eutyches said: *Ego legi scripta beati Cypriani, et sanctorum patrum, et sancti Athanasii*[4]: "I have read the writings of St Cyprian, and of other holy fathers, and of St Athanasius."

Concil. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 792.

Likewise the Eutychian heretic Carosus said: *Ego secundum expositionem trecentorum octodecim ... patrum sic credo, sic baptizatus sum. Aliud quid mihi dicas, nescio*[5]: "This is my faith, according to the exposition of the three hundred and eighteen fathers," in the council of Nice: "in this faith was I baptized. What ye should say more to me, I cannot tell."

Concil. Chalc. Act. 4. p. 877.

Even so said Eutyches himself: *Sic ... a progenitoribus meis accepi, [et] credidi. ... In hac fide baptizatus sum, et signatus; et usque ad hunc diem in ea vixi, et in ea opto mori*[6]: "Thus have I received of my forefathers, and thus have I believed. In this faith was I baptized and signed, and in the same have I lived until this day, and in the same I wish to die." Thus St Augustine saith the Donatian heretic Cresconius alleged the authority of St Cyprian[7]. Thus the Nestorian heretics alleged the authority of the council of Nice[8].

Concil. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 751.

August. contr. Cresc. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. Concil. Tom. I. p. 568.

To be short, thus the heretic Dioscorus cried out in the open council of Chalcedon: *Ego ... habeo testimonia sanctorum patrum, Athanasii, Gregorii, Cyrilli: ... Non transgredior in aliquo: ... Ego cum patribus ejicior: ego defendo patrum dogmata. Ego horum habeo testimonia, non simpliciter aut transitorie, sed in ipsorum libris*[9]: "I have the testimonies of the holy fathers, Athanasius, Gregorius, Cyrillus: I alter not from them in any point: I am thrown forth and banished with the fathers: I defend the fathers' doctrine: I have their judgment uttered, not by chance or unadvisedly, but remaining expressed in their books."

Concil. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 767.

I doubt not, M. Harding, but you may hereby easily see that the heretics ye speak of cried not only "Scriptures, scriptures," as ye say, but had leisure also sometimes to cry, as you do, "Fathers, fathers;" and that as well to purpose and as rightly as you of long time have used to cry, having indeed in the cases we speak of neither scriptures nor fathers.

To come near the matter, we say not that all cases of doubt are by manifest

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[1 Liberat. Breviar. cap. xiii. in eod. Tom. II. p. 112. See before, page 220, note 10.]

[2 Despised, 1567; despiseth, 1570.]

[3 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xxvi. p. 198.]

[4 Concil. Chalced. Act. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 792; where *Cyrilli.* See Vol. I. page 498, note 5.]

[5 Id. Act. iv. p. 877; where *decem et octo*, and *dicis.*]

[6 Libell. Confess. Eutych. in eod. Act. i. p. 751; where *accipiens*, and *baptizatus signatus sum et usque hodie vixi in ea et opto mori.*]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. 20. Tom. IX. col. 494.]

[8 There appears nothing to the point in the page referred to; but see Epist. Orient. Episc. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 593. Conf. Vol. I. page 499, note 6.]

[9 Ego autem testimonia habeo sanctorum &c. Ego cum &c. dogmata, non transgredior in aliquo, et horum testimonia non simpliciter neque transitorie, sed in libris habeo.—Concil. Chalced. Act. i. in eod. p. 767. See Vol. I. pages 83, 4.]

and open words plainly expressed in the scriptures; for so there should need no exposition. But we say, there is no case in religion so dark and doubtful but it may necessarily be either proved or reproved by collection and conference of the scriptures.

Scriptures and Doctors.

St Hierome saith: *Moris est scripturarum obscuris manifesta subnectere*[10]: "It is the order of the scriptures, after hard things to join other things that be plain." St Augustine likewise saith: *Solet circumstantia scripturarum illuminare sententiam*[11]: "The circumstance of the scriptures[12] is wont to give light, and to open the meaning." The like rule Tertullian also giveth: *Oportet secundum plura intelligi pauciora*[13]: "The fewer places must be expounded by the more." Therefore touching this word *homousius*[14], which M. Harding here moveth, and the whole contention of the Arians, Epiphanius writeth thus: *Nomen substantiæ simpliciter et nude in veteri et nova scriptura non proponitur, sententia autem ejus nominis ubique occurrit*[15]: "This word 'substance' plainly and nakedly is not found, neither in the old nor in the new testament; but the sense and meaning of that word is found every where."

Hieron. in Esai. cap. xix.

August. in Lib. lxxxiii. Quæst. Qu. 69. p. 325.

Tertull. adv. Prax.

Epiph. Lib. iii. De Semiar. ὁ δὲ νοῦς πανταχοῦ.

In this conference and judgment of the holy scriptures we need oftentimes the discretion and wisdom of learned fathers. Yet notwithstanding may we not give them herein greater credit than is convenient, or than they themselves, if it were offered, would receive. We may reverently say of them as Seneca in the like case sometime said: *Non sunt domini, sed duces nostri*: "They are our leaders, but not our lords." They are not the truth of God itself, but only witnesses unto the truth.

Seneca.

Therefore St Augustine saith: *Alios... [scriptores] ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quod ipsi ita senserint, sed quod id mihi, vel per alios auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione... persuadere potuerint*[16]: "Other writers or fathers," besides the holy scriptures, "I read in this sort, that, be their learning or holiness never so great, I will not think it true because they have thought so, but because they are able to persuade me so, either by other canonical writers, or else by some likely reason." Likewise again he saith: *Hoc genus literarum non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate legendum est*[17]: "This kind of writings," of the holy doctors and fathers, "must be read, not with necessity to believe each thing, but with liberty to judge each[18] thing." And to that end he saith: *Ne catholicis [quidem] episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei scripturas... sentiant*[19]: "We may not consent unto the bishops, notwithstanding they be catholic, if they judge contrary to the holy canonical scriptures." In this authority and credit we have, and ought to have, the holy fathers.

August. Epist. 19. ad Hieron.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xi. cap. v.

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. x.

Now let us see whether the bishops and others in these councils confuted these heretics, as we say, by the scriptures; or else, as M. Harding seemeth to say, for want or weakness of the scriptures, used therein the authority of the fathers. First, the emperor Constantinus, in the council of Nice, instructing the bishops there how they might best debate their quarrels and end all strifes, saith thus unto them: *Evangelicæ et apostolicæ literæ et veterum prophetarum oracula perspicue nos instituunt quid oporteat sapere de voluntate et sensu Dei. Ponentes ergo contentionem, ex divinitus inspiratis oraculis quæramus solutionem eorum quæ proponuntur*[20]: "The evangelists' and apostles' writings, and the sayings of the old prophets do clearly instruct us what judgment we ought to have

Theod. Lib. i. cap. vii. Trip. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. v. σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἃ χρὴ περὶ του θείου φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσι.

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. v. in Isai. Proph. cap. xix. Tom. III. col. 127.]

[11 August. Op. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxix. 2. Tom. VI. col. 56; where *scripturæ*.]

[12 Scripture, 1567.]

[13 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 20. p. 651.]

[14 Homousios, 1567.]

[15 Epiphan. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxiii. Tom. I. p. 859.]

[16 August. Op. Ad Hieron. Epist. lxxxii. 3. Tom. II. col. 190; where *quia ipsi ita senserunt sed quia mihi, per illos auctores*, and *potuerunt*.]

[17 Quod genus &c.—Id. Contr. Faust. Lib. XI. cap. v. Tom. VIII. col. 221.]

[18 Judge of each, 1567, 1570.]

[19 Id. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. De Unit. Eccles. cap. xi. 28. Tom. IX. col. 355; where *nec* for *ne*.]

[20 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 25.

Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. II. cap. v. fol. D.]

Scriptures and Doctors.

of the meaning and will of God. Therefore, laying aside all contention, out of those heavenly oracles let us seek for the assoiling of our questions."

Socrat. καὶ ἀναπτύσσοντες τὰς θείας γραφὰς πολλάκις ἀνετρέψαμεν αὐτούς.

Socrates also, touching the same council of Nice, saith thus of the Arian heretics: *Explicantes sacrosanctas scripturas, sæpe illos evertimus*[1]: "By opening and expounding the holy scriptures oftentimes we overthrew them."

August. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. cap. xiv.

Likewise St Augustine, disputing against the same Arians, refuseth, as I have said before, both councils and fathers, and appealeth only to the scriptures: *Nec ego Nicænam* [*synodum tibi*], *nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes objicere: scripturarum auctoritatibus, ... res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet*[2]: "Neither will I allege the council of Nice against you; nor shall you allege the council of Ariminum against me. By the authority of the scriptures let us weigh matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason." Touching the council holden at Constantinople against Macedonius and the Divinity of the Holy Ghost,

Athanas. ad Serap. Spirit. Sanct. non esse creaturam. p. 676.

Athanasius saith: *Ne interroges, sed solum ex sacris literis condiscas: sufficiunt enim documenta quæ in illis reperias*[3]: "Never move question hereof, but only learn of the holy scriptures. For the only proofs that ye shall there find are sufficient" to warrant the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. So likewise saith Evagrius of the other two councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon: *Ex evangelicis et apostolicis de Domino vocibus scimus viros illos divinos constituisse*[4]: "We know that these godly fathers concluded this matter by such words as the evangelists and apostles have uttered of our Lord."

Evagrius.

Orig. in cap. xvi. ad Rom. Lib. x.

Therefore the ancient father Origen saith: *Vide quam prope periculis illi sint qui negligunt exerceri in divinis literis; ex quibus solis examinationis*[5] *hujusmodi agnoscenda discretio est*[6]: "Consider in what danger they be that have no care to read the holy scriptures. For by the same scriptures only the judgment of this trial must be allowed."

Chrysost. in Oper. Imperfect. Hom. 49.

Even so saith Chrysostom: *Etiamsi in ipsis veris ecclesiis, quæ ... Dei sunt, ... dixerint ... Christum apparuisse, nolite eis credere dicentibus ista de me: ... Non* [*enim*] *digna est Divinitatis meæ hæc notitia. Ostendens per hæc quod ab ipsis sæpe veris ecclesiis exeunt seductores. Propterea ne ipsis quidem credendum est, nisi ea* [*vel*] *dicant vel faciant quæ convenientia sint scripturis*[7]: "Yea, if they say that Christ hath appeared in the very true churches of God, yet believe them not; for this is no worthy or sufficient knowledge of my Godhead. By this he sheweth that out of the very true churches oftentimes come forth deceivers. Therefore we may not believe, no not them" that speak unto us in the name of the church, "unless they speak and do such things as are agreeable to the scriptures."

Orig. in Hier. Hom. 1.

In like manner again saith Origen: *Necesse nobis est in testimonium vocare sanctas scripturas. Sensus quippe nostri et enarrationes sine iis testibus non habent fidem*[8]: "We must needs call to witness the holy scriptures. For our judgments and expositions, without those witnesses[9], carry no credit."

August. de Nat. et Grat. cap. lxi.

And, to leave all other like authorities that might be[10] alleged, for short conclusion, St Augustine saith: *Solis canonicis* [*scripturis*] *sine ulla recusatione consensum debeo*[11]: "I owe my consent without gainsaying (not unto the doctors or fathers, but) only unto the canonical scriptures."

But the bishops in those councils, saith M. Harding, brought forth and followed the expositions of the ancient learned fathers. And wherefore might they not? What man ever taught or said the contrary? Yet notwithstanding they

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[1 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 11. This is from the epistle of Alexander bishop of Alexandria.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704. See before, page 217, note 18.]

[3 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Serap. Epist. i. 19. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 667.]

[4 Evagr. Scholast. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. xviii. pp. 320, 1. This is quoted from an epistle of Cyril.]

[5 Examinationibus, 1609, 1611.]

[6 ...vide quam proximi periculo fiant hi qui exerceri in divinis literis negligunt, ex &c. hujusmodi examinationis &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. p. 684.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. ccix; where *est digna divinitatis meæ notitia hæc, hæc quomodo ex ipsis ecclesiis veris frequenter exeunt, nec ipsis omnino credendum*, and *sunt*.]

[8 Orig. Op. In Jer. Hom. i. 7. Tom. III. p. 129.]

[9 Witness, 1570.]

[10 He, 1567.]

[11 August. Op. De Nat. et Grat. cap. lxi. 71. Tom. X. col. 158; where *debeo* precedes *sine*.]

alleged them, not as the foundations or grounds, but only as approved and faithful witnesses of the truth. Which thing, if M. Harding happily will deny, may easily appear by the words of Cyrillus, pronounced and published openly in the council of Chalcedon: *Gratulamur nobis mutuo, quod et nostræ et vestræ ecclesiæ fidem habent consentientem et divinitus adspiratis scripturis et traditionibus sanctorum patrum*[12]: "We rejoice together, each of us in other's behalf, for that the faith both of our churches, and also of yours, is agreeable both unto the heavenly inspired scriptures, and also to the tradition and exposition of our fathers." Which words of Cyrillus being heard, and the consent of the fathers being known, the whole council for joy made a shout together: *Omnes ita credimus: papa Leo ita credit, &c.*[14]: "Thus we all believe: pope Leo thus believeth: thus believeth Leo and Anatolius: thus Cyrillus believeth: this is the faith of our fathers: this is the faith of the apostles: thus have the apostles taught."

Scriptures and Doctors.

Evagr. Lib. iii. cap. xviii. ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς.

Concil. Chalc. Act. 2.[13]

Thus may you see, M. Harding, (we say not to you, as you do to us, "if you be learned;" for thereof we have no doubt: God grant you[15] may direct your learning to his glory!) but thus may you see to what end the bishops in the councils ye speak of alleged the expositions of the ancient fathers, and how far they weighed them under the authority of the scriptures. In like sort do we also this day allege against you the manifest and undoubted and agreeable judgments of the most ancient learned holy fathers; and thereby, as by approved and faithful witnesses, we disclose the infinite follies and errors of your doctrine. And seeing you have forsaken the fellowship of the said holy fathers, as hereafter shall more fully appear, we say unto you, as Eudoxius said unto the heretic abbat Eutyches in the council of Chalcedon: "Ye have removed yourselves both from all priestly communion, and also from the presence of Christ[16]."

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 2.

St Augustine, when he disputed against Petilian the Donatian heretic[17]: "Let not these words," quoth[18] he, "be heard between us, 'I say,' or, 'You say'; let us rather speak in this wise: 'Thus saith the Lord.' There let us seek the church; there let us boult out the cause[19]."

De Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. et contr. Maxim. Arian. Episc. Lib. iii. cap. xiv.

M. HARDING.

Concerning this place of St Augustine, it ought not to be stretched to all matters in general that be in question, as though we might not use the testimonies and authorities of the fathers against heretics; but it pertaineth only to the question in that book De Unitate Ecclesiæ *treated of, which is, where the church is. Petilian the Donatist, and the maintainers of that heresy, contended the church to be only in Afric, or, at the furthest,* in parte Donati, "*among them only that held with Donatus.*" *The same heresy went they about to prove by scriptures. But, when St Augustine saw how weak their proofs were, which they brought out of the scriptures, he provoked them, the better to overthrow them, to come to the trial of the scriptures. And indeed, where the scriptures be manifest for proof of any matter, what need is there of doctors? But where the sense of the scriptures is obscure, and may be wrested by evil wits to the maintenance of an heresy, there the expositions of the fathers by all old writers have been taken of necessity, to supply the scriptures' obscurity, and to declare the sense of the church, which the Holy Ghost hath prompted. And in such cases St Augustine himself useth the testi-*

Manifest untruth.

[12 Evagr. Scholast. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. xviii. p. 321.]

[13 1567, 1570, omit this reference.]

[14 Concil. Calched. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. cols. 342, 3, 67.]

[15 Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[16 Concil. Constant. Act. II. in eod. col. 189. See before, page 225, note 17.]

[17 An heretic of the Donatists, Conf.]

[18 Quod, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[19 ... non audiamus, Hæc dicis, hæc dico: sed audiamus, Hæc dicit Dominus...ibi quæramus ecclesiam, ibi discutiamus caussam nostram.—August. Op. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. De Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. 5. Tom. IX. cols. 340, 1. Conf. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704. See before, page 217.]

Scriptures and Doctors.

monies of the fathers not seldom, namely against Julian the Pelagian; where, beside scripture, touching original sin, he allegeth against the Pelagians a great number of fathers, and at length in one place speaking of the authority, reverence, and credit he had them in[1], *he saith thus:* Quod credunt, credo, &c.[2]: "*What they believe I believe; what they hold I hold; what they teach I teach; what they preach I preach.*"... *From the special to the general, negatively, the argument holdeth not, ye know, if ye have not forgotten your logic....*

Contra Julianum Pelagian. Lib. i.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, as well here as elsewhere, thinketh it an easy matter with a bold asseveration to smoothe his unlearned simple reader, especially[3] such a one as hath no eyes to look after him. These words of St Augustine, saith he, pertain only unto the matter he had then in hand, and therefore may not be forced to any other. And here he remembereth us of a profound point in logic, that a negative conclusion from the special to the general cannot hold. Here it were a matter worthy the hearing, first, how M. Harding could enter so deeply to know so much of St Augustine's meaning; next, forasmuch as in respect of himself he evermore fancieth us to be unlearned, how he were able to teach us to know the same. He assureth us upon his word, that these words of St Augustine must needs be expounded[4] and restrained to that only[5] matter, and may not in any wise be stretched farther; and this he imagineth was St Augustine's meaning. Thus, good reader, by M. Harding's handling, thou hast here a meaning of St Augustine's that St Augustine himself never meant. For St Augustine in the same matter, and against the same heretic Petilian, although not in the same book, writeth thus: *Sive de Christo, sive de ejus ecclesia, sive de quacunque re alia quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicam... si nos, sed,... si angelus de cœlo nobis annunciaverit, præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit*[6]: "Whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of any thing else whatsoever, pertaining either to our life or to our faith, I will not say, if I myself[7], but if an angel from heaven shall teach us otherwise than we have received in the books of the law, and in the gospels, hold him accursed."

August. contr. Liter. Petil. Lib. iii. cap. vi.

Gal. i.

M. Harding saith St Augustine meant only of one matter: St Augustine himself saith he meant of all manner matters touching either faith or life.

De quacunque re.

M. Harding saith St Augustine meant this only of himself: St Augustine himself saith he meant it of any other, yea, even of the angels of God. And shall we think M. Harding knoweth St Augustine's meaning, and St Augustine himself knew it not?

Si angelus de cœlo.

Verily, St Augustine in another case concerning the Arians, as I have touched twice before, likewise refuseth the determinations of all councils and fathers, and standeth only to the scriptures: "Neither will I," saith he, "allege against thee the council of Nice; nor shalt thou allege against me the council of Ariminum[8]," &c.

August. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. cap. xiv.

Neither doth St Augustine only say thus, but also yieldeth a reason why he saith it. These be his words: *Auferantur... de medio quæ adversus nos invicem, non ex divinis canonicis libris, sed aliunde recitamus.... Quæret fortasse aliquis... Cur... vis ista auferri de medio?... Quia nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis ecclesiam sanctam demonstrari*[9]: "Have away all those authorities that either of us allegeth against the other, saving such only as be taken out of the heavenly canonical scriptures. But perhaps some man will ask me,

August. de Unit. Eccles. contr. Petil. cap. iii.

[1 In them, 1609, 1611.]

[2 ... quod sentiunt sentio, quod tenent teneo, quod prædicant prædico.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. I. cap. vii. 34. Tom. X. col. 519.]

[3 Specially, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Pounded, 1567, 1570.]

[5 That one only, 1567.]

[6 Id. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. III. cap. vi. Tom. IX. col. 301; where *alia re, vitamque vestram,* and *cœlo vobis.*]

[7 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Id. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704. See before, page 217, note 18, and 228, note 2.]

[9 Id. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. De Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. 5, 6. Tom. IX. col. 341; where *quærat, ista vis,* and *sanctam ecclesiam.*]

Wherefore would ye have all such other authorities put away? I answer, Because I would have the holy church to be proved, not by the doctrines of men, but by the word of God." Scriptures and Doctors.

So saith St Augustine unto other the Donatists: *Auferantur de medio chartæ nostræ: procedat in medium codex Dei. Audi Christum dicentem: audi Veritatem loquentem*[10]: "Take away from amongst us any our own books: let the book of God come amongst us. Hear what Christ saith: hearken what the Truth speaketh." Again he saith: *Audi, Dicit Dominus; non, Dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus; sed, Dicit Dominus*[11]: "Hear this, 'The Lord saith': hear not this, 'Donatus saith, Rogatus saith, Vincentius saith, Hilarius saith, Ambrose saith, Augustine saith;' but hearken to this, 'The Lord saith'." August. in Psal. lvii. August. in Epist. 48.

In like form of words saith St Ambrose: *Nolo nobis credatur: scriptura recitetur. Non ego dico a me,... In principio erat Verbum, sed audio. Non ego effingo, sed lego*[12]: "I would not ye should believe us, but read the scriptures. I say not of myself[13], 'In the beginning was the Word,' but I hear it. I make it not, but I read it." Ambros. de Incarn. Dom. Sacram. cap. iii.

Likewise saith Chrysostom: *Oro vos omnes ut relinquatis quid huic aut illi videatur, et de his a scripturis hæc omnia inquirite*[14]: "I beseech you all, weigh not what this man or that man thinketh; but touching all these things search the scriptures." Chrys. in 2. ad Cor. Hom. 3.

Now, whereas it pleaseth M. Harding to tell us of an argument negative from special to general, and so to call us to the remembrance of our logic; pleaseth it him also to remember that the argument that we ground of St Augustine's words holdeth not, as it is here imagined, from special to general, but from the imperfection and weakness of the wisdom of man to the stability and certainty of God's holy word. And therefore the old learned father Origen saith, as it is alleged before: *Sensus nostri et enarrationes sine his testibus non habent fidem*[15]: "Our judgments and expositions without these witnesses" (of the scriptures) "have no credit." In like sort St Hierome: *Quamvis... sanctus sit aliquis post apostolos, quamvis disertus*[16] *sit, non habet auctoritatem*[17]: "After the apostles of Christ, notwithstanding some man be holy, notwithstanding he be eloquent, yet he wanteth authority." Therefore St Augustine saith: *Cedamus... et consentiamus... scripturæ sacræ, quæ nec falli potest nec fallere*[18]: "Let us yield and consent to the holy scripture, which can neither deceive nor be deceived." For this cause, M. Harding, St Augustine not only in the matter that lay between him and Petilianus, but also in all other matters whatsoever, so often appealed from all fathers and councils unto the scriptures. Orig. in Jer. Hom. 1. Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi. August. de Peccat. Mer. et Remiss. Lib. i. cap. xxii.

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 3.

Likewise St Hierome: "All those things," saith he, "which without the testimony of the scriptures are holden, as delivered from the apostles, be thoroughly smitten down by the sword of God's word[19]."

M. HARDING.

Ye would fain remove us from a good hold, I see well, which is the authority of the holy fathers, of ancient traditions, and of the universal church. All these would ye to be of no force against heretics. For ye know the fathers and

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[10 Id. Enarr. in Psalm. lvii. 6. Tom. IV. col. 545.]

[11 Id. ad Vincent. Rogat. Epist. xciii. 20. Tom. II. col. 239.]

[12 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Incarn. Dom. Sacr. cap. iii. 14. Tom. II. col. 706; where *affingo*.]

[13 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xiii. Tom. X. p. 537.]

[15 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Jer. Hom. i. 7. Tom. III. p. 129.]

[16 Desertus, 1611.]

[17 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. lxxxvi. Tom. II. Append. col. 350.]

[18 August. Op. De Pecc. Mer. et Remiss. Lib. I. cap. xxii. 33. Tom. X. col. 19; where *sanctæ scripturæ quæ nescit falli nec*.]

[19 See below, page 232, note 6.]

the church to be against you, and that, so long as they are believed, your doctrine shall not be received, as always found to be new, and of private device. If we were driven from these, ye doubt not but to match us well enough in the scriptures. And, as ye would handle the matter, I think so myself verily. For, when all authority and judgment of the fathers and of the church is shaken quite off in any controversy, by whom shall we be tried? By the scriptures, ye say. But when both ye and we allege scriptures to a contrary purpose, and when we vary about the sense of the scriptures, by whom then shall we be judged?... Perhaps ye will refer the judgment of doubtful matters to the Holy Ghost. We refuse not the arbitrement and umpireship of the Holy Ghost: for the same hath been promised by Christ to the church, to remain with the church for ever, to teach what things soever he said, to lead men into all truth....

And thus for judgment and trial of truth we shall be returned to the church and to the fathers, by whom the Holy Ghost speaketh unto us, whose authority and due estimation ye go about to remove from us.

But let us see what force ye bring to drive us from this hold. Making your battery against it, what shoot ye off but wind and paper? Your artillery maketh a noise, but it giveth no blow. As in the last allegation ye falsified the sense of St Augustine, so in this ye falsify both the sense and words of St Hierome. The words, as ye allege them, seem to be spoken against whatsoever traditions of the apostles: which words, or any the like to such purpose, were never uttered by any catholic doctor of the church, much less by St Hierome. Look ye again, and view better the place: ye shall say yourselves, that I find the fault of falsifying in you not without cause[1].

St Hierome, in his commentaries upon those words of the prophet Aggæus, Et vocavi siccitatem super terram et super montes, "*I have called the drought*[2] *to come upon the earth, and upon the hills,*" *&c., first shewing the literal sense accordingly as the Hebrew word there by him noted signifieth* siccitatem, "*drought*[2]," *then treating mystically, as the seventy interpreters have turned that word into* romphæam, *that is,* "*a sword,*" *and understanding by the sword the word of God, thereof taketh occasion briefly to say what this sword doth, how it destroyeth the negligent soul, which is expounded to be dry earth, and how it plagueth mountains that lift up themselves against the knowledge of God, whereby he meaneth heretics; of whom he telleth how they flatter the deceived people*[3] *with their bread, wine, and oil (by which he meaneth their heresies), as it were with meats, and drinks, and refection.*

Aggæi cap. i.

Gladius.

"*Their bread,*" *saith he,* "*any man may very aptly call it the bread of wailing; and their wine, the madness of dragons, and the madness of serpents incurable; and their oil, the promising of heavenly things, wherewith they do as it were anoint their disciples, and promise them rewards of their labours; which the prophet detesteth, saying,* '*The oil of the sinner shall not anoint my head*'." *After this follow the words of St Hierome, which you*[4] *have falsified to the intent they might seem to serve your false meaning:* Sed et alia quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis scripturarum, quasi traditione apostolica... reperiunt[5] atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei[6]: "*But the sword of God striketh also other things, which the heretics (for of them he speaketh) devise and feign of their own heads, without the authority and witnesses of the scriptures, as though they came by tradition from the apostles.*" *He that compareth this place with your falsified allegation, may soon espy great odds between them. For ye make St Hierome to say, that*

[1 Without a cause, Conf.]

[2 Drouth, Conf.]

[3 Peoples, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4 Ye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Apostolica sponte reperiunt, Conf.]

[6 Vocatur itaque vel inducitur vivens sermo Dei, et efficax, et acutus super omnem gladium bicipitem, ut anima negligens, quæ terra interpretatur arens... ejus mucrone feriatur...Infertur etiam gladius super montes elevantes se adversus scientiam Dei, et super frumentum, et vinum, et oleum, quibus quasi cibis et potu et refectione hæreticorum conciliabula deceptis populis blandiuntur. Congrue quis dixerit panem illorum esse panem luctus; et furorem draconum esse vinum eorum, et furorem aspidum insanabilem: oleum quoque, repromissionem de cœlestibus, quo quasi ungunt discipulos, et laborum præmia pollicentur, quæ detestatur propheta, dicens: Oleum autem peccatoris non impinguet caput meum. Sed et &c. —Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Aggæ. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1690.]

"all those things which without the testimonies of scriptures[7] *are holden (so your allowed interpreter turneth* asseruntur) *as delivered from the apostles, be throughly smitten down by the sword of God's word." By this sword of your God's word ye would quite smite down all apostolic traditions at a blow. But thanked be God that your sword is a forged sword, a paper sword, a sword that neither with edge cutteth, nor with weight beareth down. St Hierome putteth not all things which we have by tradition from the apostles, without the express scriptures, to the sword of God's word. He speaketh not generally. His word is* alia, *"other things;" and ye make it* omnia, *"all things." Again, he speaketh of such things as be devised and feigned by heretics of their own brain, without authority and testimonies of the scriptures, unto which they give estimation, as though they came by tradition from the apostles. These circumstances and exaggerations do ye omit, and say that St Hierome putteth all apostolic traditions to that dreadful sword of God's word. Now what St Hierome saith, we hold with it, and allow it well. But your saying we refuse, as falsely fathered upon St Hierome. What he condemneth we condemn. Neither can that place be justly alleged against us; for we invent not, ne feign not any things of our own accord, or of our own heads, as though they were delivered by the apostles besides the scriptures: that is the part of heretics, specially of the Tatians; as in that place St Hierome saith. We find, devise, and feign nothing in the catholic religion. We do but keep and maintain things devised by the Holy Ghost, and left to the church by the apostles, or by apostolic men, or by the general councils, "whose authority is in the church most healthful*[8]*," saith St Augustine. But concerning the force which the consent of the fathers had in the judgment of St Hierome, it appeareth in his epistle to Evagrius; where by the authority of the ancient doctors before his time he proveth against an heretic, that Melchisedech was a man of the land of Canaan, and not the Holy Ghost*[9]*.*

Scriptures and Doctors.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Fain would M. Harding have his reader believe that we utterly despise all holy fathers. But we despise them not, M. Harding, as may partly appear by that we have already said. We read their works: we reverence them: we give God thanks for them: we call them the pillars, the lights, the fathers of God's church: we despise them not. This thing only we say: Were their learning and holiness never so great, yet be they not equal in credit with the scriptures of God.

Thus also saith St Augustine: *Nos ... nullam Cypriano facimus injuriam, cum ejus quaslibet literas a canonica divinarum scripturarum auctoritate distinguimus*[10]: "We offer no wrong to St Cyprian when we sever any his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the holy scriptures." And again, joining all the doctors and fathers together, he saith thus: *Ipse mihi pro his omnibus, imo supra hos omnes, apostolus Paulus occurrit. Ad ipsum confugio: ad ipsum ab omnibus qui aliter sentiunt literarum ... tractatoribus provoco*[11]: "Instead of all these learned fathers, or rather above them all, Paul the apostle cometh to my mind. To him I run. To him I appeal from all manner writers" (doctors and fathers) "that think otherwise."

August. contr. Cresc. Gram. Lib. ii. cap. xxxi.

August. ad Hieron. Epist. 19.

So likewise St Hierome: *Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium, et nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores, Græcos pariter et Latinos, ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria*[12]: "I think that the ancient father Origen, in respect of his learning, may be read sometimes, as Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and sundry other ecclesiastical writers, as well Greeks as Latins, that in them we may take the good, and fly[13] the contrary." Of this judgment were St Augus-

Hieron. ad Tranquill. Tom. II.

[7 Of the scriptures, Conf.]

[8 ...plenariis conciliis, quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Inq. Jan. Lib. I. seu Epist. liv. cap. i. 1. Tom. II. col. 124.]

[9 Hieron. Op. ad Evang. Epist. Tom. II. cols. 570, &c.]

[10 August. Op. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. II. cap. xxxi. 39. Tom. IX. col. 430.]

[11 Id. ad Hieron. Epist. lxxxii. cap. iii. 24. Tom. II. col. 199.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Ad Tranquill. Epist. lvi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 589.]

[13 Flee, 1567, 1570.]

Scriptures and Doctors.

tine, St Hierome, and sundry others, whose words, for shortness, I pass over: yet were they not therefore condemned as despisers of the holy learned fathers. We remove you not, as you say, from your hold, M. Harding. This is nothing else but a courage of your countenance. The fathers ye speak of are against you. I trust it appeareth already by your former writings, that, in the special cases that lie between us, ye have but few fathers to hold by.

Ye say, we evermore call you to the scriptures. This fault, I hope, is not so heinous. Christ hath commanded us so to do. "Search ye," saith Christ, "the scriptures." And St Hilary saith unto the emperor Constantius: *Fidem, imperator, quæris? Audi eam, non de novis chartulis, sed de Dei libris*[1]: "Doth your majesty seek the faith? Hear it then, not out of any new scrolls, but out of the books of God." He is rather to be suspected that flieth[2] the light, and will not be judged by the scriptures.

John v.

Hilar. ad Imper. Const.

When the scriptures be dark and doubtful, and are alleged of both parts, then ye say ye refuse not the umpireship and judgment of the Holy Ghost. But ye add farther, The Holy Ghost is promised only to the church. Now by your opinion there is no church but the church of Rome. And the church of Rome is no church without the pope. For one of your great doctors saith: *Potestas papæ solius excedit potestatem totius residuæ ecclesiæ*[3]: "The pope's only power passeth all the power of the whole church besides." And another like doctor saith: *Papa... virtualiter est tota ecclesia*[4]: "The pope by power and virtue is the whole church." And thus your reason goeth round about *a primo ad ultimum; ergo*, there is neither Holy Ghost, nor interpretation, or sense of the scriptures, but only in the pope. This is *summa summarum:* which thing being granted, what should a man seek any farther? The whole matter is at an end.

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4.

Herv. de Potest. Pap. His præmissis.

It is true, as the scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, so must they be expounded by the same. For without that Spirit we have neither ears to hear, nor eyes to see. It is that Spirit that openeth, and no man shutteth: the same shutteth, and no man openeth. The same Spirit prepared and opened the silk-woman's heart, that she should give ear to and consider the things that were spoken by St Paul. And in respect of this Spirit the prophet Esay saith: *Erunt omnes docti a Deo:* "They shall be all taught of God."

2 Pet. i.

Matt. xi.

Rev. iii.

Acts xvi.

John vi.[5]

But God hath not bound himself that his[6] Spirit should evermore dwell in Rome; but upon the lowly and humble-hearted, that trembleth at the word of God. Chrysostom saith: *Qui propria loquuntur, falso prætendunt Spiritum Sanctum*[7]: "They that speak of themselves falsely pretend the Holy Ghost." And again: *Si quid præter evangelium sub titulo Spiritus obtrudatur, ne credamus... Quia sicut Christus legis et prophetarum impletio est, ita est Spiritus evangelii*[8]: "If any thing be brought unto us under the name of the Holy Ghost besides the gospel, let us not believe it. For, as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and the prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the gospel."

Isai. lxvi.

Chrysost. de Sanct. et Ador. Spirit.

Now with what spirit the bishops of Rome have expounded unto us the holy scriptures of God, we shall shew it hereafter, as fitter occasion shall require. Here, you say, we have corrupted both the words and the sense of St Hierome; that we have taken *omnia* instead of *alia;* and that you have devised and made nothing of yourselves; that St Hierome meant not hereby the traditions of the apostles, but only the fond fantasies and dreams of the heretics called Tatians.

Of all these things we must needs confess one thing is true. Indeed we took *omnia* instead of *alia;* and so by oversight gave some occasion unto the quarreller. Howbeit, I doubt not but the indifferent gentle reader will soon pardon that fault: it proceeded only of negligence, and not of malice. Notwithstanding, this want may easily be supplied by a sufficient commentary. For Christ saith: *Omnis plantatio quam non plantaverit Pater meus cœlestis eradica-*

[1 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Const. August. Lib. II. 8. col. 1230.]

[2 Fleeth, 1567, 1570.]

[3 P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. iv. fol. c. vii. 2.]

[4 Herv. de Potest. Pap. Par. 1506. fol. EE. i. 2.]

[5 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[6 This, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Spir. Sanct. Hom. Tom. III. p. 808. This homily appears to be spurious.]

[8 Id. ibid.]

bitur: "Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out." Here, M. Harding, ye may borrow *omnia* to help St Hierome.

Interpretation of the Scriptures.

Or, if this like you not, St Cyprian may tell you: *Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur*[9]: "It is advouterous, it is wicked, it is abominable, whatsoever is ordered by the rashness of man, that God's order should be broken."

Matt. xv. Omnis. Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 8. Quodcunque.

It is true St Hierome speaketh not these words of the traditions of the apostles; it is true. Yet, M. Harding, he speaketh these words of such fantasies as were brought into the church of God, and magnified under the name and colour of the traditions of the apostles. So Eusebius saith the heretic Cerinthus brought us in his own monstrous devices, under the pretence of revelations, as written by some great apostle[10].

Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxviii. δι᾽ αποκαλύψεων, ὡς ὑπό ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων.

Such, M. Harding, be your inventions, wherewith ye have of long time deceived the world. One of your companions, the suffragan of Sidon, at the late diet at Augusta, in the presence of the whole empire, doubted not to say that your whole canon, word by word, even as it is now used in your masses, came directly from the apostles[11]. Your Hosius of Polonia saith that the apostles appointed your orders of monks[12]. Another of your side saith: *Christus dux et signifer vitæ monasticæ*[13]: "Christ was the captain and standard-bearer of monks' life." Imagining, I trow, that Christ was an abbot. And yet afterward the same doctor, either by some oblivion, or else upon some better remembrance, saith thus: *Elias et Elizæus duces instituti Benedictini*[14]: "Elias and Elizæus were the first captains of St Benet's order." And you, M. Harding, have told us often, that ye have your private mass, your half-communion, and I know not what else, all from the apostles. And all this ye prove, God wot, by full simple conjectures, because Christ saith to his apostles, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye are not able to bear them yet;" and because St Paul saith to the Corinthians, "I will order the rest when I come." Hereby ye bear us in hand, that all your most trifling vanities were brought unto you by St Paul, even from the third heavens.

Anno 1548. Illyr. de Sect. p. 109. In Conf. Petricov. de Cerem. p. 229. Corpus Angl. Dial. ii. p. 194. Corpus Angl. Dial. ii. p. 284. John xvi. 1 Cor. xi.

And although it were true that ye say ye have not devised these things of[15] yourselves, but have received them all from the apostles and holy fathers, which thing your conscience knoweth to be most untrue; yet notwithstanding the same things so received ye have sithence foully defaced with sundry your superstitions. Ye have made them necessary to salvation: ye have bound the people to them no less than to the law of God; and so have ye made them snares of christian consciences. Although the thing itself came from the fathers, yet the abuse thereof came from yourselves; and for the same ye have taught the people to break God's express commandment. Thus have you blended God's heavenly wine with your puddle-water: thus have ye strained gnats, and swallowed camels. This is the very leaven of the scribes and Pharisees, which Christ calleth hypocrisy. Therefore, albeit the thing itself ye have thus received, in respect of substance, be all one; yet now being thus abused, in respect of your superstitions and deformities, it is not one.

Isai. i. Matt. xxiii. Matt. xvi.

The apostles and holy fathers used oil; yet they used it not as ye do, for the salvation of body and soul.

Moses erected up the brasen serpent in the wilderness; yet not to be adored with godly honour, as it followed afterward.

Num. xxi. John iii.

God commanded the people to fast; yet not with hypocrisy, as the wicked fasted. And therefore God saith unto them: *Non est hoc jejunium quod ego elegi:* "This is not the fasting that I have chosen."

Joel i. Isai. lviii.

[9 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pleb. Epist. xliii. p. 83.]

[10 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxviii. p. 80.]

[11 Nam licet Sydonius ausus sit coram toto imperio Augustæ anno 1548,...impudenter asseverare, totum canonem ad verbum (ut nunc habetur) inde ab apostolis fuisse.—M. Flac. Illyr. De Sect. &c. Scriptor. et Doct. Pontif. Basil. 1565. p. 109.]

[12 Sunt qui ipsos etiam apostolos cœnobiorum primos auctores fuisse dicant.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. lxxxviii. Tom. I. p. 335.]

[13 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. II. cap. iv. p. 194; where *dux et exemplar monasticæ vitæ.* This, the marginal note, is a summary of the text.]

[14 Id. ibid. cap. xxv. p. 284; where *Benedictini instituti tanquam duces.* This also is the marginal note.]

[15 1567 repeats *of.*]

God commanded the people to keep the calends and new moons; yet not with such superstition and abuses as the people kept them; and therefore God said unto them: "Who required these things at your hands?"

Isai. i.

God commanded sundry bathings and washings; yet unto them that most precisely used the same Christ said: "Wo be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees!" "In vain they worship me, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men."

Matt. xxiii. [xv.]

Yet you, M. Harding, have enfeoffed the apostles of Christ, not only with the substance of the things which, ye say, ye have received by tradition, but also with all your abuses, superstitions, corruptions, and idolatries, which ye have devised of yourselves. And therein ye well resemble the Tatian heretics, of whom only, ye say, St Hierome speaketh. But whether St Hierome meant only I know not what fantastical dreams of the Tatians (as you imagine only of yourself, without proof, in particular naming nothing), or else also all such superstitious vanities, as we have often and justly reproved in you, it may soon appear by these words immediately following: *Omnem laborem manuum, et jejunia eorum, et observationes varias, et* χαμευνίας, *id est, humi dormitiones*[1]: "All their hand-labour, and their fastings, and their observations, and usages, and hard sleeping on the ground." These and such other like be the things which men imagine came from the apostles, and are stricken and consumed with the sword of God's word.

Hieron. in Aggæ. cap. i.

This, M. Harding, notwithstanding your long gloss beside the text, seemeth to be the very meaning of St Hierome.

If ye will yet force the contrary, and turn all from yourselves to the Tatians, as you do, the very two lines next following must needs make you blush at your own error. The words are these: *Hæc autem universa, quæ dixi, possunt de ecclesiæ rectoribus intelligi*[1]: "All these things that I have spoken may be understanded of the rulers of the church." Tell us no more therefore, M. Harding, of your Tatians. For St Hierome himself telleth you, he meant not only them, but also the bishops and rulers of the church. And a little before he saith: *Infertur ... gladius super montes elevantes se adversus scientiam Dei*[1]: "The sword of God's word is laid upon the mountains that lift themselves up against the knowledge of God."

In this sense writeth St Cyprian: *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat* [*omnis*] *error humanus*[2]: "If we return to the head and beginning of our Lord's tradition, all error of man must needs give place."

Cypr. ad Pomp.

In like sense also writeth Tertullian: *Ipsa doctrina hæreticorum cum apostolica comparata, ex diversitate et contrarietate sua, pronunciabit neque apostoli alicujus auctoris esse, neque apostolici*[3]: "The very doctrine of heretics, compared with the apostles' doctrine, by the diversity and contrariety that is between that and the other, will soon pronounce sentence of itself, that neither apostle nor apostolic man was author of it."

Tertull. de Præscr. Hær. p. 81.

Even thus it fareth, M. Harding, with a great heap of your doctrine. Ye say, ye have it by tradition from the apostles. Yet is it utterly void of all authority or testimony of the scriptures. And therefore, as St Hierome saith, it is consumed and stricken down in the conscience of the godly by the only sword of God's holy word, as our eyes see this day; and being compared with the apostles' doctrine (the difference and contrariety is so great) it easily bewrayeth itself, as Tertullian saith, that it never came from any apostle, nor from any other apostolic doctor of the church.

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 4.

St Ambrose also to Gratian[4] the emperor: "Let the scripture," saith he, "be asked the question[5], let the prophets be asked, and let Christ be

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Aggæ. Proph. cap. i. col. 1690.]

[2 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pompei. Epist. lxxiv. p. 215.]

[3 Ipsa enim doctrina eorum cum &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscript. Hæret. cap. xxxii. p. 243.]

[4 Gratianus, Conf.]

[5 Conf. inserts *let the apostles be asked.*]

asked[6]." For at that time made the catholic fathers and bishops no doubt, but that our religion might be proved out of the holy scriptures. Neither were they ever so hardy to take any for an heretic, whose error they could not evidently and apparently reprove by the self-same scriptures. And we verily do make answer on this wise, as St Paul did: According to this way, which they call heresy, we do worship God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and do allow all things which have been written either in the law, or in the prophets, or in the apostles' works. Scriptures and Doctors.

M. HARDING.

Gratian the emperor,...

...buckling himself as it were to encounter with the heretic[7], at the first he giveth warning to all to beware of him, for that he endeavoureth to prove his false doctrine (namely, for the first point, that the Son is unlike the Father) versutis disputationibus, "*with subtle and crafty reasonings.*" *He allegeth to that purpose St Paul to the Colossians:* Cavete ne quis vos depræ- detur per philosophiam: "*Beware that no man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit,*" *&c. For (saith he) these heretics "put all the force of their poisons in logic or dialectical disputation, which by the opinion of philosophers is defined, not to have power to prove, but an earnest desire to destroy and disprove[8]." Having given this wholesome warning, lest himself might seem to use that which he counselleth others to beware of, to withdraw the emperor and other[9] from the guileful logic of Arius, at his first entry he saith: "I will not that thou give credit, holy emperor, to argument, and to our disputation:" then follow the words whereof the defenders take hold:* Scripturas interrogemus, &c.[10]: "*Let us ask the scriptures, let us ask the apostles, let us ask the prophets, let us ask Christ. What need many words? let us ask the Father[11]," &c....*

Cap. ii.

Ambros. de Fide, Lib. i. Cap. iv.

And to this point of our belief, which is very high and secret, is that saying of St Ambrose to be restrained[12]. But that for confirmation of the truth in points which be nearer to common sense, and for confutation of those heresies which be of less subtlety[13], of which sort these gospellers' gross errors be, to this end that we ought not to use the testimonies of the holy fathers against heretics (for which purpose they allege this place), St Ambrose neither in all that book, neither in all his works speaketh so much as one word. Untruth.

But contrariwise in sundry places of that work he allegeth the authority of the Nicene council, as a testimony of good force against the Arians, and declareth a divine mystery to have been signified by such special number of the fathers there assembled:... saying: Sic nempe nostri secundum scripturas dixerunt patres[14]: "*Even thus, according to the scriptures, have the fathers said.*"... Servemus præcepta majorum, &c.[15]: "*Let us keep the precepts of our forefathers, neither with temerity of rude boldness let us break the hereditary seals*" (*he meaneth the doctrine sealed by the fathers, and left to the posterity as it were by heritage*). "*Which of us will be so hardy as to unseal the priestly book, sealed by the confessors, and now consecrated with the martyrdom of many a one?*" *Lo, hear ye not, sirs*, how much St Ambrose is against you?...* * Nothing.

And though he say, touching this mystery, Let us ask the scriptures, apostles, prophets, and Christ; yet thereby doth he not quite exclude the fathers. He saith

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[6 Scripturas interrogemus, interrogemus apostolos, interrogemus prophetas, interrogemus Christum.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Fid. Lib. I. cap. vi. 43. Tom. II. col. 451.]

[7 Heretics, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[8 Omnem enim vim venenorum suorum in dialectica disputatione constituunt, quæ philosophorum sententia definitur non adstruendi vim habere, sed studium destruendi.—Id. ibid. cap. v. 42. ibid.]

[9 And all other, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10 Sed nolo argumento credas, sancte imperator, et nostræ disputationi: scripturas &c. Quid multa? Patrem interrogemus.—Id. ibid. cap. vi. 43. ibid.]

[11 Fathers, 1609, 1611.]

[12 Strained, 1609, 1611.]

[13 Subtility, Conf.]

[14 Id. ibid. cap. xviii. 119. col. 467.]

[15 Servemus igitur præcepta majorum, nec hæreditaria signacula ausi rudis temeritate violemus... Librum sacerdotalem quis nostrum resignare audeat, signatum a confessoribus, et multorum jam martyrio consecratum?—Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. xv. 128. col. 519.]

Scriptures and Doctors.

not, Let us reject the fathers. The scriptures and the fathers be not contrary; and therefore the allowing of them is not the disallowing of these. Whosoever maketh this argument, which in your word is implied, The scriptures are to be asked;* ergo, *the holy fathers are not to be asked; maketh a foolish argument....*

* Untruth.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The greatest force hereof is answered already. St Ambrose, ye say, by this appeal to the scriptures, excludeth not the judgment of the learned fathers, but only the cavillations and subtleties of philosophers and sophisters: for St Ambrose himself, in the same treaty, often allegeth the authority of the fathers. All this, M. Harding, is true indeed; notwithstanding there is a certain secret untruth lapped in it. For St Ambrose allegeth the fathers not as grounds, or principles, or foundations of the faith, but only as interpreters, or witnesses, or consenters unto the faith; which thing of our part was never denied. Now, whether St Ambrose meant thus or no, let St Ambrose himself be the judge. His words be these: *Sic nempe nostri secundum scripturas dixerunt patres*[1]: "Thus have our fathers said (not of themselves, but) according to the scriptures." He allegeth the fathers, not as having sufficient credit and substance in themselves, but only as expounders and interpreters of the scriptures.

Ambros. ad Grat. de Fid. Lib. i.

So saith the godly father Athanasius: *Nos ista hausimus a magistris divinitus afflatis, qui sacros libros evolverunt*[2]: "These things have we learned of our masters (or fathers) inspired from heaven, which have read and perused the holy scriptures." For St Augustine very well saith: *Secundum hos libros de ceteris literis vel fidelium vel infidelium libere judicamus*[3]: "According to these[4] books of the scriptures we judge frankly of all other writings, whether they be of the faithful or of the unfaithful." Therefore St Hierome saith: *Omni studio legendæ nobis sunt scripturæ, et in lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte; ut probati trapezitæ sciamus, quis numus probus sit, quis adulterinus*[5]: "We must read the scriptures with all diligence, and must be occupied in the law of our Lord both day and night; that we may become perfect[6] exchangers, and be able rightly to discern what money is lawful, and what is counterfeit." St Hilary saith: *Hoc proprium est apostolicæ doctrinæ, Deum ex lege ac prophetis in evangeliis prædicare*[7]: "This is the very order of the apostles' doctrine, in the gospel to preach God out of the law and the prophets."

Athanas. de Human. Verb. p. 72.

August. contr. Cresc. Gram Lib. ii. cap. xxxi.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Eph. Lib. iii. cap. v.

Hilar. in Psal. lxv.

Otherwise, touching the discourse of natural reason, St Ambrose saith no creature either in earth or in heaven is able to reach the depth of these things. Thus he saith: *Mens deficit, vox silet, non mea tantum, sed... angelorum. Supra potestates, supra angelos, supra cherubim, supra seraphim, supra omnem sensum est*[8]: "The mind is astonied[9], the voice faileth, not only mine, but also of the angels. It is above the powers, above the angels, above the cherubims[10], above the seraphims[10], and above all manner understanding." And therefore he saith, as it is alleged once before: *Nolo nobis credatur: scriptura recitetur: non ego dico a me,... In principio erat Verbum, sed audio*[11]: "I would not ye should believe me: let the scriptures be read: I say not of myself[12], 'In the beginning was the Word,' but I hear it spoken." And again he saith in the same book unto the emperor Gratian: *Facessat nostra sententia: Paulum interrogemus*[13]: "Let our judgment stand apart; and let us ask St Paul the question." But M. Hard-

Ambros. ad Grat. de Fid. Lib. i. cap. v.

Ambros. de Incarn. Dominic. Sacram. cap. iii.

Ambros. ad Grat. Imper. Lib. i. cap. vii.

[1 Id. ibid. Lib. I. cap. xviii. 119. col. 467.]

[2 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. De Incarn. Verb. Dei. 56. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 96; where the last clause is οἳ καὶ μάρτυρες τῆς Χριστοῦ θεότητος γεγόνασι.]

[3 ...secundum quos de &c. judicemus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. II. cap. xxxi. 39. Tom. IX. col. 430.]

[4 Those, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 378; where *scripturæ sunt*, and *adulter*.]

[6 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Hoc enim proprium apostolicæ doctrinæ est, Deum &c.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tract. in Psal. lxv. 17. col. 179.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Fid. Lib. I. cap. x. 64. Tom. I. col. 456.]

[9 Astonned, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Cherubins, seraphins, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Id. De Incarn. Dom. Sacr. cap. iii. 14. Tom. I. col. 706.]

[12 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Id. De Fid. Lib. I. cap. xvi. 103. Tom. I. col. 464.]

ing saith: "Whosoever maketh this argument, which in your word is implied, The scriptures are to be asked; *ergo*, the holy fathers are not to be asked; maketh a foolish argument."

It seemeth no great point of wisdom, M. Harding, to upbraid others with folly without cause: God increase both you and us in all wisdom and understanding in Christ Jesus[14]! Howbeit our argument, howsoever it hath pleased you to fashion and to handle it, as we meant it and made it, had no such folly. Wherefore whatsoever folly is now come to it, it is your own: it is not ours. For we deny not the learned fathers' expositions and judgments in doubtful cases of the scriptures. We read them ourselves: we follow them: we embrace them: and, as I said before, we most humbly thank God for them. But thus we say: The same fathers' opinions and judgments, forasmuch as they are sometimes disagreeable one from another, and sometimes imply contrarieties and contradictions, therefore alone and of themselves, without farther authority and guiding of God's word, are not always sufficient warrants to charge our faith. And thus the learned catholic fathers themselves have evermore taught us to esteem and to weigh the fathers.

The ancient father Origen saith thus, as it is reported before: *Ex solis scripturis examinationis nostræ discretio petenda est*[15]: "The discussing of our judgment must be taken only of the scriptures." And again: *Sensus nostri et enarrationes sine scripturis testibus non habent fidem*[16]: "Our judgments and expositions, without witness of the scriptures, have no credit." Likewise St Augustine: [*Ego*] *solis canonicis* [*scripturis*] *debeo sine ulla recusatione consensum*[17]: "My consent without exception I owe (not unto any father, were he never so well learned, but) only to the holy canonical scriptures." His reason is this: *Nam cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, Illa vel illa sunt? Aut si dicere audet, unde probat*[18]? "For, whereas the Lord himself hath not spoken, who of us can say, it is this or that? Or, if he dare say so, how can he prove it?"

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xvi. Ex solis.

Orig. in Jer. Hom. 1.

August. de Nat. et Grat. cap. lxi.

August. in Joh. Tract. 96.

And therefore he concludeth directly and in like words with St Ambrose: *Ego vocem pastoris inquiro. Lege hoc mihi de propheta: lege... de psalmo: recita... de lege: recita de evangelio: recita de apostolo*[19]: "I require the voice of the shepherd. Read me this matter out of the prophets[20]: read it me out of the psalms: read it out of the law: read it out of the gospel: read it out of the apostles."

August. de Pastor. cap. xiv.

The Apology, Chap. x. Division 1.

Wherefore, if we be heretics, and they (as they would fain be called) be catholics, why do they not as they see the fathers, which were catholic men, have always done? Why do they not convince and master us by the divine scriptures? Why do they not call us again to be tried by them? Why do they not lay before us how we have gone away from Christ, from the prophets, from the apostles, and from the holy fathers? Why stick they to do it? Why are they afraid of it? It is God's cause. Why are they doubtful to commit it to the trial of God's word? If we be heretics, which refer all our controversies unto the holy scriptures, and report us to the self-same words which we know were sealed by God himself, and in comparison of them set little by all other things, whatsoever may be devised by men, how shall we say to these folk, I pray you? what manner of men be they, and how is it meet to call them, which fear

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[14 Jesu, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xvi. 35. Tom. IV. p. 684. See before, page 228, note 6.]

[16 Id. in Jer. Hom. i. 7. Tom. III. p. 129. See before, page 228.]

[17 August. Op. De Nat. et Grat. cap. lxi. 71. Tom. X. col. 158.]

[18 Quæ cum ipse tacuerit, &c. Ista vel &c. audeat, &c.—Id. In Johan. Evang. cap. xvi. Tractat. xcvi. 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 734.]

[19 Id. De Pastor. Serm. xlvi. cap. xiv. 32. Tom. V. col. 242.]

[20 Prophet, 1567, 1570.]

the judgment of the holy scriptures, that is to say, the judgment of God himself, and do prefer before them their own dreams and full cold inventions; and, to maintain their own traditions, have defaced and corrupted now these many hundred years the ordinances of Christ and of the apostles?

M. HARDING.

We do so. For they condemn[1] *those that went against the tradition of the fathers, and so do we. The scriptures consist not in ink and paper, but in the sense. Which sense the Holy Ghost by Christ's promise hath taught the church....* *John xiv.*

Epiphanius, refuting the heretics which named themselves "apostolics," saith that "the scriptures have need of speculation (that is to wit, to be well studied and considered), to the end the force and power of every argument may be known. It behoveth us also," saith he, "to use the tradition; for we cannot have all things of the holy scripture[2]*." Thus Epiphanius. By tradition without doubt he meaneth the sense and understanding received of the fathers: for that is the key of the word of God, as St Peter taught by report of St Clement*[3]*. This sense and understanding of the law had the ministers of the law, to whom the traditions of Moses and of the elders came as it were by hands. Now we require you to admit this tradition, that is to say, the catholic sense and understanding of the scriptures, which hath been delivered unto us by the holy fathers of all ages and of all countries where the faith hath been received. And then we will call you again to be tried by the scriptures....* *Hæres. 61.* *Scripture needeth speculation.* *Tradition necessary, because scripture hath not all things.* *Recognition. Lib. x.*

This have the catholics laid before you oftentimes; and this do we shew you in this Confutation. "He that despiseth you despiseth me," saith Christ of his church. Ye despise the catholic church, and therefore ye[4] *despise Christ....* *Luke x.*

What need so many questions, sirs? Your hot rhetoric sheweth more courage in word than victory in deed. Ye call us forth to the scriptures, as it were to the field. Ye strike us down with words before ye come to encounter. To shew your bravery in the muster, ye refer your controversies to[5] *the holy scriptures, ye report you unto*[6] *the words sealed by God himself; but we the catholics, as ye pretend, stick at it, we be afraid of it, we doubt of the matter, we fear the judgment of holy scriptures, we prefer our own dreams and cold inventions. Well, now that ye have told your lusty tale, hear our sober answer.... Oftentimes the true scriptures are stretched forth to serve evil and false purposes. The Jews went about by the scriptures to prove that Christ was not so much as a prophet; for they said, *"Search the scriptures, and see that a prophet riseth not out of Galilee." By the scriptures they would needs shew him worthy to die: "We have a law," quoth*[7] *they, "and by our law he ought to die, because he hath made himself the Son of God." The devil, by alleging scripture, would have deceived our Saviour himself, and said unto him:* Scriptum est: *"It is written." The Arians were full of the scriptures, and by the same, as St Ambrose writeth, went about to prove that Christ, the author of all goodness, was not good. It is written, quoth they,* Nemo bonus nisi unus Deus: *"None is good but only*[8] *God." Likewise the Macedonians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians....* *Great brags made by the defenders of the assurance of the scriptures.* * Untruth. For the words are otherwise. *John vii.* *John xix.* *Matt. iv.* *De Fide, Lib. ii. Cap. i.* *Mark x.*

Now in this case, yourselves doing the like, what may we do better than honour the scriptures, and seek for their right sense and understanding? Scriptum est:

[1 Condemned, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[2 Θεωρίας δὲ δεῖται, καὶ αἰσθήσεως, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ἑκάστης ὑποθέσεως τὴν δύναμιν. δεῖ δὲ καὶ παραδόσει κεχρῆσθαι· οὐ γὰρ πάντα ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς δύναται λαμβάνεσθαι.—Epiphan. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lx. Tom. I. p. 511.]

[3 Clement. Recogn. Lib. x. 42. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. I. p. 597.]

[4 You, Def. 1570, 1609.]

[5 Unto, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6 To, Conf.]

[7 Quod, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 One, Conf.]

"It is scripture (saith St Ambrose to the allegation of the Arians), I acknowledge; but the letter hath not the error: would God the Arians' interpretation had not! Apices sine crimine sunt, sensus in crimine[9]: *The letters be without crime, the sense is in crime." "From the understanding cometh heresy, not*[10] *from the scripture: the sense, not the word, becometh to be a crime*[11]*," saith St Hilary. Sithence then all standeth in the sense, let us agree first upon the sense and interpretation of the scriptures; and then, if we be not as ready as ye, come forth when ye list, upbraid us hardly, and say lustily as here ye do, "Why stick they to do it? Why are they afraid of it?"*

Hilar. de Trinit. Lib. ii.

As for the true sense and interpretation of the scriptures, where shall we find it, but, as before we said, in the catholic church? The church, having Christ remaining with it "all days to the end of the world," having by promise of Christ the Spirit of truth remaining in it for ever, having by God's own ancient promise both the words which the Father hath put in the mouth of Christ, and the Spirit which he put in him, whereby it may understand the meaning of God's words; we may not now seek for the true sense, understanding, and interpretation of the scriptures any where but in the church. Your own doctor, John Calvin himself, whom ye follow and esteem so much, admonisheth very well, and saith: "It is specially to be noted that out of the church there is no light of the sound understanding of the [12]*scripture*[13]*." This ground being laid, on which each part must stand and be tried in, crow no more against us, boast yourselves no more; we fear not the judgment of the holy scriptures. Nay, it is yourselves that fear this judgment: for your own conscience telleth you that on this ground ye are the weaker side. If ye stand with us on this ground, ye shall never be able to defend your master John Calvin's doctrine touching baptism, which he maketh to be of so little force, against the manifest scripture: "Let every one of you," saith St Peter, "be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, to remission of sins." Keeping this ground, *ye shall be borne from your doctrine touching absolution, denying the priest to have power to absolve penitents by his priestly authority, but by preaching the gospel to them, contrary to the plain scripture: "Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven to them; whose ye retain, they are retained." If ye refuse not this ground, ye shall be forced to restore the sacrament of extreme unction and the use of holy oil again, which ye have abandoned. For what have ye to say against the scripture? "Is any sick among you? let him cause the priests of the church to come in to him, anointing him with oil in the name of our Lord." Abiding in this ground, ye shall be driven to forsake your Zuinglian doctrine, which putteth signs and figures 1. only in the sacrament of the altar, for the true and real body of Christ there 2. present, contrary to the 3. clear scripture, "This is my body." Being on this ground, ye shall soon give over the maintenance of the doctrine of your special faith, and of your justification by faith only, as being contrary to the plain scripture, "Man is justified by works, and not by faith only." To conclude (for to shew in how many points ye may be confuted by evident scriptures it were in manner infinite), if ye will admit this for a good ground, as ye must needs admit, then shall ye not maintain the presumptuous doctrine of your certainty of grace and salvation, contrary to that St Paul counselleth, "With fear and trembling work your salvation."*

Matt. xxviii. John xiv. Isai. lix.

In Epist. ad Hebræos.

Untruth.

Untruth. For he debaseth not the sacrament of baptism. * Untruth.

James v.

Three evident untruths.

James ii.

Phil. ii.

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Whereas we make reasonable request, that God may be umpire in his own cause, and that all our controversies may be judged and tried by the holy scriptures, M. Harding thereto answereth thus: The scripture standeth not in the words, but in the sense; and the same sense is continued by tradition in

[9 Scriptum est, inquiunt, Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus. Scriptum agnosco: sed litera errorem non habet; utinam Arriana interpretatio non haberet! Apices &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Fid. Lib. II. cap. i. 16. Tom. II. col. 473.]

[10 Nor, Def. 1570.]

[11 De intelligentia enim hæresis, non de scriptura est; et sensus, non sermo fit crimen.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. II. 3. col. 789.]

[12 Scriptures, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 The editor has not found the passage referred to.]

the church. Otherwise, he saith, the Jews, the Arians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and all other heretics were always able to claim by the scriptures. To conclude, he maketh up a great empty heap of the force of baptism, of holy oil, of extreme unction, of absolution, of signs, of figures, of only faith, and (as it liketh him to call it) of the presumptuous doctrine of the certainty of salvation; in every of which things, he saith, the scriptures are clear of his side, and directly against us.

To answer all these points in particular it would require another book. But, briefly to touch so much only as shall be needful: First, that the substance of the scriptures standeth in the right sense and meaning, and not only in the naked and bare words, it is true and generally granted without exception, and needeth no further[1] proof. St Hierome saith: *Non in legendo, sed intelligendo*[2] *scripturæ consistunt*[3]: "The scriptures stand not in the reading, but in the understanding." And St Hilary: *Non... divinorum dictorum, sed intelligentiæ nostræ a nobis ratio præstanda est*[4]: "We must yield an account, not of God's divine words, but of our own expositions."

Hieron. contr. Lucif.

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. iv. p. 39.

But, if that only be the right meaning and sense of the scriptures, that within these few late hundred years is cropen into the church of Rome; and if it be all gospel, whatsoever it be, that arriveth from thence; and if they be all heretics and schismatics, and despisers of Christ and of the apostles and of the universal church, that make stay at it, or cannot receive it, then is the whole matter already concluded; we shall need no more ado.

Ye say, the Jews, the Arians, the Nestorians, and other heretics alleged the scriptures. Yea, verily, M. Harding, and that even with like faith and in like sense and to like purpose as you allege them now; as hereafter I trust it shall appear. By the way, for example hereof, in this very place, where you allege the words of the Pharisees avouching the scriptures, it may please you to remember, that either wittingly or of some error and oversight ye have manifestly corrupted the scriptures. For, whereas you have translated the place thus, "Search the scriptures;" the Pharisees said nothing else but *Scrutare et vide*, "Search and see;" and spake not one word of the scriptures. And although the matter import not much, yet to charge you with your own rule, which must needs be good against yourself, any small fault in God's word must be counted great. Indeed St Chrysostom[5] and St Augustine[6] seem to supply this word "scriptures," although it were not in the text.

John vii. Ἐρεύνησον, καὶ ἰδὲ ὅτι προφήτης ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας οὐκ ἐγήγερται.

Chrysostom. Augustinus.

Touching the matter itself Nicolaus Lyra saith: *Hoc verbum eorum simpliciter falsum est: quia, si intelligatur de prophetis generaliter, aliqui fuerunt nati de Galilæa; videlicet, Elizæus, Tobias, et Debora prophetissa, et forte plures alii*[7]: "This word of the Pharisees is plainly false: for, if it be taken generally of all prophets, then were there certain of them born in Galilee, namely Elizæus, Tobias, Debora, and perchance others more." In such sort, M. Harding, even with the[8] like faith and credit, you also have used to allege the scriptures.

Nicol. Lyr. in vii. cap. Johan.

But whereto drive you all this long tale? Will you in the end conclude thus, The Jews and heretics alleged the scriptures; *ergo*, faithful Christians may not allege them? Or thus, Thieves have sometimes armed themselves; *ergo*, true men may not be armed? Nay, we may rather say thus unto you, The Jews and heretics alleged the scriptures; what account then may we make of you, that flee and condemn and burn the scriptures?

Certainly, notwithstanding Pharisees[9] and heretics wickedly misalleged the scriptures, as ye sometimes do to serve your[10] purpose; yet for all that Christ

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[1 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[2 In intelligendo, 1567, 1570.]

[3 ...quum...scripturæ non in legendo consistant, sed in intelligendo.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 306.]

[4 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. IV. 19. col. 839.]

[5 Οἱ δὲ ὑβριστικῶς, ὡς οὐκ εἰδότι περὶ τῶν γραφῶν οὐδὲν, ταῦτα ἐπήγαγον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. lii. Tom. VIII. p. 306.]

[6 Quid ergo illi quasi legis doctores ad Nicodemum dixerunt? Scrutare scripturas, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vii. Tractat. xxxiii. 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 530.]

[7 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Joh. cap. vii. Pars V. fol. 210; where *est falsum*, and *Galileus* for *Elizeus*.]

[8 1567 omits *the*.]

[9 The Pharisees, 1567.]

[10 You, 1611.]

said unto them: *Scrutamini scripturas:* "Search the scriptures." And, as it is said before, the catholic learned fathers, in all their cases and controversies, appealed evermore to the scriptures[11]. John v. Cap. ix. Div. 1.

Where you say the scriptures are so clear of your side, and make so directly against us, would God ye would indeed and unfeignedly stand to that trial! Your fancies and follies would soon come to ground.

Touching your great heaps[12] of examples, of the sacrament of baptism defaced, as you say, by M. Calvin, of absolution, of extreme unction, of holy oil, of signs, of figures, of only faith, and of the certainty of salvation, which you call presumptuous; first, of the sacrament of baptism M. Calvin every where writeth with all manner reverence, calling it a divine and an heavenly mystery, and the sacrament of our redemption: wherein also sometimes he justly reproveth you, for that ye have so many ways so profanely and so unreverently abused the same. Oil. Figure. Sign.

Of absolution we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

Touching your oil, indeed in shew of words St James seemeth to make somewhat for you. Notwithstanding, neither doth he call it holy oil, as ye do, neither doth he call it a sacrament of the church; nor doth he say, as ye say, it should serve for the salvation of body and soul; nor doth he teach you to salute it, and to speak unto it as to a lively and reasonable creature, *Ave, sanctum oleum,* "All hail, holy oil;" nor with these words to minister it unto the sick: *Per hanc sanctam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam ignoscat tibi Deus*[13]*:* "By this holy anointing, and his dear mercy, God pardon thee." To be short, it was a miraculous gift of healing, lasting only, as other like miracles did, for the time; not a necessary sacrament of the church to continue for ever.

As for the objection of signs and figures, for shortness of time I must refer thee, gentle reader, unto my former reply to M. Harding[14]. The words of Christ, which are thought to be so plain, the ancient learned father Tertullian expoundeth thus: *Hoc est corpus meum: ... hoc est, figura corporis mei*[15]*:* "'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body." Likewise St Augustine: *Non ... dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*[16]*:* "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a sign of his body." The 12th Article. Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv. p. 233. Figure. Sign.

To rehearse all other like ancient authorities, it were too long. O what triumphs would Master Harding make, if none of all the old learned fathers could be found that ever had called the sacrament the sign and figure of Christ's body! But, as before he alleged an imagined sense of the scriptures without words, so now he allegeth the words alone without sense. He should have remembered better that St Hierome saith: *Ne putemus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu*[17]*:* "Let us not think the gospel standeth in the words of the scriptures, but in the meaning." Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

Two other great quarrels Master Harding moveth; the one of only faith, the other (as he calleth it) of the presumptuous certainty of salvation. Wherein judge thou uprightly, good christian reader, how just cause he hath to reprove our doctrine.

As for the first hereof, St Paul saith: *Justificamur gratis ex gratia ipsius:* "We be justified freely of his grace:" "we judge that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law:" "we know that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ." M. Harding will say, Yet hitherto of *sola fides,* that is, of "only faith," we hear nothing. Notwithstanding, when St Paul excludeth all manner works besides only faith, what else then leaveth he but faith alone? Rom. iii.

Howbeit, if it be so horrible an heresy to say we be justified before God by

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[11 See before, pages 227, &c.]

[12 Heap, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Pontifical. Rom. Antv. 1627. De Offic. in Quint. Fer. Cœn. Dom. p. 412; Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555. De Extr. Unct. foll. 94, &c. See before, page 177, and Vol. II. page 1136.]

[14 See Vol. II. pages, 590, &c.]

[15 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571; where *id est.*]

[16 August. Op. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit,* and *signum daret.*]

[17 Nec putemus &c.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 230.]

only faith, that is to say, only by the merits and cross of Christ; let us see what the holy learned fathers of the church so many hundred years ago have taught us thereof.

Ambros. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. iv.

St Ambrose saith: *Justificati sunt gratis, quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, sola fide justificati sunt dono Dei*[1]: "They are justified freely; because, working nothing, and requiting nothing, they are justified by only faith through the gift of God." Again: *Sic decretum est a Deo, ut, cessante lege, solam fidem gratia Dei posceret ad salutem*[2]: "This was God's determination, that, the law surceasing, the grace of God should require only faith unto salvation." And again: *Sola fides posita est ad salutem*[3]: "Only faith is laid or appointed unto salvation." St Basil saith: *Novit se esse inopem veræ justitiæ; sola autem fide in Christum esse justificatum*[4]: "He knoweth himself to be void of true righteousness, and to be justified by only faith in Christ."

Ambros. eodem loco.

Ambros. in Epist ad Rom. cap. ix.

Basil. de Humil.

πίστει δὲ μόνῃ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν δεδικαιωμένον.

Theod. de Curand. Græc. Affect. Lib. vii.

Theodoretus saith: *Non ullis operibus nostris, sed per solam fidem mystica bona consequuti sumus*[5]: "Not by any works of ours, but by only faith we have gotten the mystical good things."

Nazianzenus saith: Δικαιοσύνη.... καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον: *Credere solum est justitia*[6]: "Only believing is righteousness."

Nazianz. περὶ Εὐταξίας.

Origen saith: *Ubi est gloriatio tua? Exclusa est.... Dicit sufficere solius fidei justificationem; ita ut credens quis tantummodo justificetur, etiamsi nihil boni operis fecerit*[7]: "Where now is thy boasting" of thy good works? "It is shut out. Paul saith that the justification of only faith is sufficient; so that a man only believing may be justified, although he have done no good works[8] at all."

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. iii. Lib. iii.

Hesychius saith: *Gratia... ex misericordia atque compassione præbetur, et fide comprehenditur sola*[9]: "The grace of God is given only of mercy and favour; and is embraced and received by only faith."

Hesych. in Lev. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.[10]

I leave a great number of others that have written the like, as well Greeks as Latins. Instead of them all St Chrysostom saith thus: *Illi dicebant, Qui sola fide nititur, execrabilis est; hic contra demonstrat eum, qui sola fide nititur, benedictum esse*[11]: "They said, Whoso stayeth himself by only faith is accursed; contrariwise St Paul proveth, that whoso stayeth himself by only faith, he is blessed."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iii.

Touching the words of St James, if M. Harding well considered the equivocation or double understanding of this word "justification," he might soon and easily have espied his own error. For, when St Paul saith, "Abraham was justified by faith, without works of the law," he teacheth us how Abraham was received into favour, and justified before God. Of the other side, St James, when he saith, "Abraham was justified by works, and not by faith only," he speaketh of the works that follow justification, and of the fruits of faith; without which fruits Abraham's faith had been no faith.

Rom. iv.

St Augustine saith: *Non sunt... contrariæ duorum apostolorum sententiæ, Pauli et Jacobi, cum dicit Paulus, justificari hominem... sine operibus; et Jacobus dicit, inanem esse fidem sine operibus: quia Paulus loquitur de operibus, quæ fidem præcedunt; Jacobus de iis quæ fidem sequuntur*[12]: "The sayings of the two apostles, Paul and James, are not contrary; whereas Paul saith, 'A man is justified without works,' and James saith, 'Faith without works is in vain:' for Paul speaketh of the works that go before faith; James speaketh of the works that follow after faith."

August. in Lib. lxxxiii. Quæst. Quæst. 76.

James ii.

[1 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. iii. v. 24. Tom. II. Append. col. 46.]

[2 Id. ibid. cap. iv. v. 5. col. 48; where *decretum dicit a.*]

[3 Id. ibid. cap. ix. v. 28. col. 84.]

[4 Basil. Op. Par. 1721–30. De Humil. Hom. xx. 3. Tom. II. p. 158.]

[5 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. vii. Tom. IV. p. 587.]

[6 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. De Mod. Orat. xxxii. 25. Tom. I. p. 596.]

[7 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. III. cap. iii. 9. Tom. IV. p. 516; where *nihil ab eo operis fuerit expletum.*]

[8 Work, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Hesych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. fol. 81.]

[10 1567, 1570 omit the latter part of this reference.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. iii. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. pp. 698, 9.]

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxxvi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 68; where *dicit unus, et alius dicit, quia ille dicit de,* and *iste de iis.*]

If M. Harding shall think St Augustine's authority herein is not sufficient, Thomas of Aquine will avouch the same. His words be these: [*Jacobus*] *hic... loquitur de operibus sequentibus fidem; quæ dicuntur justificare, non secundum quod justificare dicitur justitiæ infusio, sed secundum quod dicitur justitiæ exercitatio, vel ostensio, vel consummatio. Res enim dicitur fieri, quando perficitur, vel innotescit*[13]: "James in this place speaketh of such works as follow faith; which works are said to justify, not as justification is the procuring of righteousness, but in that it is an exercise or a shewing or a perfecting[14] of righteousness. For we say a thing is done, when it is perfected[15] or known to be done." Certainty of Faith. Thom. Aquin. in Epist. Jacob. cap. v.

Now concerning the assurance or certainty of salvation the scriptures are full. St Paul saith: "There is no damnation to them that are[16] in Christ Jesus[17]:" "The Spirit of God beareth witness to our spirit, that we are the children of God:" "I know that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor powers, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor[18] depth, nor any creature else, shall be able to remove me from that love that God beareth towards me in Christ Jesus[17] our Lord." Rom. viii.

But, forasmuch as these words perhaps have not the sense of the church of Rome, without which, in M. Harding's judgment, the scripture of God is no scripture, let us see the sense and exposition of the holy fathers.

Tertullian saith: *Ut certum esset nos esse filios Dei, misit Spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem, Abba, Pater*[19]: "That we might be certified that we be the children of God, he hath sent the Holy Ghost into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. v. p. 240.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Re vera sanguis fidei est spes, in qua continetur, ut fides in anima. Cum autem spes exspiraverit, perinde ac si sanguis effluxerit, vitalis fidei facultas dissolvitur*[20]: "Indeed hope is as it were the blood of faith, in which faith hope is contained even as faith is contained in the soul. And, when hope is gone, then is all the lively power of faith dissolved, as if the blood were shed out of the body." Clem. in Pæd. Lib. i. cap. vi.

St Cyprian saith: *Et tu dubitas* [*et fluctuas*]? *Hoc est Deum omnino non nosse: hoc est Christum credentium... magistrum peccato incredulitatis offendere: hoc est in ecclesia constitutum fidem in domo fidei non habere*[21]: "And dost thou stagger, and stand in doubt" of thy salvation? "That were as much as not to know God: that were as much as with the sin of unbelief to offend Christ, the master of believers: that were as much as being in the church, in the house of faith, to have no faith." Cypr. de Mort. Serm. 4.

Prosper saith: *Securi... diem judicii exspectant, quibus in cruce Domini gloriantibus mundus... crucifixus est, et ipsi mundo*[22]: "They unto whom the world is crucified, and are crucified unto the world, wait for the day of judgment without fear." Prosp. De Promis. et Prædict. Dei, Par. 1. cap. xvi.

But, to leave the ancient fathers of old time, and to put the matter quite out of doubt, one Antonius[23] Marinarius, in the late council of Trident, in open audience said thus: *Si cœlum ruat, si terra evanescat, si orbis illabatur præceps, ego in eum erectus ero. Si angelus de cœlo aliud mihi persuadere contendat, dicam illi anathema. O felicem christiani pectoris fiduciam*[24]! "If the heaven should fall, if the earth should vanish, if the whole world should come down headlong, yet would I stand prest and bold before God. If an angel from heaven would tell me otherwise, I would accurse him. O the blessed trust" and certainty "of a christian heart!" Concil. Trid. Act. 1. Anno 1546.

Certainly, M. Harding, it were a very presumptuous part to say that these fathers, Greeks, Latins, new, old, your own, and ours, were all presumptuous. If it be so presumptuous a matter to put affiance in the merits of Christ, what is

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[13] Aquin. in Sing. Canon. Epist. Par. 1543. Comm. in B. Jacob. Epist. cap. ii. fol. 25; where *non secundum quod justificatio.*]

[14] Perfiting, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Perfited, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Be, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Jesu, 1567, 1570.] [18] No, 1570.]

[19] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. v. 4. p. 581; where *filios Dei esse.*]

[20] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. I. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 121.]

[21] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Mortal. p. 158.]

[22] Prosper. Op. Par. 1711. De Promiss. et Prædict. Dei, Pars I. cap. xvi. Append. col. 103. This work is not really by Prosper.]

[23] Antoninus, 1611.]

[24] Anton. Marin. Orat. Dom. Quart. in Quadr. anno 1547. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1038; where *dicam ei.*]

Gal. vi. it then to put affiance in our own merits? St Paul hath taught us to say: "God forbid that I should glory, but only in the cross of Christ." St Basil saith: *Qui non fidit suis meritis, nec exspectat ex operibus justificari, unam et solam spem habet salutis suæ misericordias Domini*[1]: "Whoso trusteth not in his own merits, nor looketh to be justified by his works[2], hath his only hope of salvation in the mercies of our Lord."

Basil. in Psal. xxxii. μόνην ἔχει τὴν ἐλπίδα ... τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Job xiii. So saith Job in all his miseries: *Etiamsi me occiderit, sperabo in eum: verumtamen vias meas in conspectu ejus arguam:* "Although he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him; notwithstanding I will reprove my ways before his sight." So the prophet David: "In thee, O Lord, have I trusted: I will never be[3] confounded." This is no presumption, but a patient and an humble waiting for the redemption of the children of God. It is most true that St Paul saith: "We must work our own salvation with fear and trembling:" but this fear riseth in consideration of our own weakness and unworthiness, not of any distrust or doubt in God's mercy; but rather, the less cause we find to trust in ourselves, the more cause we have to trust in God. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Præsume, non de operatione tua, sed de Christi gratia. Gratia enim salvati estis, inquit apostolus. Non ergo hic arrogantia est, sed fides. Prædicare quod acceperis, non est superbia sed devotio*[4]: "Presume thou not of thine own working, but of the grace of Christ. For the apostle saith, 'Ye are saved by grace.' Here therefore is not presumption, but faith. To proclaim that thou hast received it is no pride, it is devotion."

Psal. lxxl.

Phil. ii.

August. de Verb. Dom. Serm. 28.

Again he saith: *Non mea præsumptione, sed ipsius promissione, in judicium non venio*[5]: "It is not of my presumption, but of his promise, that I shall not come into judgment." St Basil saith: *Paulus gloriatur de contemptione justitiæ suæ*[6]: "Paul" presumeth and "boasteth of the contempt of his own righteousness." So saith St Ambrose: *Non gloriabor, quia justus sum; sed quia redemptus sum, gloriabor: ... non quia vacuus sum a peccatis, sed quia mihi remissa sunt peccata. Non gloriabor, quia profui, neque quia profuit mihi quisquam; sed quia pro me Advocatus apud Patrem Christus est; sed quia pro me Christi sanguis effusus est*[7]: "I will not glory for that I am a just man; but for that I am redeemed, therefore will I glory; not for that I am void of sin, but for that my sins be forgiven me. I will not glory for that I have done good to any man, nor for that any man hath done good to me; but for that Christ is my Advocate with the Father, and for that Christ's blood was shed for me."

August. in Johan. Tract. 22.

Basil. de Humil. Καυχᾶται Παῦλος ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονῆσαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνης.

Ambros. de Jacob. et Vit. Beat. Lib. i. cap. vi.[8]

Therefore St Augustine saith: *Quid retribuam Domino, quod recolit hæc memoria mea, et anima mea non metuit inde*[9]? "What shall I render unto our Lord, for that I call to remembrance all these my sins, and yet my soul thereof is not afraid?"

August. Conf. Lib. ii. cap. vii.

To be short, thus saith St Bernard: *Ubi tuta firmaque infirmis securitas et requies, nisi in vulneribus Salvatoris? Tanto illic securior habito, quanto ille potentior est ad salvandum, &c. Peccavi peccatum grande: turbatur conscientia, sed non perturbabitur; quoniam vulnerum Domini recordabor. Nempe vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras*[10]: "What safe rest or surety can the weak soul find, but in the wounds of our Saviour? As he is mightier to save, so dwell I there with more safety, &c. I have committed a great sin: my conscience is troubled; yet shall it not be shaken down, because I will remember my Lord's wounds. 'For he was wounded for our sins.'"

Bern. in Cant. Cantic. Serm. 61.

Isai. liii.

[1 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psal. xxxii. 10. Tom. I. p. 141.]

[2 His own works, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 He, 1570.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Luc. vii. Serm. lxxxiv. 1. Tom. V. Append. col. 152; where *apostolus ait.* This sermon is not Augustine's. The Benedictine editors say: Totus exscriptus est ex Ambrosio libro v. de Sacram. cap. iv.]

[5 ...ad judicium non venio; non præsumptione mea, sed ipsius promissione.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. v. Tractat. xxii. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 466.]

[6 Basil. Op. De Humil. Hom. xx. 3. Tom. II. pp. 158, 9.]

[7 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Jacob. et Vit. Beat. Lib. I. cap. vi. 21. Tom. I. col. 451; where *sed gloriabor quia redemptus sum,* and *vacuus peccatis sum.*]

[8 The reference to the chapter does not appear, 1567, 1570.]

[9 August. Op. Confess. Lib. II. cap. vii. 15. Tom. I. col. 86.]

[10 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxi. 3. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1475; where *turbabitur conscientia.*]

Thus, M. Harding, to be assured of our salvation, St Augustine saith, it is no arrogant stoutness: it is our faith. It is no pride: it is devotion. It is no presumption: it is God's promise.

But your whole doctrine of the trust in men's merits leadeth directly to desperation. And therefore St Cyprian saith well of you: *Asserunt noctem pro die, interitum pro salute, desperationem sub obtentu spei, perfidiam sub prætextu fidei, antichristum sub vocabulo Christi*[11]: "They teach us night instead of day, destruction instead of health, desperation under the colour of hope, infidelity under the pretence of faith, antichrist under the name of Christ." Cypr. de Simpl. Præl.

Now a little to view the grounds of M. Harding's long discourse: whereas he so often and so earnestly telleth us of the sense of the scriptures, as if we had scriptures without sense, his meaning thereby is only to lead us away to the sense of the church of Rome; which sense, Albertus Pighius saith, "is the infallible and inflexible rule of truth[12]." Eckius saith: *Scriptura nisi ecclesiæ auctoritate non est authentica*[13]: "The scriptures of God are not authentical or of credit but only by the warrant and authority of the church." And Hosius in like manner: *Apostoli, ... cum symbolum traderent, nunquam dixerunt, Credo sancta biblia, aut sanctum evangelium; sed dixerunt, Credo sanctam ecclesiam*[14]: "The apostles, when they delivered the creed, they never said, I believe the holy bible or the holy gospel; but they said, I believe the holy church." Thus now the matter is sure enough for ever. We have neither scriptures nor sense of scriptures, but only from Rome. Albert. Pigh. Hier. Lib. i. cap. iv. Eck. de Eccles. Hos in Conf. Petricov. cap. lxxx.

I will not here report the unsavoury senses that they have imagined of the scriptures. One example or two for a taste may be sufficient. Pope Boniface saith thus: *Ecce duo gladii hic*[15]: "Behold here are two swords: that is to say, the pope hath the power both of the spiritual sword and of the temporal." De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam.

Another saith: *Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, id est, papæ; pecora campi, id est, homines viventes in terra; pisces maris, id est, animas in purgatorio; volucres cœli, id est, animas beatorum*[16]. These words St Paul applieth only unto Christ, meaning thereby that God hath advanced[17] him above all powers and dominions, and that all things are subject unto him. But the Roman sense is far otherwise: "Thou hast made all things subject unto him, that is to say, to the pope; the cattle of the field, that is to say, men living in the earth; the fishes of the sea, that is to say, the souls in purgatory; the birds of the heavens, that is to say, the souls of the blessed in heaven." I leave M. Harding's own peculiar expositions: "Drink ye all of this;" that is to say, as he gathereth in conclusion, Drink ye not all of this: It is the substance, that is to say, it is the *accidens*. Psal. viii. Anton. in Summ. Par. III. Tit. xxii. cap. 5. Heb. ii. M. Hard. in his former Answer, Art. 2.[18]

By such pretty senses I will not say as St Hierome saith: *De evangelio Christi facitis hominis evangelium, aut, quod pejus est, diaboli*[20]: "Of the gospel of Christ ye make the gospel of a man, or, that is worse, the gospel of the devil." I will not so say; but thus may I say with the prophet Esay: "Ye make light darkness, and darkness light." M. Hard. Art. 2. & 10.[19] Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Isai. v.

Yet must we needs believe, upon M. Harding's word, that the scripture without the sense of the church of Rome is no scripture. And therefore Hosius saith: *Si quis habeat interpretationem ecclesiæ Romanæ de loco aliquo scripturæ, etiamsi nec sciat, nec intelligat, an et quomodo cum scripturæ verbis conveniat, tamen* Hosius de Express. Verb. Dei.

[11 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 105; where *asserentes*.]

[12 Quandoquidem clariorem esse constat, magisque apertam et plane inflexibilem communem ecclesiæ sententiam ... Proinde et harum [scripturarum] certam inflexibilemque amussim esse ecclesiasticæ traditionis communem sententiam.—Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 13. 2. Conf. cap. ii. fol. 9.]

[13 J. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Comm. Col. 1532. cap. i. fol. A. 6. 2; where *non est authentica* precedes *nisi*.]

[14 Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. lxxx. Tom. I. p. 321; where *tradidissent nusquam proposuerunt*, and *sed credo dixerunt*.]

[15 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 208.]

[16 Omnia &c. ejus, oves et boves universos insuper et pecora campi; volucres cœli et pisces maris. Et apte: quia ipse est vicarius Christi: quo ad terrestria dicit, oves &c.: quo ad cœlestia dicit, volucres: quo ad infernalia dicit, pisces maris &c.—Anton. Summ. Basil. 1511. Tert. Pars Summ. Tit. xxii. cap. 5. fol. H. H. 4.]

[17 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[18 See Vol. I. pages 226, 7.]

[19 See Vols. I. II. pages 580, &c.]

[20 Grande periculum est ... ne ... de evangelio Christi hominis fiat evangelium, aut &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 231.]

Scripture. Tradition.

habet ipsissimum verbum Dei[1]: "If a man have the exposition of the church of Rome touching any place of the scriptures, although he neither know nor understand whether and how it agreeth with the words of the scripture, yet he hath the very word of God." So saith rabbi Abraham Hispanus, speaking of the expositions of the rabbins: *Licet videantur nobis verba nostra esse vera et recta, nobis tamen veritas abjicienda est in terram, quia veritas cum illis est*[2]: "Notwithstanding our expositions seem to us never so true and right, yet must we throw our truth to the ground; for the truth indeed is with them." Lyra likewise reporteth the common opinion the Jews had of their rabbins: *Recipiendum est quicquid hoc modo proponatur, etiamsi dicant dextram esse sinistram*[3]: "We must needs receive whatsoever they lay unto us, yea, although they tell us the right hand is the left."

Rabbi Abraham.

Lyra in Deut. cap. xvii.

Now, gentle reader, that thou mayest the better see the constancy and certainty of these senses and expositions whereunto M. Harding laboureth so earnestly to have thee bound, it may please thee to consider these words of Nicolaus Cusanus, sometime cardinal in the church of[4] Rome: *Non est mirum si praxis ecclesiæ uno tempore interpretatur scripturam uno modo, et alio tempore alio modo. Nam intellectus currit cum praxi. Intellectus enim qui cum praxi concurrit est spiritus vivificans...Sequuntur ergo scripturæ ecclesiam,...et non e converso*[5]: "It is no marvel though the practice of the church expound the scriptures at one time one way and at another time another way. For the understanding or sense of the scriptures runneth with the practice; and that sense so agreeing with the practice is the quickening spirit. And therefore the scriptures follow the church; but contrariwise the church followeth not the scriptures." For such kinds of expositions of the scriptures St Hilary said sometime unto the Arians: *Fides ergo temporum magis est quam evangeliorum*[7]: "The faith therefore followeth the time, and not the gospel."

Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 7.

Hilar. ad Const. August.[6]

This is the sense of the church of Rome, whereby only M. Harding willeth us to measure and to weigh the word of God. But the ancient father Origen saith: *Sicut...omne aurum quod[cunque] fuerit extra templum non est sanctificatum, sic omnis sensus qui fuerit extra divinam scripturam, quamvis admirabilis videatur quibusdam, non est sanctus, quia non continetur a sensu scripturæ*[8]: "As whatsoever gold is without the temple is not sanctified, so whatsoever sense is without the holy scripture, although unto some it seem wonderful, yet is it not holy, because it is not contained in the sense of the scripture."

Orig. in Matt. Hom. 25.

To conclude, whereas M. Harding saith we cannot understand the scriptures without tradition, the ancient father Irenæus saith this is one special mark whereby we may know an heretic. These be his words: *Hæretici, cum arguuntur ex scripturis, in accusationem scripturarum convertuntur, quasi non recte habeant, nec sint ex auctoritate, et quod varie sint dictæ, et quod ex his non possit inveniri veritas ab illis qui traditionem nesciunt*[9]: "Heretics, when they be reproved by the scriptures, they fall to the accusing of the scriptures; as though either they were not well and perfect[10], or wanted authority, or were doubtfully uttered, or that they that know not the tradition were never able by the scriptures to find out the truth."

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. ii.

[1 Perhaps the following may be the passage intended: Etiam si minus aperta videri possent alicui scripturæ verba, quæ talis profert, quoniam tamen ecclesiæ sensu profert, expressum Dei verbum profert.—Hos. Op. De Express. Verb. Dei. Tom. I. p. 623. Conf. De Oppress. Verb. Dei. Tom. II. p. 3.]

[2 The editor has not been able to verify this reference.]

[3 Hic dicit Glo. Hebraica: si dixerit tibi quod dextera sit sinistra, vel sinistra dextera; talis sententia est tenenda quod patet manifeste falsum.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Deut. cap. xvii. Pars I. fol. 350.]

[4 In, 1570.]

[5 N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. vii. pp. 857, 8; where *quare nec mirum*, and *igitur* for *ergo*.]

[6 This reference does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

[7 ...facta est fides temporum potius quam evangeliorum.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Constant. August. Lib. II. 4. col. 1227.]

[8 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 18. Tom. III. p. 842.]

[9 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. ii. 1. p. 174; where *cum enim ex scripturis, convertuntur ipsarum scripturarum, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his qui nesciant traditionem.*]

[10 Perfit, 1567, 1570.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. x. Division 2.

Tragedy.

Men say that Sophocles, the tragical poet, when in his old days he was by his own sons accused before the judges for a doting and sottish man, as one that fondly wasted his own substance, and seemed to need a governor to see unto him; to the intent he might clear himself of the fault, he came into the place of judgment, and, when he had rehearsed before them his tragedy called *Œdipus Colonæus*, which he had written at the very time of his accusation, marvellous exactly and cunningly did ask the judges in his own behalf[11], whether they thought any sottish or doting man could do the like piece of work. In like manner, because these men take us to be mad, and appeach us for heretics, as men which have nothing to do neither with Christ nor with the church of God; we have judged it should be to good purpose, and not unprofitable, if we do openly and frankly set forth our faith wherein we stand, and shew all that confidence which we have in Christ Jesus[12], to the intent all men may see what is our judgment of every part of christian religion, and may resolve with themselves whether the faith which they shall see confirmed by the words of Christ, by the writings of the apostles, by the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and by the examples of many ages, be but a certain rage of furious and mad men, and a conspiracy of heretics. This therefore is our belief.

M. HARDING.

The comparison which ye make between yourselves and Sophocles gladly we admit. Yet we acknowledge that, as in many respects ye are like, so in some unlike. Sophocles was a poet, that is to say, a feigner and deviser of things that be not true, but fabulous: ye also are feigners and devisers of novelties, and followers of new devices, that be false. Sophocles was a tragical poet: ye are tragical divines. A tragedy setteth forth the overthrows of kingdoms, murder of noble personages, and other great troubles, and endeth in woful lamentations. Your gospel invadeth Christ's heavenly kingdom the church; it murdereth souls bought with a most dear price: it causeth a hellish garboil in men's consciences; in the end it bringeth to everlasting weeping and gnashing of teeth... We take you not to be mad. Would God ye were not worse than mad! Were ye mad, ye should be tied up: else were ye suffered to go abroad, for fear folk would fly from you; and then should ye do little hurt. Now whiles ye offer venomous kisses with sugared lips, whiles ye cover wolvish cruelty under lambs' skins, whiles ye hurt under pretence of benefit, wound under colour of a medicine, beguile unstable souls with resemblance of truth; neither stint ye to work mischief, nor others can beware of you...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O M. Harding, Sophocles himself, if he were alive, were not able with all his eloquence to express the tragical dealings of your company. Your whole life and religion is nothing else but a tragedy. You have ripped up the graves, and digged out the dead, and practised your cruelty upon the poor innocent carcases. Mart. Bucer. Paul. Phag.

Your pope Stephanus took up Formosus his predecessor's body, chopped off his forefingers, cut off his head, and threw out the naked carcase into Tiber[13]. Plat. in Steph. VI.

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[11] Did of himself ask the judges. Conf.]

[12] Jesu. Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13] Refert Martinus scriptor, Stephanum tanta rabie desævisse, ut fabrile cœnosi corpus Formosi e cunulis tumulo, truncum, pontificali habitu spoliatum, indutumque seculari, sepulturæ laicorum mandaverit, abscissis tamen dextræ ejus duobus digitis, illis potissimum quibus in consecratione sacerdotes utuntur, in Tiberimque projectis, &c.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Steph. VI. p. 196. Conf. Serv. 110. pp. 128, 9; and see below, pages 276, 7.

Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. ii.

Your pope John the twelfth cut off one of his cardinals' right hand, and another's nose[1].

Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. ix.

Your pope Urbanus the sixth thrust five of his cardinals alive into sacks, and threw them out[2] into the sea[3].

Beno Cardinalis.

Your pope Hildebrand poisoned six other popes his predecessors, to make himself room to the holy seat[4]. They are so skilful there in these feats, that no man can tell neither what to fly, nor what to take, nor whom to doubt, nor whom to trust. They have conveyed their poison, I will not say into their meats or drinks, (for that is over gross and common,) but even into their mass-books, into the sacrament, into the chalice. Camotensis, one of their own side, saith well of them: *Sine sanguinis effusione non ingrediuntur in sancta sanctorum*[5]: "Without shedding of blood they enter not into that holy place, the holy of holies."

Heb. ix. Agrip. de Van. Scient.

Howbeit, what spend I these words? It is not possible to say all that may be said. They have inflamed wars. They have raised the subjects against their princes. They have armed the son against the father. They have overthrown cities and countries. They have deposed kings. They have set their feet on emperors' necks.

These matters, M. Harding, be tragical indeed. And herein standeth the whole practice and policy of your church of Rome.

Where you think yourself a sober man, in that you can so easily call us mad, and worse than mad, you may remember that this kind of eloquence amongst you is ancient and catholic, and may well stand with your religion. For so the false prophet Semeias said that Jeremy the prophet of God raved and was stark mad. So the wicked said unto Jehu of Elizeus the prophet: What hath this mad bedlam body to do with thee? Even so they said of Christ, that he was mad, and spake in fury he knew not what. St Augustine saith of St Paul: *Incĭdit in istorum sacrilegam dicacitatem; et ab eis qui sanari nolunt vocatur insanus*[6]: "St Paul is fallen into their cursed railing; and of them that will never be made sober is called a madman." So saith the ancient father Origen of Celsus the wicked heathen: *Videamus igitur nos, qui juxta hunc insanimus*[7]: "Let us therefore consider hereof, that in this man's judgment are stark mad."

Jer. xxix. 2 Kings ix. Mark iii. August. in Psal. vi. Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv.

But, M. Harding, wherein are we so mad? or what tokens of madness have we shewed? Can no man either speak the truth or disclose your errors without madness? But, I trow, it is even as St Jerome said sometime: *Delirabat scilicet, qui in tuo regno contra tuam sententiam loquebatur*[8]: "He raved and was mad, no doubt, that within thy dominion spake any thing against thy mind." So saith Leo: *Insanis magistris veritas scandalum est, et cœcis doctoribus fit caligo quod lumen est*[9]: "Unto frantic masters the truth is a slander; and unto blind doctors the light is become darkness."

Hieron. ad Pam. contr. Error. Johan. Hieros. Leo in Epiph. Serm. 5.

So saith St Augustine of king David: *Insanire videbatur; sed regi Achis insanire videbatur, id est, stultis et ignorantibus*[10]: "David seemed mad; but unto king Achis he seemed mad, that is to say, unto fools and idiots."

August. in Psal. xxxiii.

As for our part, we remember what answer St Paul made unto Festus in the like case: "O good Festus, I am not mad; but I utter unto thee the words of truth and sobriety." Therefore we may comfort ourselves as the

Acts xxvi.

[1 ...redactisque in potestatem nares uni eorum, alteri manum truncari jubet.— Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. II. Pars III. fol. 75. 2.]

[2 1567 omits *out*.]

[3 ...ac inter vehendum quinque primi ordinis antistites, quos vinxerat, saccis involutos in mare dejecit.—Id. ibid. Lib. IX. fol. 136. 2.]

[4 Et jam diu conciliaverat sibi quendam alium incomparabilibus maleficiis assuetum Gerhardum nomine...qui subdola familiaritate dicitur sex Romanos pontifices intra spatium tredecim annorum veneno suffocasse.—Benon. Vit. Hild. in Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 84.]

[5 ...qui jam antea (quod notat Joannes Camotensis episcopus) non ex virtutum meritis, sed...vi armorum ad sacerdotia...conscenderunt.—Corn. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Antv. 1530. fol. V. 4. 2.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. vi. Enarr. 12. Tom. IV. cols. 27, 8.]

[7 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. IV. 61. Tom. I. p. 551.]

[8 Scilicet delirabat, qui &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pamm. adv. Error. Joh. Jeros. Epist. XXXVIII. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 313.]

[9 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Epiph. Serm. v. 2. col. 85.]

[10 August. Op. In Psalm. XXXIII. Enarr. i. 8. Tom. IV. col. 213; where *videtur* twice.]

virtuous gentlewoman Paula did, when she was likewise supposed to be mad: *Nos stulti propter Christum; sed stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus*[11]: "We are judged fools (and mad folks) for Christ's sake; but the foolishness of God is wiser than men." Hieron. in Epitaph. Paul.

But, M. Harding, St Cyprian will tell you thus: *Hæc est, frater, vera dementia, non cogitare nec scire, quod mendacia non diu fallant; noctem tamdiu esse, quamdiu illucescat dies*[12]: "O my brother, that is madness indeed, not to think or know that" your "lies cannot long deceive us, and that it is night no longer, but until the day spring. This indeed is very madness." Cypr. ad Cornel.

And therefore Chrysostom saith: *Qui... in manifestam foveam cadit, non negligens dicitur, sed insanus*[13]: "Whoso falleth into a pit that lieth wide open is not said to be negligent, but stark mad."

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

[11 Hieron. Op. Ad Eustoch. Epit. Paul. Epist. lxxxvi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 681.]

[12 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 133.]

[13 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xciii.]

THE SECOND PART.

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 1.

The Creed.

We believe that there is one certain Nature and divine Power, which we call God; and that the same is divided into three equal Persons, into the Father, into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost; and that they all be of one power, of one majesty, of one eternity, of one Godhead, and of one substance. And, although these three Persons be so divided that neither the Father is the Son, nor the Son is the Holy Ghost, or the Father; yet nevertheless we believe that there is but one very God, and that the same one God hath created heaven, and earth, and all things contained under heaven.

We believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father (as long before it was determined, before all beginnings), when the fulness of time was come, did take of that blessed and pure Virgin both flesh and all the nature of man, that he might declare to the world the secret and hid will of his Father; which will had been laid up from before all ages and generations; and that he might full finish in his human body the mystery of our redemption, and might fasten our sins to the cross[1], and also that hand-writing which was made against us.

We believe that for our sakes[2] he died, and was buried, descended into hell, the third day by the power of his Godhead returned to life and rose again, and that the fortieth day after his resurrection[3], whiles his disciples beheld and looked upon him, he ascended into heaven, to fulfil all things, and did place in majesty and glory the self-same body wherewith he was born, wherein he lived on earth, wherein he was jested at, wherein he had suffered most painful torments and cruel kind of death, wherein he rose again, and wherein he ascended to the right hand of the Father[4], "above all rule, above all power, all force, all dominion, and above every name that[5] is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come;" and that there he now sitteth, and shall sit, till all things be full perfected[6]. And, although the majesty and Godhead of Christ be every where abundantly dispersed, yet we believe that his[7] body, as St Augustine saith, "must needs be still in one place;" and that Christ hath given majesty unto his body, but yet hath not taken away from it the nature of a body; and that we must not so affirm Christ to be God, that we deny him to be man[8]; and, as the martyr Vigilius saith, that "Christ hath left us as touching his human nature, but hath not left us as touching his divine nature[9];" and that the same Christ, though he be absent from us concerning his manhood[10], yet is ever present with us concerning his Godhead[11].

August. Tract. 50. in Johan.

Acts iii.

In Epist. ad Dard.

Contr. Eutych. Lib. i.

Fulgent. ad Thrasym.

[1 To the cross our sins, Conf.]

[2 Sake, Conf.]

[3 Surrection, Conf.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xii. Tractat. l. 13. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 634.]

[5 Which, Conf.]

[6 Perfitted, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 This, Def. 1570.]

[8 Id. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681.]

[9 Vigil. adv. Eutych. Lib. I. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. p. 518.]

[10 Manhead, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11 Unus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo, cum esset in terra, et derelinquens terram, cum ascendisset in cœlum: secundum divinam vero immensamque substantiam, nec cœlum dimittens cum de cœlo descendit; nec terram deserens, cum ad cœlum ascendit.—Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. Ad Trasim. Reg. Lib. II. cap. xvii. col. 172.]

From that place also we believe that Christ shall come again to execute that general judgment, as well of them whom he shall then find alive in the body, as of them that shall[12] be already dead.

M. HARDING.

In our fathers' days, before any change in religion was thought upon, christian people lived together in perfect[13] *unity....If account of belief had been demanded,* [a]*none was ashamed of the common Apostles' Creed. Every one constantly confessed, "I believe in God the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ," and so forth. But, sithence Luther brought a* [b]*new gospel into the world, we have seen great diversity among men, not only of ceremonies and administration of the sacraments, but also of the public confession of the faith*[14]. *For, as sundry rulers, countries, and commonweals received that new doctrine,* [c]*so their preachers and ministers have set forth sundry creeds and confessions of their faith....*

[a] Neither is any man now ashamed of the apostles' creed.
[b] Untruth. It was the old.
[c] Manifest untruth. For we keep all one creed.

...St Hilary in his time...complaining thereof, "Now-a-days there be," saith he, "so many faiths as there be wills; so many doctrines as there be manners; so many causes of blasphemy[15] *spring up as there be vices; whiles faiths either are so written as we list, or so understanded as we list. And whereas there is but one God, one Lord, one baptism, and, according thereto, one faith; we step aside from that which is the only faith, and, whiles more faiths be made, they begin to come to that point, that there be no faith at all*[16]*."...*

St Hilary's complaint of many faiths.

One God, one faith.

But the manner of the utterance of your faith is strange to christian ears, who have been accustomed to hear: Credo in Deum, credo in Jesum Christum, credo in Spiritum Sanctum: *"I believe in God, I believe in Jesus Christ, I believe in the Holy Ghost." That other form of words which you use soundeth not so christian-like: "I believe there is a God, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of the Father, I believe that the Holy Ghost is God." Although this form of words do express a right faith, yet, being such as may be uttered by devils, and hath* [d]*always been uttered by heretics their ministers, the ancient and holy fathers have liked better the old form and manner, after which every christian man saith: I believe in God, I believe in Jesus Christ, I believe in the Holy Ghost. For this importeth a signification of faith with hope and charity; that other of faith only, which the devils have, and tremble, as St James saith; wherein, as in many other things, these defenders resemble them. St Augustine, in sundry places putting difference*[17] *between these two forms of words, upon St John, alleging St Paul's words, "To one that believeth in him who justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness," demandeth, what is it to believe in him? It is, by his answer,* credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari[18], *"with believing to love him, with believing to go into him, and to be incorporate in his members;" that is, to be made a member of his body...*

The manner of the utterance of the defenders' faith strange to christian ears.

[d] Untruth. For the heretics said, "I believe in God," as well as did the catholics.

James ii.

As this defender proceedeth in declaring the belief of his new English church, he grateth much upon the article of Christ's ascension, as the manner is of all Zuinglians to do. For their mind giveth them, thereby they shall be able to bring at least many of the simpler sort to their sacramentary heresy, and to think that the body of Christ, wherein he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is so absent from earth, as it may not be believed to be here present in the sacrament of the altar.

The article of Christ's ascension much grated upon by the defenders to evil purpose.

[12 Conf. omits *shall.*]

[13 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[14 Of faith, Conf.]

[15 Blasphemies, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16 Periculosum...est, tot nunc fides exsistere, quot voluntates; et tot nobis doctrinas esse, quot mores; et tot causas blasphemiarum pullulare, quot vitia sunt: dum aut ita fides scribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut volumus intelliguntur. Et cum, secundum unum Deum et unum Dominum et unum baptisma, etiam fides una sit, excedimus ab ea fide quæ sola est: et dum plures fiunt, ad id cœperunt esse, ne ulla sit.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Constant. August. Lib. I. 4. col. 1227.]

[17 Putting a difference, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[18 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vii. Tractat. xxix. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 515.]

Thereto he allegeth St Augustine, making him to say that Christ's body, wherein he rose again, must needs be still in one place. In which treatise that holy father hath not the word oportet, *that is, "must needs," as this defender allegeth, but this word* potest[1], *that is, "may," as the books have that be not corrupted by the maintainers of that heresy. And, whereas he saith,* Ad Dardanum, *alleged by this defender, "Though Christ hath given majesty unto his body, yet he hath not taken away from it the nature of a body;" this is not to be stretched to Christ's body in the sacrament, where it is not after condition of nature, but by the almighty power of his word. And, although he hath not taken away from his body the nature of a very body, yet may it please him to do with his body, being God no less than man, that which is besides and above the nature of a body. So it pleased him to do when he said, "This is my body." And so it pleaseth him to be[2] done, whensoever the same body is offered in the daily sacrifice of the church, according to his commandment and institution. That Vigilius saith, "Christ hath left us touching his human nature, but hath not left us as touching his divine nature[3];" it is to be understanded of his visible shape, in which he shewed his human nature when he walked here on earth, when he was so conversant with men sensibly that, as St John writeth, they heard him with their ears, they saw him with their eyes, they beheld him, and touched him with their hands. As touching his human nature in this sensible wise, Christ hath left us; after which St Augustine saith:* Jam non invenis Christum loqui in terra[4]: *"Now thou findest not Christ to speak on the earth." This manner of Christ's human nature being taken from us withstandeth not but that we may have the substance of his natural body and blood present in the blessed sacrament in a mystery by the almighty power of his word; which faith these defenders travail to impugn. And (as God would) the penman of this Apology bringeth unawares[5], as it seemeth, for confirmation of his sacramentary doctrine, that out of Fulgentius, which overthroweth all that he went about to build against the real presence. That father, as he is by him alleged, saith:* Christum, cum absit a nobis per formam servi, tamen semper esse nobiscum per formam Dei[6]: *"That, whereas Christ is absent from us according to the form of a servant, yet he is ever present with us according to the form of God." Whereby he meaneth that Christ is no more here among men, as he was before his death, in form and shape of man, in such wise as we see men live on the earth. Which words, because they seem to dash their whole purpose, the prelates of this new English church have altered the sense of them by shifting in this word "manhood[8]" instead of "the form or shape of a servant," which the Latin hath, and this word "Godhead" instead of "the form of God[9]."...*

Untruth. For St Augustine's word is *oportet.*

In Johan. Tract. 30. oportet *for* potest.

St Augustine knew no such body in the sacrament.

Matt. xxvi.

Untruth. There is neither such institution, nor such commandment.

Contra Eutychem, Lib. i.

How Christ hath left to be now in earth.

1 John i.

Exposition. in Epist. Johan. Tract. 10.

Ad Thrasymundum regem.

Untruth. For form and substance are both one.

Fulgentius foully falsified by the interpreter[7].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I marvel, M. Harding, that ye can publish so manifest untruth without blushing. Ye say that before these few late years there was but one form of faith throughout the world. Yet being learned, and having travailed[10] through the ancient writers, you must needs have seen the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, St Basil's Creed, Damasus' Creed, St Hierome's Creed, St Cyprian's or Rufine's Creed, Gregorius'[11] Creed, the Creed called *Quicunque vult*, written, as some think, by Athanasius, as some others, by Eusebius Vercellensis, the Creed

[1 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxx. 1. col. 517.]

[2 Him it be, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3 ...Dei Filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit a nobis, secundum divinitatem suam ait nobis, Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus &c.—Vigil. adv. Eutych. Lib. I. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. p. 518.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Epist. Johan. cap. v. Tractat. x. 9. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 899.]

[5 Unwares, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 See before, page 252, note 11.]

[7 This marginal note, being afterwards referred to by Jewel, is here inserted from the Confutation.]

[8 Manhead, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Harding here proceeds to sneer at lady Bacon, and at archbishop Parker's prefatory epistle, which he calls "the epistle of another gentlewoman, for knowledge of her name giving out only these two letters, M. C."]

[10 Travelled, 1609, 1611.] [11 Gregory's, 1567.]

contained in the hymn called *Te Deum*, whether it were written by St Augustine or by St Ambrose; every of these under several and sundry forms. You know that in divers of the oldest councils, as occasion was offered, so somewhat was either added to the creed, or diminished, or altered; as it may appear by Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus, Evagrius, Nicephorus, and others. You know that St Augustine unto Laurentius[12], St Hierome unto Cyrillus[13], St Ambrose unto the emperor Gratianus[14], and others more in declaration of the christian faith have not always used one precise form of words; and that the emperor Constantine maketh open protestation of his faith, as it is recorded in the[15] counterfeit Donation[16], in sense and substance agreeing with all others that were catholic, but in words far disagreeing from all others, and peculiar only to himself. To be short, you know that between your mass-creed and the people's common creed, as touching the words, there was great difference. It were too long to rehearse all. Neither was it necessary to say so much, saving only to shew the manifest vanity of your talk. To express one substance of faith in sundry forms of words, I never heard it was forbidden, saving only now at the last by this late decree of M. Harding.

Where you say, the whole people before these few late years had one faith, ye should rather have said, they were all taught by you in a strange unknown tongue to pronounce as they could a strange unknown form of faith: for, God knoweth, they understood not one word what they said, nor scarcely one article of their belief. St Hilary saith of the people deceived by the Arians, as these have been by you: *Credunt, quod non credunt: intelligunt, quod non intelligunt*[18]: "They believe that which they believe not; they[19] understand that which they understand not." Cardinal Ascanius had a popinjay that was taught to say distinctly all the articles of the creed, from the beginning to the end[20]: yet I trow, ye will not say the same popinjay believed in God, or understood the christian faith. For faith is in the heart, not in the tongue. St Augustine saith: *Fieri potest, ut integra* [*quis*] *teneat verba symboli, et tamen non recte credat*[21]: "It is possible that a man may pronounce the whole words of the creed, and yet not have the right faith." Indeed St Hilary, of whom ye speak, worthily reproved the Arian heretics, for that they had altered the whole faith of Christ, not only in words, but also in substance. But we, having published sundry confessions of our religion, as the multitudes of your abuses and errors offered occasion, and that in sundry countries and kingdoms, in such distance of places and diversity of speeches, yet notwithstanding in the substance and grounds of the truth have evermore joined together, and never altered.

Hilar. ad Constant. Imper.[17]

Cœl. Rhod. Antiq. Lib. iii. cap. xxxii.

August. de Baptism. contr. Donat. Lib. iii. cap. xiv.

Where we say, we believe there is one God, M. Harding answereth, he cannot well allow this form of speech: we should rather have said, saith he, we believe in God. Were not this controller so importune, such simple petite quarrels should not be answered. I could never have thought it had been so great a sin to believe that God is God. Verily, M. Harding, if every of your popes and cardinals had believed so much, I trow Cornelius the bishop of Bitonto, in your late council at Trident, would not so bitterly and in so open sort have cried out of them: *Utinam non a fide ad infidelitatem, a Deo ad Epicurum, velut prorsus unanimes declinassent, dicentes in corde impio et ore impudico, Non est Deus*[22]! "Would God they were not gone as it were with one consent from the faith to infidelity, from God to Epicure, saying with wicked heart and shameless mouth, 'There is no God!'"

To believe in God.

Cornel. Bitont. in Concil. Trid.

[12 August. Op. Enchir. ad Laurent. Tom. VI. cols. 195, &c.]

[13 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Explan. Fid. ad Cyril. Tom. V. cols. 124, &c. This piece is not genuine.]

[14 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Fid. ad Gratian. August. Tom. II. cols. 443, &c.]

[15 Your, 1567; 1570 omits the word.]

[16 Edict. Constant. Imp. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 224, &c.]

[17 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[18 Perhaps Jewel had the following in his mind: Habes ergo quod nescis, et tribuis quæ non intelligis. —Hil. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Constant. Imp. 33. col. 1260. Conf. De Trin. Lib. II. 9. col. 794.]

[19 The, 1570.]

[20 Cœl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. 1599. Lib. III. cap. xxxii. col. 134.]

[21 August. Op. De Bapt. Contr. Donat. Lib. III. cap. xiv. 19. Tom. IX. col. 114.]

[22 Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 993. See Vol. II. page 900, note 5.]

To believe in God.

If no catholic writer had ever used the[1] self-same form of speech before, then might M. Harding's quarrel seem to have some reasonable ground. But both St Paul and also many other catholic fathers have often used it. St Paul saith: *Accedentem ad Deum oportet credere Deum esse:* "He that cometh to God must believe that there is a God." And Hermes, St Paul's scholar, commonly called Pastor Nuntius: *Ante omnia crede unum Deum esse, qui condidit omnia*[2]*:* "Before all other things believe that there is one God, that hath made all." Origen saith: *Primum credendus est Deus, qui omnia creavit*[3]*:* "First we must believe there is a God, that hath created all things." St Hilary saith: *In absoluto nobis et facilis est æternitas, Jesum Christum a mortuis suscitatum ... credere*[4]*:* "Our everlasting life is ready and easy, to believe that Jesus Christ is risen again from the dead." Likewise Charles the great, in the creed published in his name: *Prædicandum est omnibus, ut credant Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, unum esse Deum omnipotentem*[5]*:* "The gospel must be preached unto all, to the end they may know that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is one God almighty." To be short, even in our late fathers' days this was counted a catholic form of faith, and was commonly taught in all schools: *Unum crede Deum:* "Believe that there is one God." If this were then well spoken and universally used, even in the church of Rome, without rebuke, I trust M. Harding of his courtesy will no more blame us for speaking well.

Heb. xi.

Pastor Nuntius.

Origen. Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, in Proœmio.

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. x.

Symbolum Caroli Magni.

As for these phrases, "I believe in God," "I believe in Christ," although indeed they be better and more effectual, and carry more force than the other, yet are they not neither so peculiar and special to God alone, nor so precisely used as M. Harding imagineth. For it is written in the book of Exodus[6], as it is noted by the skilful in the Hebrew tongue: *Populus credit*[7] *in Deum et in Mosen:* "The people believed in God and in Moses." And God himself said unto Moses, as it is likewise noted in the Hebrew: *Descendam, ut populus in te credat:* "I will go down, that the people may believe in thee." St Basil saith: *Baptizati sunt in Mosen, et crediderunt in illum*[8]*:* "They were baptized in Moses, and believed in him." And Hosius saith: *Quid si in sanctos quoque recte credi docet Paulus*[9]*?* "What if Paul teach us that we may also well believe in saints?" And they of M. Harding's side have evermore well liked this form of speech: *Credo in sanctam ecclesiam:* "I believe in the holy church." Wherein also perhaps they will allege these words of Socrates, and of some others: *Credo ... in unam catholicam ecclesiam*[10]*:* "I believe in one catholic church." Notwithstanding, beside St Augustine and others, Paschasius saith: *Credimus ecclesiam, quasi regenerationis matrem: non credimus in ecclesiam, quasi regenerationis auctorem. Recede ergo ab hac persuasione blasphemiæ: non enim licet nec in angelum credere*[11]*:* "We believe the holy church as the mother of regeneration; but we believe not in the church as the author of regeneration. Leave therefore this persuasion of blasphemy: for it is not lawful to believe, no not in an angel." Likewise St Augustine saith: *Credimus Paulo, ... non credimus in Paulum: credimus Petro, ... non credimus in Petrum*[12]*:* "We believe Paul, but we believe not in Paul: we believe Peter, but we believe not in Peter."

Exod. xiv.

Exod. xix.

Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. xiv. εἰς Μωσῆν ... ἐβαπτίσθησαν, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν.

Hos. in Conf. Petricov. cap. lviii.

Socr. Lib. i. cap. xxv.

Pasch. Lib. i. de Spirit. Sanct.

August. in Johan. Tract. 29.

[1 This, 1567.]

[2 Primum omnium, credere quod unus est Deus qui omnia creavit.—Herm. Past. Lib. II. Mandat. i. in Cotel. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Vol. I. p. 85.]

[3 Primo quod unus Deus est qui omnia creavit &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. De Princip. Lib. I. Præf. Tom. I. p. 47.]

[4 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. x. 70. col. 1080; where *ac facili est*, and *Jesum et suscitatum a mortuis.*]

[5 The following is probably the passage intended: Credimus...Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, unius esse substantiæ...et totas tres personas unum Deum omnipotentem.—Symbol. Carol. Magni in Goldast. Replic. pro Cæsar. et Reg. Franc. Majest. Hanov. 1611. cap. xiv. p. 202.]

[6 In the Exodus, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Credidit, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xiv. Tom. III. p. 25. This is part of the heading of the chapter.]

[9 Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. lviii. Tom. I. p. 220; where *in illos.*]

[10 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxvi. p. 51.]

[11 Credimus &c.: non in ecclesiam credimus quasi in salutis auctorem...Recede itaque ex hac blasphemiæ persuasione...cum omnino nec in angelum nec in archangelum sit credendum.—Paschas. De Spir. Sanct. Lib. I. cap. i. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 734.]

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vii. Tractat. xxix. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 515.]

Hereby we may see that whether we say, "We believe that God is God," or, "We believe in God," both these phrases are used of the godly, and are therefore both good and catholic. If M. Harding find any want or imperfection in our words, let him supply it with good favour; so he condemn not either St Paul, or Hermes, or Origen, or Hilary, or Charles the great, or other catholic and godly writers, as well Greeks as Latins, who, as I have shewed, have used the like. Certainly, the general confession of all our people and of our whole church is this: "We believe in God: we believe in Christ: we believe in the Holy Ghost."

Christ's Ascension.

But M. Harding saith we grate over busily upon the article of Christ's ascension into heaven. What then? Should we have left it out? Verily that would have been some good countenance to your cause. And therefore, when pope Nicolas would have brought us your new article of transubstantiation into the creed, he should first have utterly removed this whole article of Christ's ascension: for these two articles may not well stand together by any construction in one creed. As for us, we have said nothing herein but that hath often been said and avouched by the holy learned fathers. Damasus the bishop of Rome in his creed grateth hereon as much as we. His words be these: *Devicto mortis imperio, cum ea carne [in] qua natus, et passus, et mortuus fuerat, et resurrexit, ascendit ad Patrem, sedetque ad dextram ejus in gloria*[13]: "Having overcome the empire of death, with the same flesh wherein he was born, and suffered, and died, and rose again, he ascended unto the Father, and sitteth at his right hand in glory." Which words St Hierome in larger manner expoundeth thus: *Ascendit ad cœlum, sedet ad dextram Dei Patris, manente ea natura carnis in qua natus et passus est, [et] in qua... resurrexit. Non enim exinanita est humanitatis substantia, sed glorificata*[14]: "Christ ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, the same nature of flesh wherein he was born, and suffered, and rose again, remaining still. For the substance of his human nature was not done away, but glorified." Howbeit, gentle reader, for thy better satisfaction herein, I must refer thee over to my former reply to M. Harding[15].

Symb. Dam. ap. Hieron. Tom. IV.

Hieron. in Expl. Symb. Tom. IV.

In the sixth article.

Christ's body in one place.

Here followeth a piteous outcry, that we have shamefully corrupted St Augustine's words, shifting in *oportet* instead of *potest*. What new fancy is suddenly fallen into M. Harding's head, I cannot tell. St Augustine's words, as they be alleged by Gratian, are these: *Corpus... in quo resurrexit [in] uno loco esse oportet*[16]: "The body wherein Christ rose again must needs be in one place." Here is not *oportet* instead of *potest*, as M. Harding saith, but *oportet*, as it should be, for *oportet*. If there have been any corruption wrought herein, it hath been wrought by Gratian well near four hundred years ago, and not by us. Yet is Gratian one of the highest doctors of M. Harding's side. And will M. Harding make us believe that his own catholic doctors would be so bold to corrupt St Augustine?

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Prima.

Oportet. Potest.

As for this verb *oportet*, if it were wanting in the place alleged, yet might it well and easily be supplied of other places. St Peter saith: *Oportet illum cœlos capere usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium*: "The heavens must contain or hold him until the time that all things be restored." So saith Cyrillus: *Christus non poterat cum apostolis versari in carne postquam ascendisset ad Patrem*[17]: "Christ could not be conversant with his apostles in the flesh after he had ascended unto the Father." Likewise saith St Augustine: [*Christus*] *secundum præsentiam... corporalem... in sole,... in luna, et in cruce simul esse non potuit*[18]: "Christ, according to the presence of his body, could not be in the sun, in the moon, and on the cross at one time." And again: *Ne dubites... [Christum esse] in aliquo loco cœli propter veri corporis modum*[19]: "Doubt not but Christ is in some

Acts iii.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xi. cap. iii.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xi.

August. ad Dard. Epist. 57.

[13 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Damas. Symb. Tom. V. col. 122.]

[14 Symb. Explan. ibid. col. 123; where *in cœlum*. This is spurious.]

[15 See Vol. I. pages 481, &c.]

[16 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935.]

[17 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 932.]

[18 August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. XX. cap. xi. Tom. VIII. col. 341; where *corporalem simul*, and *non posset*.]

[19 Id. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. xiii. 41. Tom. II. col. 692; where *non* for *ne*, and *loco aliquo*.]

one place of heaven, because of the measure or form of a very body." Therefore the old learned father Origen saith: *Non est homo qui est ubicunque duo vel tres in ejus nomine fuerint congregati; neque homo nobiscum est omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi; neque congregatis ubique fidelibus homo est præsens; sed virtus divina quæ erat in Christo*[1]: "It is not Christ, as being man, that is wheresoever two or three be gathered together in his name; neither Christ, as being man, is with us all days unto[2] the world's end; nor Christ, as being man, is present with the faithful every where gathered together; but that divine power (or nature) that was in Christ." And for that cause St Augustine saith: *Videte ascendentem: credite in absentem: sperate venientem: sed tamen per misericordiam occultam etiam sentite præsentem*[3]: "See you Christ ascending into heaven: believe in him being absent: trust in Christ that is to come: and yet by his secret mercy feel him present." Thus, M. Harding, thus have the old catholic learned fathers used to grate, as ye term it, upon the article of Christ's ascension.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 33.

August. in Psal. xlvi.

You say, St Augustine in his epistle to Dardanus spake not of Christ's body as it is now present in the sacrament. No marvel. For St Augustine never understood any such kind of presence. And who taught you, M. Harding, that Christ hath such change of divers bodies, of one manner in the sacrament, and of another manner in heaven? Christ's blessed body, when it was born of the virgin, when it died, when it rose again, when it ascended into heaven, was one and uniform. How became it afterward so diverse, and so unlike itself? If either Christ, or the apostles, or the ancient fathers have thus taught you, why are they not alleged? If they have not thus taught you, how came ye[4] by this knowledge? Or if ye say ye know that they knew not, who will believe you?

Ye tell us that the body of Christ in heaven hath the whole stature, and form, and proportion of a man. This is true: it is the doctrine of the apostles, and of the ancient doctors of the church. But ye tell us farther of yourself, that the body of Christ in the sacrament is utterly void of all manner either stature, or form, or proportion; that is to say, is neither long nor short, nor high nor low, nor thick nor thin; and, being (as you say) a very natural body, yet hath neither likeness nor shape of a body. This is your doctrine, M. Harding; and, the more unlikely to be true, the more likely to be yours.

Such fantastical imaginations the Arian heretics sometime had of the Godhead of Christ. For thus they wrote thereof, as saith Athanasius: *Creatura est, sed non ut ulla ex rebus creatis. Opus est, sed non ut ullum ex operibus. Res condita est, sed non ut ulla ex rebus conditis*[5]: "It is a creature, but not as any other of things created. It is a thing wrought, but not as any other thing that ever was wrought," &c.

Athanas. contr. Arian. Serm. 3. p. 178.

But what saith Athanasius himself to all these fantasies? His answer is this: *Jam videtis vafritiem et dolos istius hæreseos, quæ, non ignara quam amarulenta sit ista sua malitia, fucos quærit, et lenocinium sibi mutuat ex verborum disertitudine*[6]: "Now ye see the crookedness and subtilty of this heresy, which, knowing her own malice how bitter it is, borroweth some hue and colour by sleight of words."

Thus Flavianus reproveth the heretic Eutyches: *Adjecit ... et aliam impietatem, dicens corpus Domini, quod ex Maria factum est, non esse nostræ substantiæ*[7]: "He added hereto another wickedness, saying that the body of Christ that was born of Mary is not now of our substance."

Epist. Flav. ad Leon. inter Leon. Epist.

Leo resolveth the matter thus: *Caro Christi ipsa est per essentiam; ... non ... ipsa per gloriam*[8]: "The flesh of Christ in substance is now the same it was before; but in glory it is not the same."

Leo de Resur. Dom. Serm. 1.

No man hereof writeth either more plainly or more directly than St Augustine. His words be these: [*Christus*] *sic venturus est ... quemadmodum ire visus est*

August. ad Dard. Epist. 57.

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 65. Tom. III. p. 883; where *nec enim est homo, nomine ejus, nec congregatis*, and *erat in Jesu.*]

[2 Until, 1567, 1570.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xlvi. Enarr. 7. Tom. IV. col. 411.]

[4 You, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Contr. Arian. Orat. ii. 19. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 486.]

[6 Id. ibid.]

[7 Flavian. Epist. ad Leon. in Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. col. 301.]

[8 ...ut et ipsa sit per &c.—Ibid. De Res. Dom. Serm. i. 4. col. 197.]

in cœlum, id est, in eadem carnis forma atque substantia; cui profecto immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum est enim ne ita Divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus[9]: "Christ shall come again" (to judge) "even as he was seen going into heaven, that is to say, in the self-same form and substance of his flesh; unto which flesh undoubtedly he hath given immortality, but he hath not taken from it the nature of flesh. For we must take heed we do not so maintain the Godhead of Christ's humanity, that we deny the truth of his body."

Form and Substance.

And, where ye fantasy that the body of Christ in the sacrament hath in itself neither form, nor proportion, nor limitation of place, nor distinction of parts, St Augustine telleth you: *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, [et] nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint*[10]: "Take away from bodies limitation of place, and the bodies will be nowhere; and, because they be nowhere, they will be nothing. Take away from bodies the qualities of bodies, there will be no place for them to be in; and therefore the same bodies must needs be no bodies at all." Hereof we may conclude that the body of Christ, which you have imagined to be contained grossly and carnally in the sacrament, forasmuch as by your own confession it hath neither quality, nor quantity, nor form, nor place, nor proportion of body, therefore by St Augustine's doctrine it is no body.

August. in eadem Epist. ad Dard.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding answereth: "Bodies doubtless left to their own common nature have always the state that St Augustine speaketh of in his epistle to Dardanus. But the precious body of Christ made present in the sacrament is not bound to that state or condition." *The answer.* O M. Harding, when will you learn to deal plainly? What speak you so vainly of bodies left to their own common nature? Doth not St Augustine, in the same his epistle unto Dardanus, speak namely and specially of the body of Christ? I mean of that most glorious body that is now in heaven, above all powers and dominions, at the right hand of the Father. Doth not St Augustine say of the self-same body, *Huic corpori immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit: secundum hanc formam Christus non est putandus ubique diffusus*[11]? "Unto that same body of Christ God hath given immortality; yet hath he not taken from it the very nature of a body. After this form or proportion of body we may not think that Christ is extended or spread into all places?" Doth not St Augustine in the self-same place say of the self-same most glorious body of Christ, *Christus Jesus ubique [est] per id quod Deus; ...in cœlo autem per id quod homo*[12]? "Christ Jesus is every where and in all places by way of his Godhead; and in heaven by way of his manhood[13]?" Or doth not St Augustine say of the self-same body, as he is alleged by Gratian, *Corpus [Christi]...in quo resurrexit [in] uno loco esse oportet*[14]? "The body of Christ wherein he rose again must needs be in one place?" Is not this that body whereof Dardanus moved his question? Is not this that body whereof St Augustine maketh his answer? Or had he any cause to speak of any other body but only of this?

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 117. [Detect.]

August. ad Dard. Epist.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Prima.

"But," you say, "the precious body of Christ made present in the sacrament is not bound to that condition." These be your own fantasies, M. Harding, not the words of St Augustine: for St Augustine never told you of Christ's body made present in the sacrament. But think you, or would you have your reader to think, that Christ hath such change of bodies, the one precious, the other not precious? or that the blessed body of Christ is more precious and glorious in the sacrament than it is in heaven at the right hand of God? O how much better were it for you to speak the truth, and to leave these fables! Christ's body doubtless is now most glorious, as being the body of the Son of God,

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[9 August. Op. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681.]

[10 Id. ibid. cap. vi. 18. col. 683.]

[11 See above, note 9.]

[12 Id. ibid.]

[13 Manhead, 1570.]

[14 Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935.]

Form and Substance.

endued with immortality, and full of glory; yet notwithstanding it is a body, and therefore in one place, as St Augustine saith, and not in many.

Here it is a world to see what pretty sport M. Harding maketh himself with the poor penman of this Apology. As God would, the simple body unwares alleged Fulgentius clean against himself. For the words of Fulgentius be these: *Christus, cum absit a nobis per formam servi, tamen semper est nobiscum per formam Dei*[1]: "Whereas Christ is absent from us by the form of a servant, yet is he evermore present with us by the form of God." Whereby, saith M. Harding's commentary, he meaneth that Christ is no more here among us in form and shape of man, in such wise as we see men live in the earth. "And these words," saith he, "dash their whole purpose; and therefore the prelates of this new English church have altered the sense of them by shifting in this word 'manhood,' instead of 'the form of a servant,' and word[2] 'Godhead,' instead of 'the form of God.'"

I beseech thee, gentle reader, spare me a little thine indifferent ear, lest in these misty clouds of M. Harding's distinctions thou happen to wander, and lose thy way. All this great ado riseth only of some notable difference that is fancied to be between these two words "form" and "substance." For M. Harding would fain have thee believe, that the substance of Christ's body is in many places, but the form of the same body can be only in one place, and not in many.

If I should demand M. Harding this question by the way, wherefore Christ's body in form may not as well be in many places together as the same in substance; or how he knoweth it; or what doctor or father ever taught it; or how we may be well assured of it; perhaps he would take a day to consider it better. For thus a man might put him in mind of the grounds of his religion: Sir, you[3] know God is omnipotent, and his power infinite: ye may not make him thrall and subject to your senses. That were natural reason: that were infidelity. Christ is as well able to dispose of the form of his body as of the substance, and can as well present the one in many places as the other. Howbeit, thus much only by the way.

Addition.

M. Hard. p. 118. a. [Detect.]

Addition. To reprove all that may be spoken in this behalf, M. Harding thus frameth his new objection: "The voice that is one in the originie, pronounced by one man, if you will believe Priscian, that ancient learned grammarian, is a very body. And yet the self-same one voice is driven into the ears of a thousand persons at once, as experience teacheth you by the common course of nature. And yet you will needs appoint the omnipotent power of God such limits as please you." *The answer.* Here, M. Harding, ye have broken St Augustine's head in favour of Priscian. But, alas! what hard shift is this? What should this poor silly grammarian be brought forth as a champion to prove matters in divinity? Must St Augustine, St Hierome, and St Ambrose stand back, and give place unto Priscian? Or if Priscian tell you that a voice is a body, will you believe him? Certainly, M. Harding, as the voice of a man is a body, so the light in the air, and the chirping of a sparrow, and the bleating of a sheep is a body, and your face in a glass is likewise a body. But Aristotle would have told you: *Sonus est qualitas sensibilis aeris:* "A voice or sound is a sensible quality of the air." It is an accident, saith Aristotle, and not a body; in the predicament of quality, and not of substance. Thus ye confound nature, M. Harding, and build upon sand.

But you say ye "must send M. Jewel, being destitute of faith, unto Aristotle, to learn wit of him." God increase our faith, M. Harding, and supply that wanteth! I am not ashamed to learn wit either of Aristotle or of any the meanest of God's creatures. Balaam might have learned wit of his ass. But, if yourself would go to Aristotle, and tell him that a voice is a body, that is to say, that an accident is a substance, I trow he would not greatly commend your wisdom.

Howbeit, let a voice be a body, and, to please poor Priscian, let us refuse no absurdity nor repugnance in nature. Yet is your purpose never the near[4]. For the natural order of hearing standeth thus, as it is agreed by all philosophers.

[1 See before, page 252, note 11.]
[2 And this word, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[3 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[4 Neare: nearer.]

First, the voice is a striking or beating of the air. Then the air so stricken, and proceeding from one mouth, as from the original, is multiplied forward by sundry circles, as we see rings multiplied in the water at the casting in of a stone; and by mean of the said circles the said voice is driven, and falleth into the ears of the hearers, and, being but one at the first, by multiplication is made many. And to this purpose St Augustine saith: *Sonus per moras temporum tendi et dividi potest*[5]: "The sound or voice, by leisure of time, may be extended along, and divided into parts," that is, to satisfy the sense of every hearer. Therefore, M. Harding, the voice, being one at the first, and afterward by multiplication increasing, and falling into a thousand ears, is no more one voice in the end than a thousand ears are one ear. For every ear receiveth severally his particular voice; and, as many as be the ears hearing, so many in number be the voices.

Form and Substance.

These things, gentle reader, are true and certain, although perhaps unsavoury and dark unto the simple. But let M. Harding bear the blame hereof. For thus it pleased him to lay forth his philosophy out of grammarians, and to teach thee that a voice is a body, and to send us to Aristotle to learn wit. Verily it is but a simple kind of arguing to reason thus:

One voice may fall into many ears;

Ergo, the body of Christ hath not the proportion of a body.

But now, what if all this great imagined difference be no difference? What if these two words "form" and "substance," as they be used by Fulgentius, be all one? What then will M. Harding do with his pretty gloss?

Verily, Athanasius saith thus: [a]*Natura, essentia, genus, forma unum sunt*[6]: "Nature, substance, kind, and form be all one thing." Leo saith: [b]*Quid est in forma Dei?... In natura Dei*[7]: "What is it to be in the form of God?" He answereth: "It is to be in the nature of God." Chrysostom saith: [c]*Forma Dei natura Dei est*[8]: "The form of God is the nature of God." St Augustine saith: [d]*Secundum formam Dei Christus ipse de se loquitur, Ego et Pater unum sumus*[9]: "As concerning the form of God, Christ himself saith of himself, 'I and my Father are both one'." Likewise again he saith: [e]*Una est forma, quia una est Divinitas*[10]: "The form is one, because the Godhead is one."

[a] Athanas. de Definit.
[b] Leo Epist. 97. cap. iii.
[c] Chrysost. ad Phil. Hom. 6.
[d] August. de Temp. Serm. 177. de Ascens. Serm. 4.
[e] August. Epist. 177.

In like sort, of the form of a servant Leo saith: [f]*Quæro quid sit formam servi accipere? Sine dubio perfectionem naturæ et conditionis... humanæ*[11]: "What is it to take the form of a servant?" He answereth: "Doubtless it is to take the perfection of nature and state of man." Chrysostom saith: [g]*Forma servi... omnino est natura servi*[12]: "The form of a servant verily is the nature of a servant." St Augustine saith: [h]*Quando... de forma servi in Christo cogitas, humanam effigiem cogita, si est in te fides*[13]: "When thou thinkest of the form of a servant in Christ, think of the shape of a man, if there be any faith in thee." Again: [i][*Christum*] *secundum humanitatem,... visibilem, corporeum, localem, atque omnia membra humana veraciter habentem credere convenit et confiteri*[14]: "We must believe and confess that Christ according to his humanity is visible, hath the substance and properties of a body, is contained in place, and verily hath all the members and the whole proportion of a man." To leave all others, Haimo saith: [k]*Formam servi accepit, id est, in veritate hominem accepit*[15]: "He took the form of a servant, that is to say, in very truth he took man."

[f] Leo Epist. 97. cap. iii.
[g] Chrysost. ad Phil. Hom. 6.
[h] August. in Johan. Tract. 40.
[i] August. de Essent. Div.
[k] Haim. in Epist. ad Phil. cap. ii.

[5 Expressions nearly resembling the above may be found August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Music. Lib. VI. capp. ii. iii. Tom. I. cols. 513, 4.]

[6 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Lib. de Def. i. 8. Tom. II. p. 244. This treatise is spurious.]

[7 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Leon. August. Epist. xcvii. 5. col. 506. But these words are quoted by Leo from Ambrose. Conf. Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Sabin. Epist. xlvi. 7. Tom. II. col. 986.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Philip. cap. ii. Hom. vi. Tom. XI. pp. 234, 5.]

[9 August. Op. Serm. clxxviii. In Ascens. Dom. iii. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 304. This sermon is probably not genuine.]

[10 ...una quippe forma est, quia una, ut ita dicam, deitas.—Id. ad Pascent. Epist. ccxli. 1. Tom. II. col. 865.]

[11 Leon. Magni Op. Ad Leon. August. Epist. xcvii. 5. col. 506; where *accipiens*. See above, note 7.]

[12 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Philip. cap. ii. Hom. vi. Tom. XI. p. 234.]

[13 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. viii. Tractat. xl. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 566; where *cogitas in Christo*.]

[14 Id. De Essent. Divin. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 72; where *juxta humanitatem*. This treatise is spurious.]

[15 Haymo in Paul. Epist. Interp. 1528. Ad Philip. cap. ii. fol. R. ii.; where *accipiens*, and *hominem suscipiens*.]

Form of man, &c.

Ye see, M. Harding, by these testimonies of the ancient learned fathers, far contrary to your vain distinction, that the "form" of God is nothing else but God, and the "form" of man is nothing else but man. Wherefore then have you thus devised us this new difference? Wherefore say you of your own head, that "form" and "substance" be so contrary, seeing the catholic fathers say they be both one? or wherefore be you so busy to trouble the penman without cause? Certainly St Augustine joineth "form" and "substance" both together, and by the one expoundeth the other: *In eadem...forma atque substantia:* "In the same form and substance;" and again expoundeth the same "form" *veritatem corporis*[1], "the truth of a body."

August. ad Dard. Epist. 57.

By these it is plain that, when Fulgentius saith the "form" of God, he meaneth thereby the "substance," the "nature," and the "Divinity" of God; and, when he saith the "form" of a servant, he meaneth likewise the "nature," the "substance," the "truth," the "perfection," and the "very manhood" of a man. And the whole drift of his discourse is this, that Christ, being both God and man, by the nature and substance of his Godhead is every where; but by the nature and substance of his manhood, and truth of his body, is only in one place, and not in more; agreeing therein with these words of St Augustine, before rehearsed: *Corpus...in quo resurrexit [in] uno loco esse oportet*[2]: "The body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place." As for real or bodily presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or the body of Christ without form or proportion of a body, this learned father Fulgentius writeth nothing. Neither was there any such fantasy in those days in the church of God[3].

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Prima.

Here we are[4] terribly charged with guileful dealing, with a special note also in the margin: "Fulgentius foully falsified." We have shifted in this word "manhood[5]" instead of "the form of a servant;" and this word "Godhead" instead of "the form of God." And therefore both the penman and the prelates of our new clergy must needs be brought forth before the bar.

I will not here tell you, M. Harding, how lewdly ye have demeaned yourself towards her whom it liketh you so often and so scornfully to call the lady interpreter; a lady, I will not say of what learning, virtue, and gravity, but certainly as far from all unwomanly presumption, wherewith ye so rudely touch her, as you are from all manly modesty; and, for ought that may appear by these toys and trifles ye have sent us over, as full of wisdom as you of folly[6].

But the prelates of this new clergy, you say, have foully falsified both the words and the sense of Fulgentius. And wherein, M. Harding? Forsooth, instead of these words "the form of man" and "the form of God," for the better understanding of the unlearned, they have used these words, as more commonly known, "Godhead" and "manhood[5]." If this be so foul a fault, wherefore then is the old father and martyr Vigilius suffered thus to say, *Dei Filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit a nobis; secundum Divinitatem suam semper est nobiscum*[7]? "The Son of God according to his manhood[5] is departed from us; according to his Godhead is ever with us?" Or again, *Christus est ubique secundum naturam Divinitatis suæ; et loco continetur secundum naturam humanitatis suæ*[8]? "Christ is in all places according to the nature of his Godhead; and is contained in one place according to the nature of his manhood[5]?"

Vigil. Lib. i. contr. Eutych.

Wherefore doth Cyrillus say, *Secundum carnem solam abiturus erat; adest autem semper virtute Deitatis*[9]? "According to the flesh only he would depart; but by the power of his Godhead he is ever present?" Wherefore doth Gregory

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. ix. cap. xxi.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681.]

[2 Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935.]

[3 These two sentences do not appear in 1567.]

[4 Are we, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Manhead, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Here 1567 proceeds: "I beseech you, call your words again to mind, if you can without blushing: 'so roughly to handle so soft a creature.' This phrase of speech your very friends have much misliked; and, as it is indeed, so in plain words they call it ruffianry, a virtue, although much agreeable to your profession, yet unmeet for a man either of learning or of sober wisdom. But this fault among many others, as I have said, I will dissemble. Although your whole book be utterly void of divinity, yet at the least some sense of humanity had been commendable."]

[7 Vigil. adv. Eutych. Lib. I. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. p. 518. See before, page 254, note 3.]

[8 ...esse quidem ubique &c. loco contineri &c. —Id. Lib. IV. in eod. p. 546.]

[9 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. ix. Tom. IV. p. 973.]

say, *Verbum incarnatum... manet et recedit: manet Divinitate, recedit corpore*[10]? "The Word incarnate both abideth with us, and departeth from us: it abideth with us by the Godhead; it departeth from us by the body (or manhood[5])?" Wherefore doth St Augustine say, *Ibat per id quod homo erat:... manebat per id quod Deus erat. Ibat per id quod uno loco erat: manebat per id quod ubique erat*[11]? "Christ departed by that he was man; and abode by that he was God. He departed by that that was in one place: he abode by that that is in all places?" Form of man, &c. Gregor. Hom. 30. in Die Penteost. August. in Johan. Tract. 78.

If ye will yet stand in doubt what these holy fathers meant by the manhood[5] of Christ that departed from us, let St Augustine open both his own and their meanings. Thus he writeth in express and plain words touching the same: *Secundum carnem... quam Verbum assumpsit; secundum id quod de virgine natus est; secundum id quod a Judæis prehensus est, quod ligno confixus, quod de cruce depositus, quod linteis involutus, quod in sepulcro conditus, quod in resurrectione manifestatus, [me] non semper habebitis vobiscum*[12]: "According to the flesh that the Word received; according to that he was born of the virgin; according to that he was taken of the Jews; according to that he was nailed to the tree, taken down from the cross, lapped in a sheet, laid in the grave, and was declared in his resurrection," these words are true, "Ye shall not have me always with you." Likewise again he saith: *Dominus [noster] absentavit se corpore ab omni ecclesia, et ascendit in cœlum*[13]: "Our Lord, as touching his body, absented himself from his whole church, and ascended into heaven." August. in Johan. Tract. 50. August in Serm. in fer. 2. Pasch.

To be short, if it be so heinous an error in this case to use these words "Godhead" and "manhood[5]," wherefore is not Fulgentius himself reproved for so often using the same? These be his words: *Secundum humanitatem suam localiter erat in terra: secundum Divinitatem et cœlum implevit et terram.... Vera humanitas Christi localis est: vera Divinitas semper immensa est.... Caro Christi absque dubitatione localis est: Divinitas tamen ejus ubique semper est.... Permansit in Christo immensa Divinitas: suscepta est ab eo localis humanitas.... Quomodo ascendit in cœlum, nisi quia localis et verus est homo? Quomodo adest fidelibus, nisi quia idem immensus et verus est Deus*[14]? "Christ according to his manhood was placed in earth; but according to his Godhead he filled both heaven and earth. The manhood of Christ is contained in place: the Godhead of Christ is infinite, and in all places. The flesh of Christ is doubtless in (one) place: the Godhead of Christ is for ever in every place. There remained still in Christ the infinite Godhead: there was received of him a local manhood. How ascended he into heaven, saving that he is very man contained in place? How is he present with the faithful, saving that he is infinite, and true God?" Last of all he saith: *Unus idemque [Christus] secundum humanam substantiam aberat cœlo cum esset in terra, et dereliquit terram cum ascendisset in cœlum*[15]: "Christ, being one according to the substance of his manhood, was absent from heaven when he was in earth, and forsook the earth when he ascended into heaven." Fulgent. ad Reg. Thras. Lib. ii.

Thus many times, M. Harding, ye have these words in one place together in Fulgentius himself, "the Godhead," "the manhood," "very God," "very man," the "flesh of Christ," the "substance of the manhood." And these be the selfsame words that you reprove.

Blot out therefore, for shame, that unadvised note in your margin. Look better to your book. Work hereafter more discreetly, and trouble not neither penmen nor others without cause. Otherwise the penman will tell you what bird bare the feather that made you a pen.

[10 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. II. Hom. xxx. 2. Tom. I. col. 1576; where *recedit corpore, manet divinitate.*]

[11 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xiv. Tractat. lxxviii. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 698.]

[12 Id. ibid. cap. xii. Tractat. l. 13. col. 634.]

[13 Id. Serm. ccxxxv. In Dieb. Pasch. vi. 4. Tom. V. col. 990.]

[14 Quomodo autem ascendit &c. Aut quomodo adest fidelibus suis &c...in quo permansisset vera et immensa divinitas, et a quo suscipienda esset vera localisque humanitas...secundum veram humanitatem suam localiter tunc esset in terra, secundum divinitatem...cœlum totus impleret et terram. Istam Christi veram humanitatem, quæ localis est, ut veram divinitatem (quæ immensa semper est) &c...Cum ergo caro Christi localis absque dubitatione monstraretur, divinitas tamen ejus ubique semper esse &c.—Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. Ad Trasim. Lib. II. capp. xvii. xviii. cols. 173, 4.]

[15 Id. ibid. col. 172; where *absens*, and *derelinquens.*]

The Holy Ghost is God.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. i. Division 2.

We believe that the Holy Ghost, who is the third Person in the holy Trinity, is very God; not made, not created[1], not begotten, but proceeding from both the Father and the Son by a certain mean unknown unto man[2], and unspeakable; and that it is his property to mollify and soften the hardness of man's heart, when he is once received thereinto[3], either by the wholesome preaching of the gospel, or by any other way; that he doth give men light, and guide them unto the knowledge of God, to all way of truth, to newness of the whole life, and to everlasting hope of salvation.

M. HARDING.

*As we acknowledge this article to be true and catholic, so we demand of these defenders how they can prove the same. Have they either express scripture for it, or any of the four first[4] general councils, which be esteemed of most authority? * We are sure they have not. Therefore we do them to understand, and, if they hear us not, we advertise the readers that fear God and love his truth, that all truth necessarily to be believed is not * expressed in the scripture; and that * other councils be to be received besides the four first, which are allowed in England by parliament....*

* Untruth, as shall appear.

* O folly! Who ever said otherwise?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Consider, M. Harding, notwithstanding ye evermore tell us of fathers, fathers, yet how contrary oftentimes ye are in judgment to the same fathers. You say, as here we may gather by your words[5], that the Godhead of the Holy Ghost cannot be proved by express words of the scriptures; and thereof ye say ye are right sure. Yet St Augustine nothing doubteth but it may be well[6] proved by plain scriptures. Thus he saith: *Spiritus Sanctus est Deus. Unde Petrus cum dixisset,... Ausus es mentiri Spiritui Sancto, continuo sequutus adjunxit quid esset Spiritus Sanctus, et ait, Non es mentitus hominibus, sed Deo*[7]*:* "The Holy Ghost is God. Therefore Peter when he said[8]" (unto Ananias), "Thou hast enterprised to lie to the Holy Ghost, he followed readily, and told him what was the Holy Ghost, and said, 'Thou hast not lied unto man, but unto God'."

August. contr. Liter. Petil. Lib. iii. cap. xlviii.

Again he saith: *Ostendit Paulus Deum esse Spiritum Sanctum, et ideo non esse creaturam*[9]*:* "St Paul sheweth us that the Holy Ghost is God, and therefore is no creature." Likewise again he saith: *Ne quisquam... Spiritum* [*Sanctum*] *negaret Deum, continuo sequutus ait,... Glorificate... et portate Deum in corpore vestro*[10]*:* "Lest any man should deny that the Holy Ghost is God, Paul added immediately these words, Glorify you therefore and bear God in your body." Here have we St Augustine's yea, and M. Harding's nay. St Augustine assureth us he hath scriptures to prove the Godhead of the Holy Ghost: M. Harding saith we are sure he hath none at all. Judge thou now, gentle reader, whether of these doctors thou wilt believe.

August. De Mor. Eccl. Cath. Lib. i cap. xvi. August. Epist. 174.

But what a vain vanity and folly is this! Will M. Harding have us believe that God cannot be God, unless he be allowed by the church of Rome and by the pope? Then are we come again to that that Tertullian writeth merrily of the heathens: *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit. Homo jam Deo propitius esse debebit*[11]: "Unless God please man well," though he be God, "he shall be no God. And so now man must be friendly and favourable unto God."

Tertull. in Apolog.

[1 Create, Conf.]

[2 Men, Conf.]

[3 Thereunto, Conf.]

[4 First four, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5 This clause does not appear in 1567.]

[6 Well be, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 ...quia hæc Trinitas unus Deus. Unde &c. —August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. III. cap. xlviii. 58. Tom. IX. col. 326.]

[8 He had said, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Id. De Mor. Eccles. Cathol. Lib. I. cap. xvi. 29. Tom. I. col. 698.]

[10 Id. Ad Pascent. Epist. ccxxxviii. cap. iv. 21. Tom. II. col. 860.]

[11 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 5. p. 6.]

We believe, M. Harding, that the Holy Ghost is very God indeed, not upon the pope's or his clergy's credit, but, as St Augustine saith, upon the special warrant of the word of God.

And therefore Nazianzene saith: *Dicet aliquis, non esse scriptum, Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum. Atqui proponetur tibi examen testimoniorum, ex quibus ostendetur Divinitatem Sancti Spiritus testatam esse in sacris literis, nisi quis valde insulsus sit et alienus a Spiritu Sancto*[12]: "Some man will say, it is not written that the Holy Ghost is God. I will[13] bring thee forth a whole swarm of authorities, whereby it shall well appear that the Godhead of the Holy Ghost is plainly witnessed in the holy scriptures, unless a man be very dull, and utterly void of the Holy Ghost."

Nazian. de Spirit. Sanct. ὅτι καὶ λίαν ἔγγραφος ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος Θεότης ἐπιδεικνυμένη.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 1.

We believe that there is one church of God, and that the same is not shut up (as in times past among the Jews) into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world: so that there is now no nation which may[14] truly complain that they be shut forth, and may not be one of the church and people of God; and that this church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of Christ; that[15] Christ alone is the Prince of this kingdom; that Christ alone is the Head of this body; and that Christ alone is the Bridegroom of this spouse.

M. HARDING.

It is a world to see these defenders: they which have not kept "unity of Spirit in the bond[16] *of charity," which St Paul requireth, but have severed themselves from the body of the church, tell us now forsooth, they believe that there is one church of God. But what may we think this one church to be? Can they seem to mean any other (whatsoever they pretend) than this new church of late years set up by Satan through the ministry of Martin Luther and those other apostates his companions, if it may be named a church, and not rather a Babylonical tower? For as touching that church, whereof* [a]*all christian people hath ever taken the successor of Peter to be the head under Christ, which is the true catholic church, in their Apology they stick not to say plainly, that it is clean fallen down long agone. And therefore the beginning of Luther's seditions*[17] *and heretical preaching they call* herbam, *as much to say as the green grass, or first spring (this interpreter nameth it the very first appearing) of the gospel, leaf F. 7.*[18] *And in the leaf F. 8. they say that forty years agone and upward, that is, at the first setting forth of Luther and Zuinglius, the truth was unknown and unheard of; and that they first came to the knowledge and preaching of the gospel. Likewise in another place they grant that certain and very strange sects have been stirring in the world ever since the gospel did spring, meaning the time when Luther first brinced*[19] *to Germany the poisoned cup of his heresies, blasphemies, and satanisms.*

Eph. iv.

Look in the leaf H. 7. b.

Leaf E. 2.

In Latin they term it exortum evangelii.

[a] Untruth. For the fathers in the primitive church never took him so.

Thus having condemned the church of God, which was before Luther's time, and allowing that for the true church, the gospel whereof first sprang out of Luther; how can they avouch their belief, and by what reason and learning can they make good, that there is one church of God? We would fain know which and where it is. Is Luther and his congregation that one church of God, or Zuinglius and his rabble, or Osiander and his sort, or Zuenckfeldius and his sect, or Stancarus and his band, or Balthasar Pacimontane and his rank? For all these and certain other sects have [b]*Luther for their founder and for their* radix Jesse, *as it*

[b] Untruth. As shall appear.

[12] Greg. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. De Spir. Sanct. Orat. xxxi. 29. Tom. I. p. 574.]

[13] But I will, 1567, 1570.]

[14] Can, Conf.] [15] And that, Conf.]

[16] Of the Spirit in the band, Conf.; of Spirit in the band, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17] Seditious, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] See before, pages 20, 73, 74, 16, 67.]

[19] Brinced: pledged. See Nares, Glossary, on "brinch."

were, from whence they spring. And indeed every learned man easily seeth how the gutters of their doctrines run out of Luther's sink. Of all these there is none but stoutly claimeth the name of the church.

Then how say ye, defenders, which church be ye? Name the child. If ye name one, we set the others against you, &c...

How often in his books putteth Luther[1] *you and your captains*[2] *in the roll of those that he utterly condemneth, naming roundly together infidels, Turks, epicures, heretics, papists, sacramentaries! And now, if he should hear you challenge the name of the one church of God to you, and deny him and his followers that claimed title, would he not (think ye) stamp and rage, would he not whet his dog-eloquence upon you, and call ye*[3] *worse than these above reckoned, yea, and if he wist how, worse than some of you be yourselves? The like courtesy may ye look for at those other sects, of which every one claimeth the name of this one church of God.*

But ye say that this one church is not shut up into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world. True it is that ye say, whatsoever ye think.... But the holy learned and ancient fathers, where they call and believe the catholic church, they mean (as Vincentius Lirinensis declareth) the church to be catholic, that is to say, universal (for so the word signifieth), in respect of a threefold universality; of places, which this defender here toucheth; of times, and of men, which he toucheth not. "In the catholic church we must have a great care," saith he, "that we hold that which hath every where, evermore, and of all persons been believed[4]*." If these defenders prove not the church they profess themselves to be of to have this threefold universality, then is their congregation not this one church, nor of this one church of God, but the synagogue of antichrist....*

Catholic church.

Why is the church called catholic.

Threefold universality an infallible mark to know the church by[5].

And, although the authors of this Apology crack of the great increase and spreading abroad of their gospel, and now glory in the number of kingdoms, dukedoms, countries[6]*, commonweals, and free cities; yet hath it not gone so far abroad as the Arians' heresy did by three parts of four; which was at length utterly extinguished, as this shall be....*

That the catholic church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of Christ, we acknowledge. Of the same kingdom we confess and believe Christ to be Prince[7] *alone, so as he is Head of this body alone, and so as he is Bridegroom of this spouse alone. For Head and Spouse alone he is in one respect, not alone in another respect.... According to the*[8] *inward influence of grace, Christ properly and only is Head of his mystical body the church; but, as touching the outward government, the being of a head is common to Christ with others. For in this respect certain others may be called heads of the church, as in Amos the prophet the *great states be called "the heads of the people." So the scripture speaketh of king Saul: "When thou were a little one in thine own eyes, thou wast made head among the tribes of Israel." So David saith of himself: "He hath made me head of nations."...*

Christ alone Prince, Head, Bridegroom, Spouse of the church.

In respect of outward government the name of head is attributed to others beside Christ[c].

**Amos vi.*

1 Sam. xv.

Psal. xviii.

Men be called heads, inasmuch as they be instead of Christ, and under Christ; after which meaning St Paul saith to the Corinthians: "For if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it, in persona Christi, *in the person of Christ." And in another place: "We are ambassadors instead*[9] *of Christ, even as though God did exhort you through us." To conclude in few, according to inward influence of grace into every faithful member, Christ only is Head of the church; according to outward governing the* [c]*pope under Christ and instead of Christ is head of the same.*

2 Cor. ii.

2 Cor. v.

[c] Untruth. What scripture or doctor ever said so?

[1] He, Conf.]

[2] Capitains, Conf.]

[3] You, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4] In ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.—Vincent. Lirin. Contr. Hær. 1591. cap. iii. p. 6.]

[5] These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6] Counties, Conf.]

[7] Be the prince, Conf.]

[8] This, Conf.]

[9] In the stead, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

As touching the bridegroomship, we say and believe that, if we would speak properly, Christ is the only Bridegroom of the church his spouse, of whom it is said, "He that hath a spouse is a bridegroom:" for from out of the church he begetteth children to himself. But others are called bridegrooms, working together with Christ outwardly to the begetting of spiritual children, whom nevertheless they beget not to themselves, but to Christ. And such are called the ministers of the Bridegroom, inasmuch as they do his stead. And therefore the pope, who is instead of Christ the bridegroom of[10] *the whole church, is* [d]*called also the bridegroom of the universal church: a man may term him the vicegerent bridegroom . . .*

Christ the true Bridegroom, the pope under-bridegroom of the church. John iii.

[d] Untruth. For the ancient fathers never called him so.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I trust, gentle reader, thou wilt not look I should answer all M. Harding's ordinary idle talk. So should I lose good time without cause, and be over troublesome to thine ears. "O," saith he, "what a world it is to see these defenders! They, which have not kept the unity of the Spirit in the bond[11] of charity, which St Paul requireth, but have severed themselves from the body of the church, tell us now forsooth that they believe that there is one church of God." O M. Harding, if we have herein said ill, then bear witness of the ill. If we have said well, wherefore make you these bitter outcries? Whatsoever ye have conceived us to be, yet might ye suffer us quietly to say the truth, specially such truth as you imagine maketh so much for yourself.

Catholic in many or few.

Ye say, we confess that our church began only about forty years sithence, and was never before. No, M. Harding, we confess it not; and you yourself well know we confess it not. It is your tale: it is not ours. We say, and have sufficiently proved, and you know it right well, if ye would be known of that ye know, that our doctrine is the old, and yours is the new. If ye will needs force yourself to the denial, it may easily be proved, and that by such authority as yourself may not well deny, unless ye will once again do now as ye have twice done before.

We say, that our doctrine and the order of our churches is elder than yours by five hundred whole years and more. If ye will not believe us, yet believe M. Harding: he will tell you even the same. Mark well his words: these they be: "It standeth not with Christ his promises made to the church, that he should suffer his church to continue in darkness these thousand years past."

M. Hard. fol. 15. a. [Confut.]

And thus by secret confession he leaveth us five hundred three-score and six whole years at the least; that is to say, the whole time of Christ, of his apostles, and of all the godly-learned doctors and fathers of the primitive church. Which time notwithstanding is thought a great deal better and purer than all the time that hath followed afterward. In this division M. Harding, being attent and eager upon his cause, and claiming as much as he thought with any modesty he might be able, hath claimed to himself only a thousand years of the night, and hath left us well near six hundred years of the day.

This is your own witness, M. Harding. Consider well of it. It is your own. Therefore ye do yourself great wrong, and much deface your own credit, so suddenly to say our doctrine is new. God's name be blessed, it hath the testimony not only of Christ and his apostles, but also of the old learned catholic fathers of the church. And this is it that so much grieveth you, that we reform our churches now according to the pattern and sampler of Christ's and his apostles' first institution. For thereby the disorder and deformity of your churches the more appeareth.

Lirinensis saith: "That thing must be holden for catholic that every where, evermore, and of all men hath been believed[12]." These general notes must be limited with this special restraint: "Where as the churches were not corrupted." For otherwise there was never any doctrine so catholic, no, not the confessed doctrine of Christ himself, that hath been received "evermore," and "every where,"

Vincent. Lir.

[10] In, Conf.]
[11] Band, 1567, 1570.]
[12] Vincent. Lirin. Contr. Hær. cap. iii. p. 6. See note 4, on the preceding page.]

and "of all men," without any exception. For the Turks receive it not, and the Jews abhor it. And so the very gospel of Christ itself by this rule should not be catholic[1]. But, M. Harding, these self-same notes of Lirinensis utterly overthrow the greatest part of that whole doctrine that you would so fain have counted catholic. For neither reacheth it within five hundred years of the apostles' time, nor hath it that antiquity indeed that in face and countenance is pretended, as it is plain by your own former confession; nor was it ever universally received, as hereafter by particulars it shall be proved. It had never that universality, neither of all times and ages, nor of all places and countries; nor was it ever universally received and allowed of all men. Therefore, whatsoever ye call it, ye cannot by your own definition call it catholic.

The catholic church of God standeth not in multitude of persons, but in weight of truth. Otherwise Christ himself and his apostles had not been catholic: for his flock was very little; and the catholic or universal consent of the world stood against it. The church of God is compared to the moon, for that she waxeth and waneth as the moon doth, and sometime is full, sometime is empty; and therefore, as St Augustine saith, is called *catholica, ... quia universaliter perfecta est, et in nullo claudicat, et per totum orbem diffusa est*[2]: "because she is universally perfect[3], and halteth in nothing, and is (not now shut up in one only country, as was the church of the Jews, but) poured throughout the whole world." Though the hearts of men have often changes, yet God's truth is evermore one; and, be it in many or in few, is ever catholic. Thus, M. Harding, it is written by one of your own side: *Etsi non nisi duo viri fideles*[4] *remanerent in mundo, [tamen] in eis salvaretur ecclesia, quæ est unitas fidelium*[5]: "Although there were but two faithful men[6] remaining in the world, yet even in them two the church, which is the unity of the faithful, should be saved."

August. de Gen. ad Lit. cap. i.

Fort. Fidei, Lib. v.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ Some say that, at the time of Christ's passion, the whole faith remained only in the blessed virgin our lady; and that even now the same faith may be so straited that it may rest only in one poor old woman[7]. Which thing if it should happen, yet should not God's truth therefore wander about the world, as it liketh you to jest, *tanquam accidens sine subjecto*. The prophet Osee saith: "There is no truth, there is no mercy, there is no knowledge of God in the earth." Yet notwithstanding the prophet David saith: "The truth of God endureth for ever." "God is true, though all men be false." His truth is a substance, and standeth mightily as the heavens: it wandereth not vainly, as an accident. ☜

Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Conc. Basil. Lib. i. M. Hard. p. 126. a. [Detect.]

Hos. iv.

Psal. cxvi.

Rom. iii.

Luther's dog-eloquence (for so, M. Harding, it liketh you of your modesty to call it), were it never so rough and vehement, the just zeal of God's glory and of his holy temple, which you so miserably had defaced, so enforcing him, yet was it never any thing comparable to your eloquence. For, I beseech you, if ye may have leisure, hearken a little, and hear yourself talk. Behold your own words, so many, so vain, so bitter, so fiery, so furious, all together in one place: "This new church," ye say, "set up by Satan;" "Martin Luther and other apostates his companions;" "this Babylonical tower;" "Luther's seditious and heretical preaching;" "Luther brinced to Germany the poisoned cup of his heresies, blasphemies, and satanisms;" "Zuinglius and his rabble;" "the gutters of this doctrine run out of Luther's sink;" "Luther would stamp and rage, and whet his dog-eloquence upon you;" "you are the synagogue of antichrist." These be the figures and flowers of your speech. Yet must we think that ye can neither stamp nor rage, but use only angels' eloquence. Howbeit, I trust no wise man will judge our cause the worse for that your[8] tongue can so readily serve to speak[9] ill.

[1 These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. De Gen. ad Lit. cap. i. 4. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 94.]

[3 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Homines, 1567.]

[5 Fortal. Fid. Nurmb. 1494. Lib. v. Consid. ix. fol. 281.]

[6 Two men, 1567.]

[7 Nec vulgari nonnullorum opinioni consentio, qui tempore dominicæ passionis solam virginem aiunt in fide perstitisse. Unde audent aliqui dicere, sic extenuari fidem posse, ut ad unam solam aniculam revertatur.—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Comm. de Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. i. p. 9.]

[8 Our, 1570.]

[9 Serve you to speak, 1567, 1570.]

To the matter. Ye say that, touching the influence of grace, Christ is[10] the Head of the church; but, touching direction and government, the pope only is the head. All this is but your own tale, M. Harding: ye speak it only of yourself: other authority of scripture or doctor ye bring us none. Head.

Addition. ☙ Here M. Harding allegeth sundry authorities to prove the universal supremacy of the pope. Chrysostom, saith he, writeth thus: "Peter, being a fisher, is the head and feeder of the church." And again: "Peter was the master of the world[11]." And again: "Christ made Peter ruler over all the world[12]." In the end he concludeth with good liking of his case, and saith: "How say you, are ye contented now?" *The answer.* No doubt, Master Harding; otherwise, I trow, I were to blame. For here have you brought us great and worthy speeches of St Peter, of whose authority we moved no question: but ye bring us not one word of the pope. If every word spoken to Peter should be applied unto the pope, then should the pope be called Satan; for so Christ called Peter. Addition. ☙ M. Hard. p. 131. a. [Detect.] Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 87. In Matt. Hom. 55. Matt. xvi.

Neither do these words here alleged prove of necessity that Peter himself was the head and ruler of all the world. For you may find the same words applied as well to St James, to St Paul, and to sundry other holy fathers. Clemens saith thus: "I send greeting unto James, the brother of our Lord, and the bishop of bishops, governor of the holy church of the Jews at Jerusalem, and also of all the churches that by God's providence are every where founded[13]." Here St James is head of all churches whatsoever. Likewise Chrysostom writeth of St Paul: "The nation of the Jews was committed to Michael. But both land and sea, and the habitation of all the world, is committed to St Paul[14]." Likewise St Gregory saith: "Paul had the princehood of all the whole church[15]." So St Hierome calleth Origen *magistrum ecclesiarum*[16], "the master and teacher of the churches." And in like manner Theodoretus calleth St Chrysostom *doctorem orbis terrarum*[17], "the teacher and instructor of all the world." Yet neither James, nor Paul, nor Origen, nor Chrysostom, were bishops of Rome, nor had they that power that by these words is pretended. Clemens, Epist. 1. Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 3. Gregor. in 1 Reg. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Hieron. de Locis Hebr. Theodor. Lib. v. cap. xxxii.

It is great folly to claim the pope's authority by such general words as may be common to so many. ☙

[18] Ye say, St Paul saith: "If I forgave any thing, for your sakes I forgave it in the person of Christ." "We are ambassadors in the stead of Christ, even as though God did exhort you through us." Hereof ye conclude: *Ergo*, "the pope under Christ and instead[19] of Christ is head of the church." If ye conclude not thus, ye wander idly, and speak in vain, and conclude nothing. These words of St Paul nothing touch the pope, but only the faithful and zealous preacher of the gospel. For wherein doth the pope resemble St Paul? Wherein doth he represent the person of Christ? What exhorteth he? What teacheth he? What saith he? What doth he? And yet, if he would do any one part of his whole duty, how might this argument stand for good? St Paul, being at the city of Philippi in Macedonia, exhorted the Corinthians, as in the person of Christ; *ergo*, the pope, being at Rome in Italy, although he neither exhort nor preach, yet is he the head of the universal church. Although divinity go hard with you, yet ye should have seen better to your logic. ☙ 2 Cor. ii. 2 Cor. v.

I grant, bishops may be called the heads of their several churches. So Chry-

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[10] Christ only is, 1567.]

[11] ...ὅτι τοῦτον οὐ τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχειροτόνησε διδάσκαλον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. lxxxviii. Tom. VIII. p. 527.]

[12] ...ὁ δὲ υἱὸς...ἀνθρώπῳ θνητῷ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐνεχείρισε.—Id. In Matt. Hom. liv. Tom. VII. p. 548. Conf. Vol. I. page 429, note 10.]

[13] Clement. ad Jacob. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 31. See Vol. I. page 427.]

[14] Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐνεχειρίσθη· Παῦλος δὲ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην.—Chrysost. Op. De Laud. Paul. Hom. ii. Tom. II. pp. 485, 6.]

[15] ...quia obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. iv. in i. Reg. cap. v. 28. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 250.]

[16] ...Origenem, quem post apostolos ecclesiarum magistrum nemo...negabit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Lib. de Nom. Heb. Præf. Tom. II. cols. 3, 4.]

[17] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. i. cap. xxxii. p. 238.]

[18] Here 1567 inserts, *And yet notwithstanding ye have alleged scriptures too, God wot, even as ye have used to do in other places.*]

[19] In the stead, 1567, 1570.]

[a] Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. 18.
[b] Amos vi.
[c] 1 Sam. xv.
[d] Psal. xviii.
[e] Art. iv. Div. 32.
[f] Cyril. Tom. IV. Conc. in Eph. Syn.[4] Epist. 5.
[g] Gregor. in 1 Reg. Lib. iv. cap. iv.
[h] Prud. in Enchir.
[i] Optat. Lib. i. & ii.

sostom calleth Elias [a]*caput prophetarum*[1], "the head of the prophets;" so Amos saith, [b]"the princes are the heads of the people;" so Saul is called [c]"the head of the tribes of Israel;" so David was made [d]*caput gentium*, "the head of nations." Sundry such other like examples I alleged in my former [e]reply to M. Harding[2]: as that Cyrillus, the bishop of Alexandria, in the council of Ephesus was called [f]*caput . . . episcoporum congregatorum*[3], "the head of the bishops that there were assembled;" that St Gregory saith, [g][*Paulus*], *ad Christum conversus, caput effectus est nationum*[5]: "Paul, being once converted to Christ, was made the head of nations;" that Prudentius saith, [h]*Sancta Bethlem caput est orbis*[6]: "Holy Bethlem is the head of the world." In this sense Optatus saith: [i]"There be four sorts of heads in the church, the bishops, the priests, the deacons, the faithful[7]." And all this only in a certain kind of phrase and manner of speech. But indeed and verily St Augustine saith: [k]*Paulus ipse non poterat caput esse eorum quos plantaverat*[8]: "Paul himself could not be the head of them whom he had planted." Therefore Gregory saith: [l]*Petrus apostolus primum membrum sanctæ et universalis ecclesiæ* [*est*]. *Paulus, Andreas, Johannes, quid aliud quam singularium sunt plebium capita? . . . tamen sub uno Capite omnes membra* [*sunt ecclesiæ*]. *Atque ut cuncta brevi singulo loquutionis astringam, sancti ante legem, sancti in lege, sancti sub gratia; omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti. Et nemo se unquam universalem vocari voluit*[9]: "Peter the apostle is (not the head, but) the chief member of the holy universal church. Paul, Andrew, and John, what are they else but the heads of several nations? Yet notwithstanding under one Head (Christ) they are all members of the church. And to speak shortly, the saints before the law, the saints in the law, the saints in the time of grace, all accomplishing the Lord's body, are placed amongst[10] the members of the church. And there was never yet one that would have himself called the universal bishop." Therefore, whereas M. Harding saith, all christian people have ever taken the successor of Peter to be the head of the catholic church under Christ, he spake[11] it only of himself; and, though the comparison be odious, yet Christ saith: *Cum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur*: "When he speaketh untruth, he speaketh it of his own." St Gregory saith: "Peter was the chief member of the church of Christ;" but not the head.

[k] August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. i. cap. v.
[l] Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

Peter was a member of the church, but not the head.

John viii.

But the bishop of Rome and his hired proctors have taught us far otherwise. Panormitane saith: *Christus et papa faciunt unum consistorium; et, excepto peccato, potest papa quasi omnia facere, quæ potest*[12] *Deus*[13]: "Christ and the pope make one consistory, and keep one court; and, sin only excepted, the pope in a manner can do all things that God can do[14]." This, I trow, is that head of direction and government that M. Harding meaneth.

De Elect. cap. Licet, Abb.

As for the rest, that the church is the kingdom of Christ, and the pope the prince thereof, M. Harding in special words answereth nothing. Notwithstanding, some others have said, *Petro et cœlestis et terreni imperii jura commissa sunt*[15]: "Unto Peter was committed the right both of the heavenly and also of the earthly empire."

Extr. Novit ille, in Gloss.

Last of all he doubteth not but the pope may be called the spouse or

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[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xviii. Tom. IX. p. 636.]

[2 See Vol. I. pages 438, &c.]

[3 Concil. Ephes. Relat. ad Imp. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. III. col. 656.]

[4 This reference stands, Cyril. Tom. IV. Epist. 5. in 1567, 1570.]

[5 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. IV. in I. Reg. cap. v. 28. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 250.]

[6 Aur. Prudent. Enchir. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Nov. Test. 2. Tom. VIII. p. 561.]

[7 ... ut cum sint ... quatuor genera capitum in ecclesia, episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, et fidelium.—Optat. Op. De Schism. Donat. Lut. Par. 1700. Lib. II. 24. p. 43. Conf. Lib. I. 13. p. 11.]

[8 Aut vero apostolus Paulus caput est et origo eorum quos plantaverat, aut &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. I. cap. v. 6. Tom. IX. col. 208.]

[9 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 743; where *apostolorum primus*, and *sub lege*.]

[10 Among, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Speaketh, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest, 1567.]

[13 Panorm. sup. Prima Prim. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 6. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 145, note 7.]

[14 The pope can do whatsoever God himself can do, 1567.]

[15 ...jura cœlestis imperii et terreni Petro commissa a Deo sunt.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. II. Tit. I. Gloss. in cap. 13. col. 532.]

bridegroom of the universal church; and yet the same without the authority of any doctor. He allegeth only St Bernard; but the same St Bernard in the selfsame place saith, and that by M. Harding's own confession, that the pope is not the bridegroom of the church. And therefore he was fain to expound his meaning, and to weigh him down of the other side with his pretty gloss. But St Bernard without gloss saith plainly: *Non sunt omnes amici sponsi, qui hodie sunt sponsi ecclesiæ*[16]: "They be not all the bridegroom's friends that are this day the spouses of the church." *O miserandam sponsam talibus creditam paranymphis!... Non amici... sponsi, sed æmuli sunt*[18]: "O miserable is that spouse that is committed to such leaders! They are not the friends, they are the enemies of the bridegroom."

Bernard. in Conc. Rem.

Bernard. ad Eugen.[17] de Cons. Lib. iii.

Howbeit, we need not greatly to reckon[19] what styles and titles the pope can vouchsafe to allow himself. As he may be called the head, the prince, and the spouse; even so, and by like authority and truth, may he be called the light, the life, the saviour, and the God of the church.

God give him an heart to understand that he may be, although not the head, yet a member of that body; although not the prince, yet a subject in that kingdom; although not the bridegroom, yet a child of the church of God!

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 1.

Furthermore, (we believe) that there be divers degrees of ministers in the church; whereof some be deacons, some priests, some bishops; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the whole charge and setting forth of religion.

M. HARDING.

Here it had been your part to have declared your faith touching the holy sacrament of order, agreeable to the faith of the catholic church; that there be seven orders in the church, four lesser and three greater; for so by good reason they are called. And, as for the institution, authority, and estimation of the greater, specially of the priesthood[21] *and deaconship, ye might have alleged the scriptures; so for the lesser, the example of Christ, the tradition of the apostles, and the testimonies written of the apostles' scholars, of those that both next and soon after followed them, namely, Dionys.* Cap. iii. Hierarch. Ecclesiast.[22]; *Ignatius,* Epist. 8. ad Ecclesiam Antiochenam[22]; *Tertull.* in Præscript. adversus Hæreticos[23]; *Gaius*[24], *pope and martyr in Diocletian's time; Zosimus*[25] *in St Augustine's time; Isichius; Eusebius Cæsariensis*[26] *in*[27] *his Ecclesiastical History; and Epiphanius*[28] *in the end of his book* Contra Hæreses.

Sacrament of order.

By good reason[20].

Untruths boldly presumed, as by the answer it may appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Gentle reader, if I should leave these and other like M. Harding's words unanswered, thou mightest happily think he had said somewhat. Here he saith, it had been our part to have told thee of seven orders in the church, three greater and four less; having indeed himself clean forgotten his own part. For, notwithstanding this controlment and account of so many orders, yet he nameth no more orders than we have named. And verily, if he would have followed his own authorities, it had been hard for him in any good order to have made up his own account.

Orders.

[16 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Rem. Serm. 6. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 737; where *sicut* for *sunt*.]

[17 Fulgent. 1609, 1611.]

[18 Id. ad Eugen. De Consid. Lib. III. cap. v. 20. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 436.]

[19 Reck, 1567, 1570.]

[20 These words are not in Conf.]

[21 Of priesthood, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[22 See below, page 272, notes 10, 11.]

[23 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hær. 41. p. 247.]

[24 Gaii Epist. Decret. ad Felic. Episc. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 183.]

[25 Zosim. Epist. i. ad Hesych. Episc. in eod. Tom. I. p. 488.]

[26 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xliii. p. 198. Conf. Lib. x. cap. iv. p. 315. et Vales. not. in loc.]

[27 Is, Def. 1567.]

[28 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Expos. Fid. 21. Tom. I. p. 1104.]

Orders.

Anaclet. Epist. 3.

For his own Anacletus saith (I call him his own, for that it is only a forged pamphlet, never written by that holy father Anacletus, as it is easy to be seen—but whatsoever he were, thus he saith)[1]: *Amplius quam isti duo ordines sacerdotum (episcopi et presbyteri) nec nobis a Deo collati sunt, nec apostoli docuerunt*[2]*:* "More than these two orders of priests (bishops and elders) neither hath God appointed us, nor have the apostles taught us." And yet of these same two several orders St Hierome seemeth to make only one order. For thus he writeth: *Audio quendam in tantam erupisse*[3] *vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est, episcopis anteferret*[4]*:* "I hear say there is a man broken out unto such wilful fury, that he placeth[5] deacons before priests, that is to say, before bishops." And again: *Apostolus præcipue docet eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos*[6]*:* "The apostle (Paul) specially teacheth us that priests and bishops be all one." The same St Hierome, writing upon the prophet Esay, reckoneth only five orders or degrees in the whole church; the bishops, the priests, the deacons, the enterers or beginners, and the faithful[7]: and other order of the church he knoweth none.

Hieron. ad Evag.

Hieron. in eadem Epist.

Hieron. in Esai. cap. xix. Catechumeni.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ As for M. Harding's pretty imaginations of terms general and terms special, they are mere vanities, not worth the hearing. For St Hierome's words be plain enough: "A priest and a bishop is all one thing; and, before that by the working of the devil parts were taken in religion, and some said, I hold of Paul; some, I hold of Apollo; and some others, I hold of Peter; the churches were governed by the common council of the priests[8]." ☜

Hieron. ad Tit. cap. i.

Clemens, Epist. 2. De Cons. Dist. 3. Tribus gradibus.

Clemens saith: *Tribus ... gradibus commissa sunt sacramenta divinorum secretorum, id est, presbytero, diacono, et ministro*[9]*:* "The mysteries of the holy secrecies be committed unto three orders; that is, unto the priests, unto the deacons, and unto the ministers;" and yet deacons and ministers, as touching the name, are all one.

Dion. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. v.

Dionysius likewise hath three orders, but not the same; for he reckoneth bishops, priests, and deacons[10]. And, whereas M. Harding maketh his account of four of the less or inferior orders, meaning thereby *ostiarios, lectores, exorcistas, acoluthos,* "the door-keepers, the readers, the conjurers, and the waiters or followers;" his own Ignatius addeth thereto three other orders, *cantores, laboratores, confitentes*[11], "the chanters or singers, the labourers, and the confessors." Clemens added[12] thereto *catechistas*[13], "the informers or teachers" of them that were entering into the faith. A little vain book, bearing the name of St Hierome, *De septem Ordinibus Ecclesiæ,* addeth yet another order, and calleth them *fossarios,* that is, "the sextines," or overseers of the graves. And, lest you should think he reckoneth this order as amongst other necessary offices to serve the people, and not as any part of the clergy, his words be these: *Primus ... in clericis fossariorum ordo est; qui in similitudinem Tobiæ sancti sepelire mortuos admonent*[14]*:* "The first order of the clergy is the order of the sextines; which, as holy Toby was wont to do, call upon the people for the burial of the dead."

Ignat. ad Antioch. ψάλτας,... κοπιῶντας, ἐξορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς.

Clemens, Epist. 1.

Hieron. de 7. Ord. Eccles.

[1 The words after *Anacletus saith* do not appear in 1567.]

[2 Anaclet. Epist. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 63. The decretal epistles of the early bishops of Rome are spurious.]

[3 Eripuisse, 1570.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 802.]

[5 Pleaseth, 1570.]

[6 Id. ibid.; where *perspicue doceat.*]

[7 ...vel quinque ecclesiæ ordines, episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, fideles, catechumenos sentiunt.—Id. Comm. Lib. v. in Isai. Proph. cap. xix. Tom. III. col. 131.]

[8 Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus: et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur.—Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 413.]

[9 Clement. ad Jacob. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 41. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 23. col. 1921.]

[10 Dion. Areop. Op. Ant. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. v. i. 6. Tom. I. p. 361.]

[11 Ignat. ad Antioch. Epist. 12. in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 107. This epistle is spurious.]

[12 Addeth, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Clement. ad Jacob. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 34.]

[14 Hieron. Op. De Sept. Ord. Eccles. Tom. V. col. 100; where *mortuos admonentur.* This treatise is spurious.]

Orders.

Likewise to the three greater orders Isidorus addeth another distinct and several order of bishops[15]; unto whom agreeth Gulielmus Altisiodorensis and Gottofredus Pictaviensis, as appeareth by Johannes Scotus[16]. Again, of the other inferior orders St Hierome leaveth out the conjurers and waiters: St Ambrose leaveth out the waiters and door-keepers[17]: the canons of the apostles leave out conjurers, waiters, and door-keepers, all three together[18].

Isidor. Etymol. Lib. I. cap. xii. Scot. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 24. Quæst. I. Ambros in Epist ad Ephes. cap. iv.

In this so great dissension and darkness, what way will M. Harding take to follow? By Anacletus there be two orders; by Clemens and St Hierome three; by Hierome counterfeit seven; by others eight; by others nine; by others ten.

All this notwithstanding, he telleth us our part had been to have shewed that there be just seven orders in the church, three great and four less, without doubt or question.

Here, gentle reader, it had been M. Harding's part to have shewed us the reasons and grounds of this divinity: these they be, as they are alleged by the best of that side: Christ saith, "I am the door;" *ergo*, "there must be in the church an order of door-keepers." Christ saith, "I am the light of the world." Hereupon have they founded the order of acoluthes, to carry tapers[19]. And so for the rest. Thus much may serve for a taste.

Pet. Lomb. Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. 24.

Now let us consider what these orders have to do, and with how holy and weighty offices they stand charged in the church of God. First, Clemens (of whose authority M. Harding maketh no small account, for he calleth him the apostles' fellow) writeth thus: *Unus hypodiaconus det aquam manibus sacerdotum: ... duo diaconi ex utraque parte altaris teneant flabellum confectum ex tenuibus membranis vel ex pavonum pennis, quibus leviter abigant prætervolantes bestiolas, ne in pocula incidant*[20]: "Let one of the subdeacons give water to the priests' hands: let two deacons stand at the two ends of the altar, either of them with a fan made of fine parchment, or of peacocks' tails, therewith softly to chase away the flies, that they fall not into the communion-cups." The offices of other inferior orders be these, as they be noted by one of M. Harding's own side: *Ad minores ordines hæc spectant; portare cereos et urceolum, [et] canes expellere de ecclesia*[21]: "To the less orders these things belong; to carry tapers and holy water-stocks, and to drive dogs out of[22] the church." These, I trow, be the mystical holy orders, whereof M. Harding saith our part had been to have made some long discourse; being himself ashamed, as it may appear by his silence, either to name them in particular, or to open the secrets of their offices.

Clem. Const. Apost. Lib. viii. cap. xv.

Aureum Speculum Papæ.

Howbeit indeed, good christian reader, sundry of these offices in the primitive church were appointed to very good and sober purposes. The door-keeper's office was then to keep out excommunicate persons, that they should not press in among the faithful. The psalmist's or singer's office was to sing the psalms, thereby to move the people's hearts to devotion. The exorcist's office was, by a special gift of God, serving only for that time, to call forth foul spirits out of the bodies of them that were possessed. The reader's office was openly, and plainly, and distinctly to pronounce the scriptures unto the people; and to this use the bishop delivered unto him a book with this charge: *Accipe, et esto relator verbi Dei*[23]: "Take thou this book, and be thou a pronouncer of

Dist. 23. Lect.

[15 ...gradus et nomina hæc sunt: ostiarius, psalmista, lector, exorcista, acolytus, subdiaconus, diaconus, presbyter, episcopus.—Isidor. Hisp. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. Orig. Lib. VII. cap. xii. p. 62.]

[16 J. Duns Scot. Op. 1639. Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xxiv. Quæst. Unic. Tom. IX. pp. 514, 5. where Scotus refers to the authors here cited.]

[17 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. vv. 11, 12. Tom. II. Append. col. 241.]

[18 Canon. Apost. cap. 68. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 24.]

[19 Ipse enim se ostiarium significans dicit, Ego sum ostium...Hoc officium Dominus se habere testatur dicens, Ego sum lux mundi: &c.—Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xxiv. C. F. foll. 392. 2, 393. 2.]

[20 Const. Apostol. Lib. VIII. capp. xi. xii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. cols. 471, 4.]

[21 Quia spectantia ad minores ordines, ut portare cereas, urceolum &c.—Aur. Spec. Papæ in Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 65.]

[22 Dogs of, 1567, 1570.]

[23 Ex Concil. Carthag. c. 8. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxiii. can. 18. col. 114.]

Dist. 21. Cleros.

the word of God." And therefore Isidorus saith: *Tanta.... et tam clara erit ejus vox, ut quamvis longe positorum aures adimpleat*[1]: "The reader's voice must be so loud and so clear, that it may be able to fill the ears of them that stand far off." The acoluthe's or waiter's office was to attend upon the bishop, as a witness of his conversation.

To such good uses these offices then served in the church of God. But now there is nothing left, saving the bare name only, without any manner use or office. For neither doth the *ostiarius* keep out the excommunicates, nor doth the *acoluthus* wait upon the bishop, nor doth the exorcist cast forth devils, nor doth the psalmist sing psalms[2], nor doth the reader openly pronounce the scriptures (I might yet step a little farther, to open the whole beauty of the clergy of Rome), nor doth the deacon make provision for the poor, nor doth the bishop preach the word of God.

This had been our part to have opened at large; and for leaving of the same we were worthy, by M. Harding's judgment, to be reproved.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 2.

Yet notwithstanding we say, that there neither is nor can be any one man which may have the whole superiority in this universal state; for that Christ is ever present to assist his church, and needeth not any man to supply his room, as his only heir to all his substance; and that there can be no one mortal creature which is able to comprehend or conceive in his mind the universal church, that is to wit, all the parts of the world, much less able rightly and duly to put them in order and to govern them[3].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding's answer hereto is long and tedious. The substance thereof in short is this: where we say, No one mortal man is able to wield the burden of the whole church of God; M. Harding answereth[4], *Where any thing is indeed, there whether it may be or no, to discuss it is needless.... Therefore whether any one man can be superior and chief over the whole church, we leave to speak; that*

1. *so it is, thus we prove: Every parish hath his several vicar or parson, and every diocese his own bishop;* ergo, *what reason is it there be not one chief governor of the whole christian people?*
2. *When questions be moved in matters of faith, through diversities of judgments the church should be divided, unless by authority of one it were kept in unity.*
3. *They that say otherwise take from Christ the glory of his providence and the praise of his great love towards his church.*
4. *The peace of the church is more conveniently procured by one than by many.*
5. *It is most meet that the church militant, touching government, resemble the church triumphant. But in the triumphant church one is Governor over the whole, that is God. Therefore in the church militant order requireth that one bear rule over all, according to that the holy captain Josue seemeth to speak: "The children of Juda and the children of Israel shall assemble together, and they shall make to themselves one head." Thereof our Lord saith in St John: "There shall be one fold, and one Shepherd."* Josh. i. John x.

A great oversight. For these be the words, not of the captain Josua, but of the prophet Osee.

Indeed Christ is Head of his body. Yet need it is, forasmuch as Christ now dwelleth not with us in visible presence, his church have one man to do his stead of outward ruling in earth. And therefore he said unto Peter: "Feed my flock:" "Confirm thy brethren."

[1 Isidor. Libr. Sept. Etym. c. ii. in eod. Dist. xxi. can. 1. col. 94; where *eorum vox*, and *adimpleant*. Conf. Isidor. Hisp. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. Orig. Lib. VII. cap. xii. p. 62.]

[2 Sing the psalms, 1567.]

[3 To put them in order and to govern them rightly and duly, Conf.]

[4 Harding's reply is here, as Jewel says, greatly abridged, but for the most part in Harding's own words.]

Thus we see these defenders' negative doctrine, that no one man may have the superiority over the whole state of the church, disproved as utterly false. Unity by one Pope.

*To their second reason we grant Christ needed not any man to supply his room, that should succeed in his whole substance. Neither is man of capacity of such succession: *neither hath there any such fond saying been uttered by the divines.* Loe[5]. * Untruth. For Panormitan saith: *Papa potest quasi omnia facere quæ potest*[6] *Deus*[7]. * Untruth.

*But, because Christ saw the knot of unity should be most surely kept knit by government of one, he *committed the regiment of the whole church unto one, whose visible ministry he might use instead of himself.*

To the third we say, that man is not only able to comprehend in his mind and conceive the universal church, but also to put it in order, and to govern it so far as is expedient.

Last of all, whosoever will not be fed nor ruled by his own[8] *Shepherd, and breaketh out of this one fold, he is not of the flock of Christ, but of the herd of antichrist.*

Here, gentle reader, M. Harding hath brought thee, not the authority of any one catholic doctor or learned father, but only a few cold reasons of his own, with certain scriptures unadvisedly alleged, and violently forced from their meaning, as shall soon appear.

His first reason concludeth very weakly: Every parish is governed by one vicar or parson, and every diocese is governed by one several bishop; *ergo*, there is one universal governor over the whole church of Christ. Here is neither order in reason, nor sequel in nature. Therefore, if any man would deny the argument, M. Harding were never able to make it good. He might as well and in as good order reason thus: Every kingdom or commonweal hath one prince or magistrate to rule over it; *ergo*, there must be[9] one universal prince to rule over the whole world. Or thus: Every flock of sheep hath one several shepherd to oversee them; *ergo*, all the flocks through the world ought to be overseen[10] by one general shepherd. Otherwise M. Harding imagineth this foul absurdity must needs follow, that the part is better governed than the whole. 1.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding answereth thus: "I see no absurdity in this conclusion. And perhaps, when the matter is well weighed, it may seem the world was never in better state than when it was governed by one good emperor." *The answer.* O M. Harding, why should you so vainly avouch untruth? What one emperor had ever the regiment of all the world? Where stood his palace? What was his name? Why tell you such tales of those things that never were, and you certainly know they never were? Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 137. a. [Detect.]

Indeed the emperors of Rome, after the time of Augustus Cæsar, had a great part of the world under their hands. But the whole world, you know, they never had; no, neither the half deal, nor the third, nor the fourth part of the world. Yet, having only that they had, they grew so tyrannical and so intolerable over their subjects, and so licentious and monstrous in their lives, that, unless it be only among the popes, it is not possible to find so many the like examples of horror in any state or kingdom of the world. From the death of Augustus Cæsar unto Theodosius, within the space of less than four hundred years, more than forty emperors were slain with violence, one of them seeking traitorous means to murder another. When the prince's estate was so uncertain and miserable, what may we think was then the misery of the people? Yet, saith M. Harding, the world was never in better state. ☞ ☞

The other three reasons touching the providence of God, the debating of questions in faith, and conserving of peace and unity of the church, are answered already in my former reply to M. Harding[11]. Indeed I remember, to avouch all that M. Harding hath here said, one sometimes well inclined to that side said 2. 3. 4. In the fourth article, and in the 18th and 19th divisions.

[5 Inserted from Def. 1567.]

[6 Papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest, Def. 1567.]

[7 Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 6. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 145, note 7.

[8 This one, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[9 There is, 1567.]

[10 Are overseen, 1567.]

[11 See Vol. I. pages 378, &c.]

De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam, in Glossa.

thus: *Non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse (ut cum reverentia ejus loquar) nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia posset*[1]: "Christ our Lord should not have seemed to have dealt discreetly (to speak it with reverence), unless he had left one such vicar behind him, that might have done all these things."

I grant, dissension and quarrels be the sooner ended when all things be put over to one man; so that the same one man may live for ever, and still continue in one mind, and never alter. But oftentimes one pope is found contrary to another; and sometimes one pope hath been found contrary to himself. Pope Sabinianus would have burnt all pope Gregory's books[2]. And, as it is said before, pope Romanus utterly abolished all the acts of his predecessor pope Stephen. The same pope Stephen unburied his predecessor pope Formosus, and defaced and mangled his naked carcase, and utterly condemned all that had been done by him before[3]. And Platina giveth this general judgment of them: *Nihil aliud isti pontificuli cogitabant, quam ut nomen et dignitatem majorum suorum extinguerent*[4]: "These little petit popes had none other care in the world, but how to deface the name and estimation of other popes that had been before them." And thus that one pope liketh another misliketh; that one alloweth another condemneth. And yet, by M. Harding's judgment, we have none other rule to stay by in doubtful cases, but only the will and pleasure of the pope.

Plat. in Sabin.

Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. i.

Plat. in Steph. sexto. Plat. in Roman. I.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding findeth great fault, for that I say pope Stephen defaced and mangled Formosus his predecessor's naked carcase. "The story," saith he, "maketh no mention of any such mangling." For proof whereof he allegeth Sabellicus. *The answer.* For trial hereof I report me to Platina. His words be these: *Hinc odium ortum est, &c.*[5]: "Hereof grew that hatred that caused pope Stephanus to practise such cruelty upon the dead body of pope Formosus, for that in his life-time he had hindered him from the obtaining of the popedom." Martinus saith that pope Stephanus was so wood[6], and so raged against Formosus, that he haled his dead carcase out of the grave, and caused it to be laid before himself and others in the council, and chopped off the two fore-fingers of his right hand, and threw them out into the stream.

☞ M. Hard. p. 139. b. [Detect.]

Plat. in Steph. VI.

Stephanum tanta rabie desævisse.

Palmerius.

Dilanians.

Matthæus Palmerius Florentinus recordeth the same by these words: *Stephanus ... Formosi corpus pontificalibus insignibus exuit: deinde illud dilanians, omnique afficiens dedecore, manus ejus projecit in Tiberim*[7]: "Pope Stephanus spoiled and stripped Formosus his predecessor's body out of his pontifical robes; and, after he had torn and rent the same body, and abused it with all kind of villany, he chopped off both his hands, and threw them forth into Tiber."

Abbas Urspergensis. Decollari præcepit.

Abbas Urspergensis saith further, "Pope Stephanus commanded the carcase of pope Formosus to be beheaded, and the same body, stripped out of his holy robes, and spoiled of three fingers, to be thrown forth into the stream[8]." The same story touching the drowning of the carcase is recorded also by Luitprandus Ticinensis[9]. In an old chronicle written in parchment, intituled *Memoriale Historiarum*, which I have to shew, there is added further: *Quædam dictu horribilia*

Luitprand.

Memor. Histor.

[1 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 212.]

[2 Paululum enim abfuit quin libri ejus [Gregorii] comburerentur.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. Agrip. 1551. Sabin. I. p. 75.]

[3 Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. I. Pars III. fol. 72. 2. See below, note 10.

Plat. de Vit. Pont. Steph. VI. p. 126. See below, note 5.]

[4 Nil enim aliud hi &c. quam et &c. suorum extinguere.—Id. ibid. Roman. I. ibid.]

[5 Hinc odium ortum est, quo etiam in mortuum Stephanus sæviebat, quod ei antea impedimento fuisset, quo minus optata sede potiretur. Refert Martinus scriptor, &c.—Id. ibid. Steph. VI. ibid. See above, page 249, note 13.

Legitur etiam, quod ipse [Stephanus] corpus Formosi in concilio positum, et in papali veste exutum, laicali induit: et duobus digitis dextræ ejus abscissis, manus ejus in tumulum jactari præcepit.—Mart. Polon. Chronic. Antv. 1574. p. 328. Conf. ibid. Serg. p. 331.]

[6 Wood: mad.]

[7 Matt. Palmer. Florent. Chronic. Contin. Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 114; where *cadaver pontificalibus primum exuit insignibus.*]

[8 ...Formosum...decollari præcepit...Dein sacris exutum vestibus, abscissisque digitis tribus, in Tyberim jactari præcepit.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 198. This is told of Sergius.]

[9 Luitprand. Ticin. Rer. Gest. per Europ. Libr. Par. 1514. Lib. I. fol. 5. 2. This author ascribes the outrage to Sergius, whom he places next but one to Formosus in the papal chair.]

in illum fecit: "Pope Stephanus practised certain things upon pope Formosus that are horrible to be spoken."

But perhaps M. Harding will refuse the authority of these writers, and of all others whatsoever, and will rather give credit to Sabellicus, whom also he hath noted in his margin. Let us therefore see the report of Sabellicus. Thus he saith: *Stephanus Formosi cadaver iterum refossum, tanquam sic quoque pati aliquid atrocius posset, securi subjecit, corpus in Tiberim projici jussit, ut sepultura et omni humano honore careret*[10]: "Pope Stephanus digged up pope Formosus his predecessor's body, and beheaded it, as minding to make it to feel more villany, and threw out his carcase into the Tiber, that he might bereave him of his grave, and of all other honour due to a man." Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. i.

All this notwithstanding, M. Harding can devise how to cut off the pope's head, how to chop off his hands and fingers, how to hale out his naked carcase from the grave, how to spoil it, and tear it, and to abuse it with such villany as may not be spoken, and how to throw the same out into a running stream to be devoured and swallowed of the fishes, and all this to do gently and in good order, without any manner defacing or mangling of his body. And therefore he concludeth, as his manner is, in this friendly sort: "Leave, leave that ill property, for shame, M. Jewel: add not, diminish not," &c. ☞

Unity by one Pope.

Howbeit, this I trow is not the readiest way to procure peace, and to maintain unity in the church. And therefore Gregory saith of John, the bishop of Constantinople, that claimed to himself this universal power: *Si hanc causam æquanimiter portamus, totius ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus: corruit universa ecclesia a statu suo, si is qui universalis dicitur cadit*[11]: "If we quietly suffer this matter thus to proceed" (that one man shall be called the universal bishop, we seek not ways to maintain unity, but) "we overthrow the faith of the whole church: if he that is called the universal bishop happen to fall, the whole church falleth from her state." Thus, therefore, to allow any one man universal authority over the whole church, is a matter not behoveful and profitable, as M. Harding fancieth; but, as Gregory saith, doubtful, and dangerous to the church. For, although all the world either would or could give ear and credit to one man, yet were not that therefore always christian unity. St Augustine saith: *Habet... et superbia appetitum quendam unitatis et omnipotentiæ*[12]: "Pride itself hath a certain desire of unity and of universal power." Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 34. 38. Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 76. August. de Ver. Relig. cap. xlv.

Addition. ☞ But M. Harding saith: "John the bishop of Constantinople by this title, 'universal bishop,' meant to make himself the only bishop of all the whole world, that there should be no bishop but himself alone." *The answer.* This answer were somewhat, if any old writer might be found to say the same. But your bare fantasy, M. Harding, as it may appear, oftentimes wanteth weight. And how can you think it likely, that the bishop of Constantinople, were he never so proud a man, would suffer no man to be a bishop, that is to say, neither to ordain priests, nor to excommunicate, nor to absolve, nor to sit in council, but himself alone? By what evidence, by what record, by what practice of his part can you prove it? O what pretty tales ye would tell us, if we would believe[13] you! Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 141. a. [Detect.]

Indeed the bishop of Constantinople, although he were ambitious above measure, yet he never neither usurped nor claimed any other authority in the church than that sithence hath been usurped and claimed by the pope. For thus it is written, well near by all that have recorded the story of pope Boni-

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[10 [Sergius]...ejus cadaver &c.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Ennead. IX. Lib. I. Pars III. fol. 72. 2. According to most authors, outrages were twice committed on the body of Formosus, first by Stephanus and then by Sergius. Jewel ascribes them all to Stephanus; and indeed there appears to be an uncertainty as to the succession of the popes at that period.]

[11 ...quia si hanc æquanimiter portamus, universæ ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus:... si unus episcopus vocatur universalis, universa ecclesia corruit, si unus universus cadit.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. XXVII. Tom. II. col. 873. Conf. Lib. V. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. XVIII.; Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. XLIII.; Ad Mauric. August. Epist. XXXIII. cols. 741, &c. 771, &c. 881.]

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Ver. Relig. cap. XLV. 84. Tom. I. col. 778; where *quemdam appetitum.*]

[13 Hear, 1570.]

Palmerius. Ursperg.

face III.: *Institutum fuit ut ecclesia Romana esset caput omnium ecclesiarum, cum prius Constantinopolitana ecclesia id usurpare tentasset*[1]: "It was then ordained that the church of Rome should be the head of all churches, whereas before the church of Constantinople had claimed that title unto herself." So saith Sabellicus: *Græci illud decus ad se trahebant*[2]: "The Greeks claimed the same dignity to themselves." The same dignity, he saith, that now is claimed by the pope, and none other.

Sabell. Ennead. viii. Lib. vi.

Therefore, M. Harding, all that you tell us of one only bishop throughout the whole world, excluding all other bishops saving himself alone, is but a fable, without face or likelihood of any truth.

Church triumphant and militant.

Another of M. Harding's reasons is this: The church labouring here in earth must resemble the church of the saints triumphing in heaven. But in heaven God only is the governor over the whole; therefore in the church beneath the pope likewise must needs be governor over the whole. Thus God must be rated to govern above, and the pope beneath; and so, as one sometime said, *Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*[3].

This is a valiant kind of argument. It holdeth from heaven to earth, from angels to men, from God to the pope.

But how knoweth M. Harding what orders of angels and archangels there be in heaven, what they do, how they deal, who ruleth, who are ruled, what laws and policies they have amongst them? They say they would frame their church according to the sampler; and yet, good men, they never knew nor saw the sampler. But only of themselves they imagine commonweals and orders in heaven; and according to the same they would shape and fashion their own church in earth.

Addition.

Addition. "Forsooth," saith M. Harding, "I may easily know that which is evident: for in the fourth of Matthew angels wait on Christ; and in the twelfth to the Hebrews there is mention made of thousands of angels." *The answer.* All this, M. Harding, we grant. And Daniel saith further: "Thousand thousands of angels ministered unto God, and ten thousand thousands stood before him." But what is all this to prove your orders? You say, St Paul nameth thrones, dominions, principates, and powers. You might have added, archangels, cherubins, and seraphins. But how know you hereby which angel is highest in order, and hath authority and government over all the rest, that you may apply this heavenly pattern unto the pope? Unless you shew us this, you shew us nothing, and cast fair colours without a ground. St Augustine in this case speaketh modestly of himself: *Quid inter se distent quatuor illa vocabula, ... throni, ... dominationes, ... principatus, ... potestates, dicant qui possunt, si tamen possunt probare quod dicunt. Ego me ista ignorare confiteor*[4]: "What difference there is between these four words, 'thrones,' 'dominions,' 'principates,' and 'powers,' let them tell us that be able, so that they can prove that they tell us. For my part, I confess I know it not." If St Augustine confess he knoweth it not, may we safely learn it of M. Harding?

M. Hard. fol. 142. [Detect.] Dan. vii.

Col. i.

August. in Enchir. cap. lviii.

Howbeit, as little as we know or can know in these cases, yet hereof must we be taught to learn our obedience and subjection to the pope; that, as God alone ruleth over and over all the heavens, so ought the pope alone to rule over and over the whole earth; and that, as all the powers of heaven cast off their crowns, and cry, "Holy, holy, holy," unto God, so ought the powers and states of the earth likewise to fall down and submit themselves, and to yield all honour unto the pope. If this be not your meaning, M. Harding, then tell your tale plainly, that we may know it.

The better way, M. Harding, had been, seeing the whole matter hangeth only upon your fantasies, to say that God hath appointed one principal archangel to be pope in heaven, and all other powers, angels, and dominions to

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[1 Matt. Palmer. Florent. Chronic. Contin. Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 102. 2; where *caput esset ecclesiarum omnium.* Conf. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 158.]

[2 Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. VIII. Lib. VI. Pars III. fol. 37. 2; where *id ad se decus trahentes.*]

[3 Virgil. Dist.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Enchir. cap. lviii. 15. Tom. VI. col. 218; where *sedes* for *throni.*]

be subjects[5]. Thus might you[6] easily have made your frame to agree with your pattern, and the one of your fantasies[7] to answer the other.

For to say as you say, God ruleth all in heaven above, therefore the pope must rule all in the world beneath, it is but a slender kind of reasoning. St Augustine saith: *Quid... aliud in pompa hujus mundi homo appetit, nisi solus esse, si fieri possit, cui multa subjecta sint; perversa scilicet imitatione omnipotentis Dei*[8]? "In the vain pomp of this world what thing else is it that a man doth desire, but, if it were possible, to make himself alone such a one unto whom many things may be obedient, and that by a peevish counterfeiting of God omnipotent?" August. de Ver. Relig. cap. xlv.

And this is it that Gregory saith of John the bishop of Constantinople: *Illum videlicet imitatur, qui, spreta angelorum societate, ascendere conatus est ad culmen singularitatis*[9]: "He followeth Lucifer, who, despising the fellowship of the angels, laboured to get up to the top of singularity, and said, 'I will mount up above the north, and will be like unto the Highest'." Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 78.

Verily Dionysius, writing purposely of the policy and government of the church, and comparing the same with the glorious government of the angels and powers in heaven, yet never uttered one word of the universal government of the pope. Nay rather, in a little treaty joined to the council of Lateran, out of this very place[10] is formed an argument to the contrary: *In cœlesti hierarchia tota congregatio angelorum non habet caput unum, præter solum Deum; ergo a simili in ecclesiastica hierarchia hominum non debet esse unum caput, præter solum Deum*[11]: "In the heavenly government the whole company of the angels hath none other one head, but only God; therefore of the like in the ecclesiastical government amongst men there ought not to be any one head, but only God." In Opere Tripart. Lib. ii. cap. v.

Addition. ☞ Here saith M. Harding: "I marvel ye had the face to bring this forth. You shew yourself to be shameless." *The answer.* And why so impatiently, M. Harding? "Marry," say you, "is it[12] not there set forth for an objection against the truth?" Neither do I say so; nor do I use it as an argument taken against the truth. It is laid forth only as an objection against the pope. Between the pope and truth there may be a difference, as you know, and as it is evident to[13] the world. But you say: "It is answered in the next chapter." I grant you it is answered indeed, but, God wot, full slenderly as the rest. Yet nevertheless my saying is true. For thus I say: Out of this place is formed an argument to the contrary, that is, against the supremacy of the pope. Behold my words better, M. Harding. This only I say: I say no more. And that I say you know is true. Ye were to blame, therefore, thus without cause and out of reason[14] to waste your choler. ☞ Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 144. a. [Detect.]

Nevertheless M. Harding is well able to fortify all these things by the authority of the scriptures. And here instead of the first chapter of the prophet Osee he allegeth the first chapter of the book of Josua. And, lest thou shouldest think it were only a marginal error, brought in by some oversight of the printer, as he useth sometimes to excuse and to shift the matter, he hath thus laid it wide open in his own text: "Hereof the holy captain Josue seemeth to speak." Howbeit, one error may the better be dissembled amongst so many. Neither would I have noted this oversight, were not M. Harding so immoderate in blaming others[15]. ☞ Josua for Osee.

Indeed the prophet Osee, and not the holy captain Josua, speaketh these words; but not, as M. Harding imagineth, of the state of all Christendom under

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[5 Be his subjects, 1567.]

[6 Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Fancies, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Id. Lib. de Ver. Relig. cap. xlv. 84. Tom. I. col. 778; where *aliud in ea homo*, and *cui cuncta*.]

[9 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. Tom. II. col. 751; where *spretis in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere.* Conf. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 742.]

[10 Nay rather in the late council of Constance, out of this very place, 1567.]

[11 Opusc. Tripart. Pars II. cap. v. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 989; where *hierarchia ecclesiastica*, and *esse unicum caput*.]

[12 It is, 1570.]

[13 Unto, 1570, 1609.]

[14 Season, 1570, 1609.]

[15 1567 omits this sentence.]

one pope, but of that unity and consent that all the faithful of the world, as well Jews as gentiles, should have under one Christ; as it is most evident by the whole discourse of the text. Thus lie the words: "The number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea-shore, that cannot be numbered. And it shall come to pass in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are no people of mine, there shall it be said unto them, Ye are the children of the living God. And the children of Juda and the children of Israel shall assemble together, and shall appoint unto themselves one head." Upon which words St Hierome writeth thus: *Hæc omnia fient, quia magnus est dies seminis Dei, qui interpretatur Christus*[1]: "All these things shall come to pass, because it is the great day of the seed of God, which seed is expounded (not the pope, but) Christ." Likewise Nicolaus Lyra: *Congregabuntur filii Juda, id* [*est*], *apostoli; ...et filii Israel, id* [*est*], *gentiles conversi; ...pariter, id* [*est*], *in una ecclesia; et ponent sibi ... caput unum, id est, Christum*[2]: "There shall assemble together the children of Juda, that is to say, the apostles; and the children of Israel, that is to say, the heathens converted; together, that is to say, in one church; and shall appoint unto themselves one Head, that is to say (not one pope, as M. Harding would have it, but) one Christ." St Augustine, expounding the same words, saith thus: *Recolatur ... Lapis ille angularis, et duo illi parietes, unus ex Judæis,* [*et*] *alter ex gentibus*[3]: "Let us remember that Cornerstone (that is, Christ, and not the pope), and the two walls, the one of the Jews, the other of the heathens."

Hos. i.

Hieron. in Osee, cap. i.

Nicol. Lyr. in Osee, cap. i.

August. de Civit. Lib. xviii. cap. xxviii.

The other words, which M. Harding allegeth out of St John, Christ himself expoundeth, not of the pope, but of himself: "I am the good Shepherd: ... I yield my life for my sheep: ... I know my sheep, and am known of them: ... I have other sheep, that be not of this flock: them I must[4] bring, that they may hear my voice; and so shall there be one Shepherd, and one flock." These words Chrysostom expoundeth by the words of St Paul: *Ut duos conderet in semetipso in unum novum hominem*[5]: "That he might work two people into one new man (not in the pope, but) in himself."

John x.

Eph. ii. Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 59.

St Augustine, expounding the same, saith thus: *Duobus istis gregibus, tanquam duobus parietibus,* [*Christus*] *factus est Lapis angularis*[6]: "Unto these two flocks, as unto two walls, (not the pope, but) Christ was made the Corner-stone."

August. in Johan. Tract. 47.

And what should I allege any other the old fathers? Nicolaus Lyra, as simple an interpreter as he was, yet he likewise saith the same: *Fiet ... unus Pastor, id est, Christus*[7]: "There shall be one Shepherd, that is to say, (not the pope, but) Christ." Neither is M. Harding able to shew us any learned allowed interpreter, old or new, that hath expounded this place otherwise.

Nicol. Lyr. in Johan. cap. x.

All these things notwithstanding, as well these words of Christ, as also the other of the prophet Osee, M. Harding applieth only to the pope. "The pope must be the head: the pope must be the shepherd." Both Christ and Osee prophesied these things of the glory and kingdom of the pope. Juda and Israel shall choose Christ to be their Head: all the faithful through the world are one flock, and Christ is the Shepherd; *ergo*, the pope is the general head of the universal church of God.

Such logic M. Harding is able to teach us; and with such fear and reverence can he use God's holy word. And, like as the emperor Caligula sometimes took off the head of his great god Jupiter, and set on another[8] head of his own; even so by these interpretations and glosses M. Harding smiteth off Christ, the only Head of the church, and setteth on the pope. For Johannes de Parisiis (out of whom, or some other the like, he hath borrowed this whole matter) nothing doubteth to tell us, that Christ is not nor cannot be the Head of this body, or

Suet. Tranq. in Calig. [cap. 22.]

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Osee Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1244.]

[2 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra. Basil. 1502. Osee cap. ii. Pars IV. fol. 334. 2; where *scilicet Christum.*]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. XXVIII. Tom. VII. col. 509.]

[4 Must I, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. lx. Tom. VIII. p. 353.]

[6 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlvii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 609.]

[7 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Johan. cap. x. Pars V. fol. 218. 2; where *scilicet* for *id est.*]

[8 Set another, 1570.]

the Shepherd of this flock. And, lest M. Harding should charge me with untrue report, his words be these: *Congregabuntur filii Juda, et filii Israel, ... ut ponant sibi Caput unum:* [*et*] *Johan.* x., *Fiet unum ovile, et unus Pastor. Quod quidem de Christo intelligi non potest; sed de alio aliquo ministro, qui præsit loco ejus*[9]: "'The children of Juda and the children of Israel shall assemble together, to appoint unto themselves one Head.' And in the tenth of John, 'There shall be made one fold, and one Shepherd.' Which thing doubtless cannot be expounded of Christ, but must be taken of some other minister, that may rule in his stead." Johan. de Par. de Potest. Reg. et Pap. cap. iii.

Thus we are taught that Christ is neither the head of his own body, the church, nor the shepherd of his own flock, but only the pope. For consider well these last words of Johannes de Parisiis: "Doubtless," saith he, "Christ cannot be this one shepherd. It must needs be some other minister (that is, the pope) that may rule instead of Christ." This one shepherd, saith he, cannot be Christ. Then must it only be the pope[10]. And yet Chrysostom saith: *Qui non utitur sacra scriptura, sed ascendit aliunde, id est, non concessa via, hic non pastor est, sed fur*[11]: "Whosoever useth not the holy scripture, but cometh in another way that is not lawful (which is by false glosses and corruptions,—so doth the bishop of Rome, and by such means hath won his universal authority, as it is easy to be proved[12]), he is not the shepherd of the flock, he is the thief." Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 58.

So saith St Augustine: *Ipsum characterem multi et lupi et lupis imprimunt*[13]: "The note or mark of a bishop many give unto wolves, and be wolves themselves." August. contr. Donat. Lib. vi. i. Quæst. 3. Vocantur canes.

M. Harding saith further[14]: Forasmuch as Christ is ascended into heaven, and is now no more conversant amongst us in visible form, as he was before, it behoved some one man to be put in commission for bearing the charge and taking care of the whole church. Therefore he said unto Peter: "Feed my flock:" "confirm thy brethren." First, what ancient learned father ever thus scanned the words of the pope's commission? Or why doth M. Harding avouch so great a matter of himself only, without farther authority? And if this so large commission be to feed, and to feed so many, why then doth the pope feed so little? Or rather, why feedeth he nothing at all? Or how can he claim by feeding, that never feedeth? Feed my sheep.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding hath taken occasion of sundry answers. First he saith: "*Pascere* is not a word that signifieth 'to feed' only, as you know, but also 'to rule' and 'govern:' and therefore Homer calleth king[15] Agamemnon ποιμένα λαῶν, that is to say, 'the ruler of the people'." *The answer.* Whether Christ by this word *pascere* meant feeding, or governing, it forceth not greatly: to quarrel for words I have no skill. But why is Homer, the blind heathen poet, here alleged as an interpreter of Christ's meaning? Or why is king Agamemnon's feeding or leading of his subjects brought in to prove the feeding of the pope? Certainly Christ saith to Peter, and to other his disciples: "Kings have power and government over their nations.... But it shall not be so among you." The feeding that Christ meant stood not in sword or sceptre, but in word and doctrine. Therefore he said to his disciples: "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." St Paul saith: "Let a man so esteem us as the servants of Christ, and the stewards of God's mysteries." And Christ himself saith: "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me." "He that is of God heareth the word of God." The manner of this feeding St Augustine expresseth thus: *Non te pascere cogita, sed oves meas: sicut meas pasce, non sicut tuas: gloriam meam in illis quære, non tuam; dominium meum, non tuum; lucra mea, non tua*[16]: "Think not to feed thyself[17], feed my sheep: feed them as my sheep, not as thine own: Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 147. b. [Detect.] Matt. xx. Mark xvi. 1 Cor. iv. John x. John xiii. August. in Johan. Tract. 123.

[9 Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. iii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Han. et Franc. 1611-14. Tom. II. p. 111.]

[10 1567 omits the last four sentences.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. In Joan. Hom. lix. Tom. VIII. p. 346.]

[12 The clause of the sentence after *corruptions* does not appear in 1567.]

[13 August. Op. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. vi. cap. i. 1. Tom. IX. col. 161; where *infigunt*.]

[14 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Calleth the king, 1570.]

[16 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. xxi. Tractat. cxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 817; where *in eis quære*.]

[17 Thee self, 1570.]

seek my honour in them, seek not thine: seek my ownership, and not thine: seek my gains, and not thine own." This is likely to be the feeding that Christ spake of.

M. Hard. fol. 147. b. [Detect.]

Howbeit, as it may appear by M. Harding, the pope is not bound to this kind of feeding. It is sufficient for him to be as Agamemnon was, that is, a prince and a ruler of the people. God grant the words of the prophet Ezechiel be not found true in his feeding! "Wo be to the shepherds of Israel, that feed themselves." The prophet Jeremy saith: *Omnes pastores tuos pascet ventus:* "Wind and vanity shall feed all thy feeders." The apostle Judas saith: "They feed themselves, they are clouds without water."

Ezek. xxxiv.

Jer. xxii.

Jude.

M. Hard. fol. 147. b. [Detect.]

But M. Harding hath here brought in Chrysostom, Ambrose, Arnobius, pope Leo and pope Gregory, to prove the authority of the pope. The place of Chrysostom is alleged and answered once before. His words be these: "The charge to rule the whole church was given to Peter[1]." St Ambrose saith: [*Christus Petrum*] *amoris sui...velut vicarium relinquebat*[2]: "Christ left St Peter as the vicar of his love." To what purpose these latter[3] words of St Ambrose are alleged, I cannot tell. For it were hard for M. Harding to reason thus: Christ made Peter the vicar of his love; *ergo*, the pope is lord and feeder of all the world. Undoubtedly St Ambrose in that whole place hath not one word, neither of one general feeder, nor of Peter's successor, nor of the pope: therefore M. Harding doth well thus to qualify the weakness of his evidence; for thus he saith: "St Ambrose saith in effect as much as I said." And what is that? Verily, good reader, in effect it is as much as nothing. St Paul saith of himself and others: *Legatione pro Christo fungimur:* "We are embassadors or messengers for Christ," that is to say, we are his vicars; and Christ saith to his disciples all together: "As my living Father sent me, even so do I send you," that is to say, you are the vicars of my love. Shall we therefore hereof conclude that Paul and every of all the disciples had universal power over the whole church of God? O M. Harding, howsoever the pope feed the people, you should not feed us with such vanities.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 55.

Ambros. in Luc. cap. xxiv.

M. Hard. fol. 148. a. [Detect.]

2 Cor. v.

John vi.

M. Hard. fol. 147. b. [Detect.]

But Chrysostom, you say, saith thus: "The charge to rule the whole church was given to Peter." These words are pregnant, and prove the purpose. But, as I have told you, Theodoretus hath written the like words of Chrysostom himself: *Chrysostomus doctor orbis terrarum*[4]: "Chrysostom, the doctor or master of the world." Yet was not[5] Chrysostom therefore neither universal bishop nor head of the church.

Theod. Lib. v. cap. xxxii.

M. Hard. p 145. b. 147. b. 151. b. 152. a. [Detect.]

Now, forasmuch as you have many times in one place alleged these self-same words by Chrysostom spoken of Peter, as having some special affiance in the weight of them, may it please you therefore to consider what words the same Chrysostom hath likewise uttered of St Paul.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 7. In Gen. Hom. 11.

Thus therefore he saith: *Hoc docet nos Paulus magister orbis*[6]: "This thing doth Paul teach us, being the master of the world." Again: *Paulo tribuitur cura omnium ecclesiarum, non unius, vel duarum, vel trium, sed omnium quæ sunt in toto orbe*[7]: "Unto Paul the charge of all churches is committed; not of one, or two, or three churches, but of all the churches that be in all the world."

In Johan. Hom. 11.

Again: "Paul, being a persecutor and a blasphemer, is made the preacher of all countries, and ruleth the church throughout all the world[8]."

In Act. Hom. 53. De Laud. Paul. Hom. 2.

"Paul governeth and ruleth all[9] the whole world[10]:" "Paul was the apostle of

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. liv. Tom. VII. p. 548. See Vol. I. pages 430, &c.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. x. 175. Tom. I. col. 1542.]

[3 Later, 1570.]

[4 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxxii. p. 238.]

[5 1570 omits *not*.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. vii. Tom. IV. p. 50.]

[7 Id. ibid. Hom. xi. p. 90.]

[8 ...καὶ ὁ διώκτης καὶ βλάσφημος καὶ ὑβριστὴς κῆρυξ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπεδείκνυτο.—Id. in Joan. Hom. xii. Tom. VIII. p. 69.]

[9 1570 omits *all*.]

[10 Οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐκυβέρνα σκάφος, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—Id. in Act. Apost. Hom. liii. p. 402.

...Παῦλος δὲ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον [ἐνεχειρίσθη].—Id. De Laud. S. Paul. Hom. iii. Tom. II. p. 486.]

the whole compass of the earth[11]:" "All the world was committed to Paul[12]:" "Paul had the oversight:" "Paul was the warden of all the world[13]." In 1 Cor. Hom. 21. In Serm. de Eleemosyn. De Precat. Lib. ii. Contr. Jud. Orat. 5.

I pass over a great number of other like sentences of Chrysostom and others, whereof some part I have touched some other where. And what will you conclude hereof, M. Harding? That Paul was the head of the universal church? Doubtless these words, thus uttered of him, import no less. But what will you then do with St Peter? for to set two heads upon one body, it were over much.

But, to pass by and to dissemble all that may be spoken of Paul and Peter, what if the pope himself give the same style and title unto sundry other[14] inferior bishops? what if they be called the overseers of the whole universal church, and that even by the mouth of the pope himself? Mark, therefore, what pope Eleutherius writeth to the bishops of France: *Universalis vobis a Christo ecclesia commissa est*[15]: "The universal church is committed to you by Christ." Will you therefore tell us, M. Harding, that the bishops of France are the popes of Rome? or that they have universal power over all the world? Thus you see how vainly ye busy yourself, withdrawing the good sayings and sentences of holy[16] fathers from their meaning. Epist. Eleuth. ad Episc. Gal.

Further you say: "Christ left not only Peter to be the successor of his love for his own life only, but also Peter's successors for ever, that is to say, the popes; for other Peter's successors," you say, "we know not." And are you well assured, M. Harding, that every pope is the successor and heir of Christ's love, without exception? Would God they were! The world should have less cause to be offended. But Christ's love passeth not by inheritance or succession of sees. Whosoever is ready to give himself for the flock of Christ, be he pope, or bishop, or inferior priest, he is the vicar of Christ's love. In the end hereof M. Harding of his modesty chargeth us with boasting challenges, and bold talks, and prating in pulpits. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 148. b. [Detect.]

Again, where learned M. Harding to reason thus, Christ is ascended into heaven; *ergo*, the pope is head of the whole world? Or thus, Christ said to Peter, 'Feed my flock'; *ergo*, the pope hath universal power over the whole church of God? How can he make these arguments to hold, I will not say by divinity, but by any reasonable shift of logic? ☞ Feed my sheep.

But ye say, God speaketh not now unto us mouth to mouth; nor sendeth us down his angels from heaven; nor instructeth us now by visions, as he did others in the old[17] times. What of that? Will it therefore follow, that all the world must give ear to the pope? Nay, M. Harding, Chrysostom saith much better: Because God speaketh not now unto us in such familiar sort; *ergo, suam erga homines amicitiam innovare volens, quasi longe absentibus literas mittit, conciliaturus sibi universam hominum naturam*[18]: "therefore God, minding to renew his favour towards man, sent (his holy scriptures, as it were) his letters, thereby to reconcile to himself all mankind." God speaketh not now unto us by his angels; but he hath already spoken unto us, as St Paul saith, by the mouth and presence of his only Son. And therefore he saith again: "If an angel from heaven would now preach unto us otherwise than we have received, we should hold him accursed." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 2. Heb. i. Gal. i.

But, for the unity and quiet government of the church of God, St Paul saith: "Christ ascending above all the heavens hath given (not one universal pope to rule the whole, but) some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some doctors, for the perfecting[19] of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for Eph. iv.

[11 Καὶ γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος ἦν.—Id. in Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxi. Tom. X. p. 181.]

[12 Quid enim vel majus vel dici par potest, quam Pauli defensionem suscepisse, ejusque vitæ discrimine terrarum orbis instructionem tutari?—Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Eleemos. et Hosp. Serm. Tom. V. col. 919.]

[13 Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὁ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης.—Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Precat. Orat. ii. Tom. II. p. 787.

...τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.—Id. Adv. Jud. Orat. viii. Tom. I. p. 685.]

[14 Others, 1570, 1609.]

[15 Eleuth. Epist. ad Gall. Prov. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 92; where *commissa est ecclesia.*]

[16 Of the holy, 1570.] [17 In old, 1567.]

[18 Chrysost. Op. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. ii. Tom. IV. p. 9.]

[19 Perfiting, 1567, 1570.]

the building up of the body of Christ; that we may all come into the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God." By these means God thought it sufficient to preserve his church in unity, and never made mention of one universal pope.

Cypr. de Simpl. Præl.

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist. 13.

Gal. ii.

Socrat. Lib. v. cap. xxi. August. Epist. 28.

Therefore St Cyprian saith: *Unus est episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*[1]: "There is but one bishoprick, part whereof of every several bishop is holden in whole." And again: *Ideo plures sunt in ecclesia sacerdotes, ut, uno hæresim faciente, ceteri subveniant*[2]: "Therefore are there many bishops in the church, that, if one fall into heresy, the rest may help." Thus, when Peter walked not uprightly to the gospel, Paul came with help, and reproved him openly even to his face: thus Irenæus reproved pope Victor[3]: thus sundry godly fathers have reproved others. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Deus docuit Petrum per posteriorem Paulum. A quocunque enim verum dicitur, illo donante dicitur, qui est ipsa Veritas*[4]: "Thus God instructed Peter by Paul his punie[5], that was called after him. For by whomsoever the truth is spoken, it is spoken by his gift that is Truth itself."

In Conc. Lat. sub Julio.

In Conc. Lat. sub Leone. In Orat. Steph Patr. Panorm. de Elect. cap. Licet.

Ye say, the pope succeedeth not Christ in all his substance, that is to say, in all his power; neither hath there any such fond saying been uttered (say you) at any time by the divines. If this be true, wherefore then be these words written, and so well allowed of in the council of Lateran, *Tibi data est omnis potestas, in cœlo, et in terra?* "Unto your holiness all power is given, as well in heaven as in earth?" Wherefore is Bernard so well allowed to force the same farther with these words, *Qui totum dedit, nihil excludit*[6]? "He that hath given thee all hath excepted nothing?" Wherefore is Panormitane allowed to say, *Papa potest omnia, quæ Deus ipse potest*[7]? "The pope is able by his power to do whatsoever God himself can do?"

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist.

For the rest, M. Harding saith: One king is able to rule one kingdom; *ergo*, one pope is able to rule the whole church. This reason is very simple, and is answered before. Of the government of princes we have daily practice; but of popes, that ever exercised this universal dominion over the whole church of God, M. Harding is not able to shew us one. Or, if he be able to lay forth one, let him shew him for his credit's sake. If there be not one such example to be found from the ascension of Christ unto this day, then, although the pope had it in claim by charter, yet hath he lost it by *non usure*[8]. Well were it with him, if he were but a member of Christ's body, and a sheep of his flock. St Gregory said sometime to John the bishop of Constantinople, claiming unto himself the same title, and thinking himself able enough to rule the whole: *Quid tu Christo, universalis...ecclesiæ capiti, in extremi judicii responsurus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris universalis appellatione supponere*[9]? "What answer wilt thou make in the trial of the last judgment unto Christ the head of his universal church, that thus, by the name of universal bishop, seekest to bring under thee all the members of his body?"

De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam, in Gloss.

Last of all, M. Harding concludeth without premises: Whosoever will not be ruled by this shepherd the pope is of the herd of antichrist. So saith one of the pope's hired proctors: *Quicquid salvatur, est sub summo pontifice*[10]: "What-

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[1 Episcopatus unus est, cujus &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108.]

[2 Iccirco...copiosum corpus est sacerdotum...ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere...tentaverit, subveniant ceteri.—Id. ad Steph. Epist. lxviii. p. 178.]

[3 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 233. Conf. Euseb. in eod. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 156. The reference is made to Eusebius in 1567, 1570.]

[4 ...nec alius Petrum etiam per &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Orig. Anim. Lib. seu Epist. clxvi. 9. Tom. II. col. 587.]

[5 Punee or punie: puisne, inferior.]

[6 ...pontifex, cui summa data potestas...tu ..alter deus in terris.—Orat. Christ. Marcell. in Concil. Lat. sub Julio II. Sess. iv. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 575, 6.

Tibi data est omnis potestas, in qua qui totum dicit, nihil excludit.—Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in eod. sub Leon. X. Sess. x. ibid. p. 671. See Vol. I. pages 93, 4, note 2.]

[7 ...ita quod excepto peccato potest papa quasi omnia facere quæ potest Deus.—Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 6. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 145, note 7.]

[8 1567 omits these two sentences.]

[9 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 742; where *tu quid*, and *es dicturus examine*.]

[10 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. i. col. 205.]

soever soul is saved, it is under the pope." This one thing being granted, M. Harding's whole cause passeth clear.

To forsake the Pope.

But, God be thanked! it appeareth already to all them that have eyes to see, that we have not departed from the servile obedience of that see, but upon just cause and good advice; and in such sort the pope himself will not deny but it is lawful for any church to dissent from the church of Rome. These be his words, which must be holden for a law: *Quicquid...sine discretione justitiæ contra Romanæ ecclesiæ disciplinam actum fuerit, ratum haberi nulla ratio permittit*[11]: "Whatsoever thing is done without discretion of justice against the order of the church of Rome, it may not by any means be allowed." By which words it appereth, *ex contrario sensu*, "by an argument of the contrary," that, whatsoever is done by discretion of justice, notwithstanding it be against the order of the church of Rome, yet ought it to be well allowed.

Dist. 12. Non decet.

Addition. ☞ To this M. Harding answereth, if I had seen the folly hereof, I would never have printed it for very shame. For the gloss there, which otherwheres he condemneth as pelting and beggarly, saith thus: "Here the argument of the contrary sense is avoided and taketh no place[12]." But indeed, as it may appear, this poor glosser was void of somewhat himself[13]. For thus he concludeth, and that very well, to M. Harding's liking, "that without the authority of the church of Rome we may do nothing, be it never so just and true, and never so much done by discretion of justice." Yet, good reader, truth is truth, and one for ever, whether the church of Rome will allow it or no.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 155. [Detect.]

St Ambrose saith, as in the same place he is alleged: [*Ego*] *cum Romam venio, sabbatum jejuno; cum Mediolani sum, non jejuno*[14]: "When I come to Rome, I fast on the Saturday; when I am at Milan, I fast not." By these we see that in the church of Milan the Saturday was not fasted. And yet did they well, and according to the discretion of justice, and yet contrary to the order of the church of Rome.

Dist. 12. Illa.

St Augustine likewise in the same place saith: "Whatsoever things are not contrary, neither to the catholic faith nor to good manners, they must be taken as things indifferent[15]." Thus the gloss, that M. Harding so much commendeth, is quite contrary to the text. As for the order of the church of Rome, the holy catholic fathers sometimes, as it may appear, have little esteemed it.

St Hierome thereof saith thus unto Evagrius: *Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem*[16]? "What bringest thou me the custom of Rome, that is but one city?" As if he would say: Is that order sufficient to bind the whole church of Christ? "If ye reckon authorities, the world is greater than the city of Rome." This had been proudly and disdainfully spoken, had the order of Rome been a sufficient direction for all the world. ☞

Hieron. ad Evagr.

St Augustine saith: *Ne catholicis* [*quidem*] *episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas...scripturas aliquid sentiant*[17]: "We may not give our consent unto any bishops, be they never so catholic, if they happen to be deceived, and to determine contrary to the scriptures."

August. de Unit. Eccl. Cathol. cap. x.

And pope Pius the second himself saith: *Resistendum est quibuscunque in faciem, sive Paulus, sive Petrus sit, qui ad veritatem non ambulat evangelii*[18]: "We are bound to withstand any man to the face, be it Peter, be it Paul, if he walk not to the truth of the gospel."

Abbas Ursperg. p. 443.

To conclude, where the wolf is broken in, it is best for the poor sheep to break out. That the wolf was broken in, beside the cruel spoil and ravening of christian blood, it is plain by the words of St Bernard. For thus he

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[11 Ibid. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xii. can. 1. col. 41; where *contra hujus disciplinam.*]

[12 Nunquid ergo cum discretione licitum est contra illam agere? certe non...unde hic vacat articulus a contrario sensu.—Gloss. ibid. col. 42.]

[13 Himself was void of somewhat, 1570.]

[14 August. ad Januar. in eod. ibid. can. 11. col. 45; where *jejuno sabbato.* Conf. Op. Epist. liv. 2, 3. Tom. II. col. 124.]

[15 Quod enim neque contra fidem neque contra bonos mores injungitur, indifferenter est habendum. —Id. ibid.]

[16 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803.]

[17 August. Op. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xi. 28. Tom. IX. col. 355; where *nec* for *ne.*]

[18 Paraleip. Rer. Mem. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. fol. 435. The Chronicle itself does not come down to so late a period.]

Bernard. in Conc. Rem. speaketh thereof in open council, and in the presence of sundry bishops: *Non custodiunt gregem Domini, sed mactant et devorant*[1]: "They keep not the Lord's flock, but they kill it and devour it." Again he saith: *Propterea relinquamus istos, quia non sunt pastores, sed traditores*[2]: "Therefore let us leave them; for they are not pastors, but traitors." And therefore God thus warneth us in the like case: *Exite de medio horum hominum, ne cum illis pereatis:* "Go forth from the midst of those men, lest ye perish all together."

In eod. Conc.

Num. xvi.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 3.

The other Apostles equal with Peter.

For all the apostles, as Cyprian saith, were of like power among themselves, and the rest were the same that Peter was.

M. HARDING.

Peter's power ordinary.

The apostles' power extraordinary.

Peter is the shepherd: the apostles are the sheep. Manifest and mere untruths.

*Power is double, the one ordinary, the other by privilege, or extraordinary. Ordinary power is that which continueth in one and the same course for ever: according to which power Peter was head of the church, and his successors after him. Power by privilege, or extraordinary, is that which is given besides the common course by way of dispensation: as where the other apostles should have received ordinarily their power from Peter, as who had commission over all, both lambs and sheep, among whom the apostles had their place, Christ by special grace preventeth ordinary course, and maketh them for the time and in their persons equal with Peter in the office of apostleship. Thus, concerning ordinary power, Peter is head of the apostles, and by that reason they are subject unto him, as sheep unto their shepherd: but by privilege true it is, as St Cyprian saith, they were of like power among themselves. *Now, what odds there is betwixt an ordinary authority of judging given to any officer for himself and his successors in that office for ever, and a special commission for life-time only; so much is betwixt Peter and the rest of the apostles.*

* Peter hath power to him and to his heirs for ever.

The apostles have power only for term of life.

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Cypr. de Simpl. Prælat.

St Cyprian's words be plain: *Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis. Sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut ecclesia una monstretur*[3]: "The rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, all endued with one fellowship both of honour and of power. Yet the beginning is taken of one, to shew that the church is one." But all these words, be they never so plain, are soon shifted by a pretty distinction, such as neither St Cyprian nor any other learned father or doctor ever knew.

We are taught here to understand that there are two powers; the one ordinary, the other extraordinary. By ordinary power, saith M. Harding, that is to say, by order and of common course, Peter appointed all the rest of the apostles, and gave them authority. And Christ also likewise gave them authority, but by extraordinary power, that is to say, besides order and out of course. Or, to utter the matter in plainer wise, Peter gave power to the apostles by his usual authority, and by due form of law; but Christ gave them power, as M. Harding saith, only for the time, and by way of dispensation, and besides the law. And thus Peter is the ordinary head of the apostles: Christ is their head too, howbeit not in like sort, but extraordinary. For, as touching order of government, Peter is the shepherd, and the apostles are the sheep. All other the apostles hold their power, as by copy, for term of life: Peter only holdeth the same in fee simple, to him and to his heirs for ever.

And, good christian reader, lest thou shouldest think I have in scorn and

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[1 ...non est pascere gregem Domini, sed mactare et devorare.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Remens. Serm. 6. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 738.]

[2 Id. ibid.]

[3 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8.]

wilfully wrested M. Harding's words, which otherwise might be uttered by him in some sober meaning; may it please thee by these few to consider what certain others of that side have uttered and published touching the same.

Petrus de Palude saith thus: *Dico, quod nullus apostolorum, præter Petrum, factus est a Christo episcopus*[4]: "I say that none of the apostles, saving only Peter, was made bishop by Christ." And again: *Videretur, in novo testamento, quod alii apostoli a Christo nullam potestatem jurisdictionis receperunt; et per consequens relinquitur, quod omnis potestas jurisdictionis, quam habuerunt apostoli,... specialiter post Christi ascensum, fuit collata eis a Petro*[5]: "It would appear that in the new testament the rest of the apostles received no manner power of jurisdiction at Christ's hands; and so consequently it followeth, that all the power of jurisdiction that the apostles had, specially after Christ's ascension, was given unto them by Peter." Again, he imagineth God the Father thus to say unto Christ: *Constitues eos principes,... non per te, sed per tuum vicarium*[6]: "Thou shalt make the apostles governors over all the earth, not by thyself[7], but by Peter, thy vicar." And again: *Paulus et alii apostoli* [*a Petro*]... *non debuerunt prædicare in ecclesia specialiter Petro commissa, nisi de ejus licentia. Unde a Christo habuerunt idoneitatem; a Petro* [*autem*] *auctoritatem*[8]: "Paul and the other apostles might not preach in the church committed unto Peter, but with Peter's licence. For of Christ they had only ability; but of Peter they received authority." In like manner writeth pope Nicolas: *Petrum in consortium individuæ unitatis*[9] *assumptum, id, quod ipse erat, Dominus voluit nominari*[10]: "Our Lord took Peter into the fellowship of the holy unity[11], and would have him called the same that he was himself."

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Apost. Art. 2. Petr. de Palud. in eod. Art.

Petr. de Palud. in eod. cap.

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Curat. Art. 6.

Extr. de Elect. et Elect. Potest. Fundamenta.

By such amplifications and outrage in speech it would appear Christ were Peter's vicar, and not Peter vicar unto Christ. In this sense and meaning M. Harding seemeth to say that by ordinary and common course of law the apostles had all their power, not from Christ, but only from Peter.

But here M. Harding unwares falleth into a marvellous inconvenience. For, these things thus granted, it must needs follow that during the time of Christ's abode in earth the apostles had no manner ordinary power at all; neither to preach, nor to baptize, nor to bind, nor to loose. For Hervæus, a doctor of M. Harding's side, saith thus: *Sciendum quod, cum Christus conversabatur cum hominibus, non fuit alius papa præter ipsum, nec Petrus tunc habuit potestatem papalem*[12]: "We must understand that, while Christ was conversant amongst men in earth, there was none other pope but he alone; neither then had Peter the pope's authority."

Herv. de Potest. Pap. His suppositis.

So likewise saith Petrus de Palude: *Non decebat esse simul nisi unum summum pontificem. Unde Christo ascensuro debuit Petrus fieri episcopus summus,... et non antea*[13]: "It was not meet there should be more than one highest bishop at one time. Therefore, when Christ was ready to ascend into heaven, it was convenient to make Peter the highest bishop, and not before."

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Apost.

For so long time Christ could not give his apostles any ordinary authority; for M. Harding telleth us that his power herein was only extraordinary. Of the other side, Peter could give them none; for, as Hervæus and Paludensis say, until Christ's ascension he was not pope.

But, to leave these vain fantasies, not worth the hearing, St Paul will soon remove all these doubts: thus he writeth of himself: "Paul the apostle, not of men, nor appointed by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father." And St Chrysostom hereof writeth thus: *Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec*

Gal. i.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

[4 P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Apost. Art. ii. fol. a. vii. 2; where *nullus apostolus.*]

[5 Id. ibid. fol. b. viii.; where *ascensionem fuit a Petro eis collata.*]

[6 Id. ibid. fol. c. i.]

[7 Thee self, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Id. De Potest. Curat. Art. vi. fol. f. iv. 2.]

[9 Trinitatis, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Hunc enim in consortium &c.—Nicol. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. vi. cap. 17. col. 131.]

[11 Trinity, 1567, 1570.]

[12 Herv. Tract. de Potest. Pap. Par. 1506. fol. DD; where *dum Christus,* and *nec tunc Petrus habuit.*]

[13 P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. De Potest. collat. Petr. Art. i. fol. a. iii. 2; where *nec decebat,* and *antequam.*]

illius egebat voce; sed honore par erat illi. Nihil enim hic dicam amplius[1]: "Paul had no manner of lack of Peter, nor stood in need of his voice or allowance; but in honour was his fellow. For I will here say no more." His meaning is, he was his better.

Howbeit, what need words? Set contention apart, the case is clear; for it was not Peter that breathed over the apostles: it was not Peter that said unto them, "Go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel:" "Receive the Holy Ghost:" "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel." All this power was given them by Christ alone, and not by Peter.

John xx.

Mark xvi.

Now, whereas M. Harding teacheth us that Peter was the shepherd, and the apostles the sheep, making them all as much inferior unto Peter as the sheep is inferior unto the shepherd; St Hierome saith—notwithstanding he grant that of the twelve apostles one was chosen, that, a head being appointed, occasion of discord might be removed—yet he[2] saith: *Super Petrum fundatur ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur*[3]: "Ye will say, the church is founded upon Peter, notwithstanding in another place the same thing is done upon all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the church is founded equally upon them all." Likewise the learned father Origen saith: *Quod si super unum illum Petrum tantum existimas ædificari totam ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Johanne filio tonitrui, et apostolorum unoquoque*[4]? "If thou think the whole church was builded only upon Peter, what wilt thou then say of John the son of the thunder, and of every of the apostles?"

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Therefore St Chrysostom of Peter saith thus: *Duplex crimen erat, tum quia repugnavit, tum quia ceteris seipsum præposuit*[5]: "Peter was in double fault; both for that he withstood Christ, and also for that he set himself before the rest."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Addition. ☞ It may be said, these words are not specially spoken of the superiority of St Peter. All this I grant; yet by the same words he is blamed for setting himself before the rest. But in the same homily Chrysostom calleth Peter *verticem apostolorum*[6], "the head of the apostles," saith M. Harding. So doth the same Chrysostom call Elias *caput prophetarum*[7], "the head of the prophets:" yet had not Elias therefore all other prophets in subjection. St Gregory calleth Paul *caput...nationum*[8], "the head of nations." And Chrysostom saith: "Paul was in a manner the common father of all the world[9]." Again he saith: *Nullus Paulum antecedit. De ea re nemo omnium dubitat*[10]: "No man hath place before Paul. And thereof no man doubteth." Yet was not Paul therefore the bishop of Rome. ☜

Addition.

M. Hard. fol. 157. b. [Detect.] Chrysost. ad Rom. Hom. 18. fol. 300.

Greg. I. Reg. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Chrysost. de Laud. Paul. Hom. 3. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 66.

☞ St Augustine maketh Peter fellow and equal with the other apostles: *Inter se concorditer vixerunt Petrus et condiscipuli ejus*[11]: "Peter and his fellows lived agreeably together." And again: *Christus sine personarum acceptione... hoc dedit Paulo ut ministraret gentibus, quod etiam Petro dederat ut ministraret Judæis*[12]: "Christ without any choice of persons gave the same (authority) to Paul to minister among[13] the heathens, that he gave to Peter to minister among[13] the Jews." And the very ordinary gloss giveth these words to St Paul: *Non didici ab aliis tanquam a majoribus; sed contuli cum illis tanquam cum amicis et*

August. Epist. 86.

August. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Gloss. Gal. ii.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 677.]

[2 The words from *Hierome* to *yet he* do not appear in 1567.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. i. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 168.]

[4 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xii. 11. Tom. III. p. 524.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 785.]

[6 Id. ibid. p. 787.]

[7 Id. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xviii. Tom. IX. p. 636.]

[8 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. iv. in i. Reg. cap. v. 28. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 250.]

[9 ...καὶ ὥσπερ κοινὸς πατὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης ὤν.—Chrysost. Op. De Laud. S. Paul. Hom. iii. Tom. II. p. 490.]

[10 Id. in Matt. Hom. lxv. Tom. VII. p. 648.]

[11 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Casul. Epist. xxxvi. 21. Tom. II. col. 76; where *vixerunt concorditer*.]

[12 ...Christum, qui sine &c. hoc dedisse Paulo &c.—Id. Expos. Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. 12. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 947. It does not appear what Jewel meant by the reference to Gratian.]

[13 Amongst, 1567, 1570.]

paribus[14]: "I learned not of (Peter and) others as of my betters; but I had conference with them as with my equals and friends." Likewise Paul himself saith: *Jacobus, Petrus, Johannes, qui videbantur columnæ esse, dextras dederunt mihi et Barnabæ societatis*: "James, Peter, and John, that seemed to be the pillars, gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." Which the gloss expoundeth thus: *societatis, i.*[15] *æqualitatis*: "Of fellowship, that is to say, of equality." The other Apostles equal with Peter. Gal. ii.

Therefore, notwithstanding M. Harding's ordinary and extraordinary distinctions, St Cyprian's words are plain and true: "The rest of the apostles were even the same (in authority) that Peter was, all endued with one fellowship, both of honour and of power."

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 4.

And that it was said indifferently to them all, "Feed ye;" indifferently to them all, "Go into the whole world;" indifferently to them all, "Teach ye the gospel."

M. HARDING.

*We deny that it was said indifferently to them all, "Feed ye;" yea, or that it was said at all, "Feed ye." *To Peter, and none*[16] *else, was it said, "Feed my lambs:" "feed my sheep." Which word of "feeding," so singularly spoken to Peter in the presence of the other apostles, proveth that it was not indifferently said to all, "Feed ye." That they were sent into the whole world, and that they were commanded to teach, and in that respect also to feed, we confess, under the distinction of ordinary and extraordinary power before mentioned.*

John xxi. Mark xvi. *Untruth most vain and manifest.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It forceth not greatly what M. Harding deny or grant, having neither reason nor authority, but only his own. But if power were not given indifferently to all the apostles, tell us then, as touching feeding[17], wherein is the odds? What had Peter more? What had the others less? Or what old doctor or learned father ever saw this difference?

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding only crieth out, "Impudency, and shame" upon us; and sheweth nothing. And no great marvel. For nothing was to be shewed. ☜ Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 159. [Detect.] ☜

Christ said equally unto them all, "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven." "Go into the whole world: preach the gospel to every creature." These words pertain equally unto all. Peter had no more the Holy Ghost, no more power to forgive sins, no more commission to go into the whole world, no more authority to preach the gospel, than others had. ☞ John xxi. Mark xvi.

M. Harding saith: To the rest of the apostles it was not said at all, "Feed ye." To Peter, and to none else was it said, "Feed my lambs:" "feed my sheep."

Addition. ☞ Yet the ancient learned father Origen, speaking namely of these words, "Upon this rock will I build my church;" and, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" saith thus: *Hæc, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia*[18]: "These words, being spoken as unto Peter, are common to all the apostles." These words, saith he, are not spoken directly or only unto Peter, but as unto Peter. And the other apostles have the keys, and are the rock, as well as Peter. If this be true, as it is, with what good countenance then can M. Harding so boldly tell us, "To Peter, and none else, was it said, 'Feed my lambs:' 'feed my sheep'?" ☜ [19] ☞ Addition. ☞ Orig. in Matt. Tract. I. ☜

[14 *Contuli cum illis.* tanquam amicis et patribus. non didici tanquam a majoribus.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra. Basil. 1502. Galat. cap. ii. Pars VI. fol. 80.]

[15 Id est, 1567, 1570.]

[16 To none, Conf.]

[17 The three preceding words are not in 1567.]

[18 Orig. Op. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 11. Tom. III. p. 525.]

[19 Instead of the "Addition" 1567 introduces the sentence: Yet Christ himself saith, *Quod uni dico, omnibus dico*: "That I say to one I say to all."]

Hieron. contr. Jovin. Lib. i.

And St Hierome saith, as it is before alleged: "All the apostles received the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and the strength of the church was built equally upon them all[1]." St Paul saith: "What is Apollo[2], what is Paul, but the ministers of Christ, through whom ye have believed? Paul hath planted: Apollo hath watered. He that planteth is nothing: he that watereth is nothing."

1 Cor. iii.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Tim. ii. Hom. 2.

Chrysostom saith: *Angeli, quamlibet magni, tamen servi sunt ac ministri*[3]: "The angels of God, be they never so great, yet are they but servants and ministers." Therefore, to conclude, he saith: *Ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet, si quid proprium dixerit, si quid humanum; sed apostolo Christum in se loquentem circumferenti*[4]: "We may not believe Paul himself, if he speak any thing of his own or of worldly reason; but we must believe the apostle bearing about Christ speaking within him."

Addition.

M. Hard. p. 126. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ "This is your own bad stuff," saith M. Harding, "and proveth nothing." *The answer.* What stuff it is, how much it weigheth, and how well it proveth, I will not strive, but leave the judgment unto the reader. Thus much, I trow, at least it proveth, that "the church was equally built upon all the apostles," as well upon James or John as upon St Peter; for so saith St Hierome: and that "Christ's words spoken as unto Peter were common to all;" for so saith Origen. This, M. Harding, was my purpose to prove; and this I thought had been sufficient. It proveth that in the apostleship Peter and Paul, and the rest of the apostles, were all one, and so one of them not so far inferior to another as is imagined. It proveth that Peter and Paul, as touching their persons and offices of planting and watering, were both nothing.

1 Cor. iii.

For so saith St Paul: "He that planteth is nothing; and he that watereth is nothing." And what great difference in dignity can you find, M. Harding, between nothing and nothing? If Peter, that chosen vessel that planted Christ's church, be nothing, what then is he that hath rooted up all things, and planteth nothing? ☜

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 5.

Equality of Bishops.

Ad Evag. De Simpl. Prælat.

And, as St Hierome[5] saith, "all bishops, wheresoever they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like pre-eminence, and of like priesthood[6]." And, as Cyprian saith, "there is but one bishoprick, and a[7] piece thereof is perfectly[8] and wholly holden of every particular bishop[9]."

M. HARDING.

Untruth. Read the [illegible].

... The interpreter, not without the will and advice of this defender, ... hath altered the sense of the Latin, as the author of the Latin hath altered the words of St Hierome. For neither speaketh St Hierome of bishops in the plural number, neither saith the Latin Apology that the bishops be all of like pre-eminence, which this ... translation hath; but of the same merit, and of the same priesthood. With the word "pre-eminence," guilefully shifted into the sentence in place of this word "merit," these false players thought to win the game: that is, that all bishops after the mind of St Hierome be of like pre-eminence, and so that all be of like power and authority, and none above other. ...

Hierome's place discussed.

Concerning the place alleged, St Hierome, in an epistle to Evagrius, speaking against that a particular custom of the church of Rome should prejudicate the authority of the whole world, in preferring deacons before

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[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 168. See before, page 288.]

[2 Peter, 1567.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Tom. X. p. 670.]

[4 Id. in II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 669.]

[5 As Hierome, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 Ubiquumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii.—Hieron. Op. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803.]

[7 And that a, Conf.]

[8 Perfitely, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108. See before, page 284, note 1.]

Equality of Bishops.

priests, compareth bishops of great cities and little towns together, and saith that, as touching the honour, dignity, and power of bishoply order and office, and of priesthood, as good and as great a bishop in that respect is the one as the other; and that the bishop[10] *of Eugubium and Rhegium, two little towns in Italy, and of Thebes, another little town in Egypt, are bishops and priests, and have as great* [a] *merit in regard of any their virtues, and as great power concerning the order of priesthood, as the bishops of Rome, of Constantinople, of Alexandria. Yet, as touching power and authority of regiment, the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antiochia be above bishops of other dioceses; and the bishop of Rome, Peter's successor, is* [b] *above all.... "For we being many are one body in Christ, and every man among ourselves one another's members. This knot requireth a mutual consent of the whole body, but chiefly the concord of priests; among whom, although dignity be not common to them all, yet order is general," as Leo writeth. "For even among the most blessed apostles," saith he, "in likeness of honour there was odds of power. And, whereas the election of them all was equal, yet to one was it given to be over the rest. Out of which plat rose the distinction also of bishops, and with great providence it hath been disposed that all should not take all upon them, but that in every province there should be one who might first give his sentence among his brethren; and again, that in the great cities some should be ordained for taking upon them matters of greater care, through whom the charge of the universal church should have course to the one see of Peter, and that nothing should ever dissent from the head*[11]*."...*

[a] This was no part of the question.

[b] Untruth. For the bishop of Rome is equal with the other four patriarchs, as shall appear.

Epist. 84. Among bishops is difference of power with likeness of honour.

How great and honourable soever the room is that any bishop is placed in, be he archbishop, metropolitan, primate, patriarch, or pope himself; he is no more a bishop than any other of those who occupy the lowest room. The diversity consisteth in this, that they are called to part of charge in sundry proportions, as the[12] *bishopricks are greater or lesser: the pope hath committed unto him* [c] *the charge of the whole fold of Christ, and hath the fulness of power. For if all were of like power, as these defenders teach, unity could not be maintained. Wherefore* [d] *by very order of Christ himself it hath been ordained that matters touching faith and religion, at least such as be weighty, be referred to that one prince of pastors, who sitteth in the chair of Peter the highest bishop, which hath* [e] *always been done and observed from the apostles' time to our days by catholics, and not seldom also by heretics...*

The diversity between bishops, wherein it consisteth.

[c] Untruth. For Christ never gave the pope any such charge.

[d] Untruth. For Christ never gave such order.

[e] Untruth. For it hath not always been observed.

The sentence that this defender allegeth out of St Cyprian, it seemeth he understood it not.... Ye say, that a piece of that one bishoprick is perfectly[13] *and wholly holden of every particular bishop; but what mean ye by that? If by this word* in solidum, *"perfectly*[13] *and wholly holden," ye mean that every particular bishop is a bishop without depending of any other, then ye speak against the words ye bring out of St Cyprian; who saith that, as there are many beams of one sun, many boughs of one root, many rivers of one fountain, so there are many bishops of one bishoprick; therefore this bishoprick is unto particular bishops as the sun, as the root, as the fountain*[14]*.* [f] *What the fountain, root, and sun of this bishoprick is, St Cyprian declareth a little before, shewing that it was said to Peter, "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" and, "Feed my sheep*[15]*."...*

De Simpl. Prælat.

[f] Untruth, without any likelihood or regard of truth[16].

[10 Bishops, Conf.]

[11 ...multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra...Et hæc quidem connexio...unanimitatem requirit, sed præcipue exigit concordiam sacerdotum. Quibus etsi dignitas non sit communis, est tamen ordo generalis: quoniam et inter beatissimos apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quædam discretio potestatis, et cum omnium par esset electio, uni tamen datum est, ut ceteris præemineret. De qua forma episcoporum quoque est orta distinctio, et magna dispositione provisum est, ne omnes sibi omnia vindicarent; sed essent in singulis provinciis singuli, quorum inter fratres haberetur prima sententia; et rursus quidam, in majoribus urbibus constituti, sollicitudinem susciperent ampliorem, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura confluaeret, et nihil usquam a suo capite dissideret.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Anastas. Epist. lxxxiv. 11. col. 451.]

[12 Their, Conf.]

[13 Perfitely, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[14 Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fœcunditatis extenditur: quo modo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt,...unitas tamen servatur in origine...Sic ecclesia &c.—Cypr. Op. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108.]

[15 Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum...Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum...Et...Pasce oves meas.—Id. ibid. pp. 106, 7.]

[16 Untruth, impudent above measure, 1567.]

Equality of Bishops.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding chargeth us with two of his own common faults; first with corruption; next with ignorance: with corruption in the words and sense of St Hierome; with ignorance in the place of St Cyprian. But, if we be able sufficiently and truly to answer both, I trust M. Harding shall have no great cause much to vaunt himself either of his plain dealing herein or of his knowledge.

And here, to dissemble these childish cavillations of the altering of numbers, the singular into the plural; and of the changing of this word "merit" into this word "pre-eminence;" which great fault, if it were any, by M. Harding's own confession proceeded only from the interpreter, and not from the author; I say, to dissemble and to pass by all these silly quarrels, what St Hierome meant hereby, Erasmus, a man of great learning and judgment, expoundeth thus: [*Hieronymus*] *æquare videtur omnes episcopos inter se, perinde quasi omnes ex æquo apostolis successerint.... Nec putat ullum episcopum alio minorem esse, quod sit humilior;* [*aut majorem, quod sit opulentior*].... *Nam æquat Eugubiensem episcopum cum Romano.... Deinde non putat episcopum quovis presbytero præstantiorem esse, nisi quod jus habeat ordinandi*[1]: "Hierome seemeth to match all bishops together, as if they were all equally the apostles' successors. And he thinketh not any bishop to be less than other, for that he is poorer; or greater than other, for that he is richer. For he maketh the bishop of Eugubium (a poor town) equal with the bishop of Rome. And farther, he thinketh that a bishop is no better than any priest, saving that the bishop hath authority to order ministers."

Erasm. in Schol. in Epist. ad Evag.

Addition.

M. Hard. 164. a. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ Hereto M. Harding answereth thus: "Erasmus saith, within five lines following, that the metropolitan hath a certain dignity and jurisdiction above other bishops. Take the one," saith he, "with the other." *The answer.* I am contented, M. Harding, Erasmus saith, the metropolitan had a dignity above other bishops. But he saith not, the bishop of Rome had jurisdiction over all bishops throughout the world. In St Hierome's time there were metropolitans, archbishops, archdeacons, and others. But Christ appointed not these distinctions of orders from the beginning. These names are not found in all the scriptures. This is the thing that we defend. St Hierome saith: *Sciant episcopi, &c.*[2]: "Let bishops understand" (whereunto we add further, Let the bishops of Rome themselves understand) "that they are in authority over priests more by custom than by order of God's truth." These be St Hierome's words truly translated: what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the reader. Erasmus likewise saith, in the self-same place above alleged: *Quod episcopo minus tribuit dignitatis, &c.*[3]: "Whereas St Hierome yieldeth less dignity and authority unto bishops than now-a-days they seem to have, we must understand he spake of that time wherein he lived. If he had seen our bishops that now be, he would have said otherwise." For now the pope claimeth a power above all the powers in heaven and earth, as it is written in the council of Lateran[4]. Again Erasmus, in another place speaking hereof, saith thus: *Sanctus vir ingenue fatetur episcopum Romanum non esse ceteris episcopis sublimiorem sacerdotio, sed tantum opibus*[5]: "This holy man St Hierome saith plainly and freely and as he thinketh, that the bishop of Rome is above other bishops, not by bishoprick, but only by riches." By his riches only, M. Harding, Erasmus saith the pope is above other bishops. By riches only, he saith, not by right of God's word, not by virtue, not by learning, not by diligence in preaching; but only by riches. Now it may please you to follow your own rule, and to lay the one saying to the other. ☜

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i.

Erasm. in Schol. in Epist. ad Evag.

Sub Leon. Sess. 10.

Erasm. in Apol. ad Pium.

But St Hierome's words are plain of themselves[6], and have no need of other

[1 Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. Schol. in Epist. ad Evagr. Tom. III. fol. 150. 2; where *minorem esse nisi quatenus superat humilitate, quovis sacerdote*, and *jus habet*. The order of the sentences also varies.]

[2 Id. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 413, 14. See below, page 294, note 1.]

[3 Quod &c. quam his temporibus videntur possidere: non ad hanc tempestatem, sed ad eam in qua vixit Hieronymus referri debet. Si nostros vidisset episcopos, longe aliud dixisset.—Erasm. Schol. in Epist. ad Evagr. ubi supr. fol. 150. 2.]

[4 Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Concil. Lat. Sess. x. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 671. See Vol. I. page 94.]

[5 Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Ad Albert. Pium Resp. Tom. IX. col. 1177; where *vir sanctus*.]

[6 Themself, 1567, 1570.]

expositor. Thus he writeth: *Quid...facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non facit*[7]? *Nec altera Romanæ urbis ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Gallia*[8], *et Britannia, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicunque fuerit episcopus,... sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli,...sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanai, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est...sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.... Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem*[9]? "What doth a bishop, saving only the ordering of ministers, but a priest may do the same? Neither may we think that the church of Rome is one, and the church of all the world beside is another. France, England, Africa, Persia, Levant, India, and all the barbarous nations worship one Christ, and keep one rule of the truth. If we seek for authority, the whole world is greater than the city of Rome. Wheresoever there be a bishop, be it at Eugubium, be it at Rome, be it at Constantinople, be it at Rhegium, be it at Alexandria, be it at Tanais, they are all of one worthiness, they are all of one bishoprick. The power of riches[10], and the baseness of poverty, maketh not a bishop either higher or lower. For they are all the apostles' successors. What bring you me the custom of Rome, being but one city?"

Equality of Bishops.

Hieron. ad Evag.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding findeth great fault, for that I have translated these words *ejusdem sacerdotii*, "of one bishoprick," and not, as he would have it, "of one priesthood." God wot, a very simple quarrel. Let him take whether he liketh best, if either other of these words shall serve his turn. Erasmus saith: *Id temporis idem erat episcopus, sacerdos, et presbyter*[11]: "These three names at that time were all one." ☞

Addition. ☞

Erasm. adv. Albert. Pium.

Now, if M. Harding will steal away in the dark, as his manner is, and say that St Hierome spake only of the merit of life, or of the office of priesthood, let some man tell him that this was no part, neither of the question moved nor of the answer of St Hierome. And St Hierome in plain and express words saith: *Si auctoritas quæritur:* "If we seek (not for merit of life, but) for authority in government, therein the whole world is greater[12] than the city of Rome." M. Harding imagineth St Hierome spake only of I know not[13] what; but St Hierome himself saith he speaketh namely of authority. ☞

And, whereas M. Harding is so highly offended with the changing of this word "merit" into this word "pre-eminence," and saith farther that these false players thought thereby to win the game; it may please him to remember that, howsoever the game go, St Hierome himself plainly played the self-same game; I mean, that St Hierome, using this word "merit," without question meant "pre-eminence," and not merit of life[14]. For thus he saith: *Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit:* "The power of riches, and the baseness of poverty, maketh not a bishop either higher or lower." M. Harding might easily have seen, that "higher" and "lower" pertain not to "merit" of life, but to "pre-eminence." Therefore let him look better upon his book before he thus lightly condemn others of[15] corruption.

I grant it is true, as M. Harding saith, this quarrel first began about a particular custom of the church of Rome, where as the deacons vaunted themselves, and would be placed above the priests. But here M. Harding, as his manner is, willingly dissembleth and suppresseth somewhat. St Augustine more lively and fully expresseth the same. For thereof he writeth thus: *Quidam... qui nomen habet Falcidii, duce stultitia et Romanæ civitatis jactantia, Levitas sacerdotibus et diaconos presbyteris cœquare contendit*[16]: "One Falcidius, foolishness

August. in Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. Quæst. 101.

[7 Faciat, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Galliæ, 1567.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803; where *non faciat, Galliæ et Britanniæ*, and *Tanis*.]

[10 Of the riches, 1567.]

[11 Non enim memini quemquam ætate Hieronymi vocasse sacerdotem, qui non esset episcopus...cum Hieronymus...confirmet...ætate Pauli eosdem fuisse presbyteros et episcopos.—Erasm. Op. Ad Albert. Pium Resp. Tom. IX. col. 1176.]

[12 Greatte, 1567.]

[13 No, 1567.]

[14 1567 omits these five words.]

[15 For, 1567.]

[16 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex Utroq. mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Append. col. 92; where *civitatis Romanæ*.]

Equality of Bishops.

and the pride of the city of Rome leading him thereto, laboureth to make the deacons equal with the priests."

This lewd disorder St Hierome controlleth by the examples of other churches, and saith that therein the authority of the whole world is greater than the authority of the church of Rome; of which also he seemeth to speak scornfully and with some disdain. For thus he saith: *Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem?* "What bring you me the custom of (Rome, being but) one city?" By which words it seemeth he made small account of the city of Rome.

But M. Harding saith, the primates had authority over other inferior bishops. I grant they had so. Howbeit, they had it by agreement and custom; but neither by Christ, nor by Peter or Paul, nor by any right of God's word. St Hierome saith: *Noverint episcopi se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere*[1]: "Let bishops understand that they are above priests[2] rather of custom than of any truth or right of Christ's institution; and that they ought to rule the church all together." And again: *Idem ergo est presbyter qui episcopus; et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur*[3]: "Therefore a priest and a bishop are both one thing; and, before that by the inflaming of the devil, parts were taken in religion, and these words were uttered among the people, 'I hold of Paul, I hold of Apollo, I hold of Peter,' the churches were governed by the common advice of the priests." St Augustine saith: *Secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major est*[4]: "The office of a bishop is above the office of a priest (not by authority of the scriptures, but) after the names of honour, which the custom of the church hath now obtained."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i.

Hieron. eodem loco.

August. Epist. 19.

Pope Leo.

As for pope Leo, his own authority in his own cause cannot be great. The emperor saith: *Qui jurisdictioni præest, non*[5] *debet sibi jus dicere*[6]: "No judge[7] may minister law unto himself." And it is noted thus in the decrees: *Papa non debet esse judex in causa propria*[8]: "The pope may not be judge in his own cause."

ff. Lib. ii. de Jurisd. Omnium Judicum. xvi. Quæst. 6. Consuetudo in margine.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ And whose cause pleadeth he, but his own? It is the church's cause, saith M. Harding. But the church hath evermore repined against it. ☞ St Basil saith: *Quid auxilii nobis conferet occidentalium fastus*[9]? "What good shall the pride of the western church do us?" Noting thereby, as we may reasonably conjecture, the immoderate pride of the church of Rome. St Bernard in like sort chargeth pope Eugenius: *Ambitio per te in ecclesia regnare molitur.... Murmur loquor et querimoniam* [*communem*] *ecclesiarum. Truncari se clamant et demembrari*[10]: "Pride striveth through thee to reign in the church. I speak of the murmuring and common complaint of churches. They complain they be maimed and dismembered." Whosoever shall consider how the popes have enriched themselves by the spoils of others, he shall easily judge whether they have sought their own, or the things that pertain to Christ ☞ Jesus[11]. ☜

M. Hard. p. 168. b. [Detect.] Basil. ad Euseb. Epist. 8. Bernard. de Consid. Lib. iii.

It is well known that the pope hath sought for and claimed this universal authority these many hundred years. Pope Cœlestinus[12] was therefore reproved of pride and worldly lordliness by the whole council of Africa.

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom.-IV. Pars I. cols. 413, 4; where *episcopi noverint.*]

[2 Above the priests, 1567.]

[3 Id. ibid. col. 413. See before, page 272, note 8.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Hieron. Epist. lxxxii. cap. iv. 33. Tom. II. col. 202; where *major sit.*]

[5 1567 has *nemo* for *qui jurisdictioni præest non.*]

[6 Ulpian. Lib. III. ad Edict. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. II. Tit. i. 10. Tom. I. p. 89; where *neque sibi jus dicere debet.*]

[7 No man, 1567.]

[8 ...si papa cum aliquo causam habet, non debet ipse esse judex.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XVI. Quæst. vi. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 1152.]

[9 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Euseb. Episc. Epist. ccxxxix. 2. Tom. III. p. 368.]

[10 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. III. capp. i. 5. iv. 14. Vol. I. Tom. II. coll. 428, 31; where *in ecclesia per te,* and *clamitant.*]

[11 Jesu, 1570.]

[12 Innocentius, 1567.]

Addition. ☞ Where I say pope Cœlestinus was reproved by the whole council of Africa of pride and lordliness, M. Harding thinketh I understand not the place: and therefore he hath taken upon him to open it better; but so as they do that go only by guess. "It seemeth," saith he, "that the pope had sent his agents to require temporal aid of the nobles in Africa. Which thing now is called *implorare brachium seculare.* And this is it that misliked the council. Therefore they say to the pope: We beseech you send not your clerks *quibuscunque potentibus*[13], that is, 'to any of the great men,' lest we seem to bring the smoky stoutness of the temporality into the church of Christ." By this favourable construction he dischargeth the pope and his clergy of pride and stateliness, and conveyeth over the same unto the nobles, only upon occasion of these words *quibuscunque potentibus.* And therefore he saith: "Whether M. Jewel understood this place or no, I have good cause to doubt." And yet there appeareth no such great difficulty in the matter, but that a mean-learned man may understand it well enough with small study. Notwithstanding, M. Harding, whether you understand this place or no, M. Jewel hath no cause to doubt: for indeed you understand it not. The over-great favour you bear the pope, in smoothing his faults whatsoever, and the blind error of Peter Crab, that compiled the councils, hath foully beguiled you. For the true copies have not *quibuscunque potentibus,* as you imagine, but *quibuscunque petentibus,* as you might have learned by Theodorus Balsamon, printed at Paris anno 1561, and by the words of the said epistle written in Greek. For thus it is written: Ἐκβιβαστὰς τοίνυν κληρικοὺς ὑμῶν τινῶν αἰτούντων μὴ θέλετε ἀποστέλλειν[14]. These words, as you know, signify not lords and governors, but suppliants and suitors. But, M. Harding, is this the grammercy ye yield the prince? When ye call upon him for aid and assistance, will ye say he is proud and stately and bringeth vain stoutness and stateliness into the church? Verily, the prince defending the church might seem to deserve some greater thanks. I doubt whether there were ever such pride and lordliness in any prince worldly as hath been found and seen in sundry popes. The pope admitteth the emperor of Christendom to hold his stirrup, to lead his bridle, to bear his train, to kiss his foot. No emperor ever received such service of the pope. Doubtless, M. Harding, the council of Africa meant the stoutness of the clergy, and not of the nobles; the pride of Rome, and not of Africa. This same is it that, as it is said before, St Basil calleth *occidentalium episcoporum fastum*[15]. But you, M. Harding, have turned *petentes* into *potentes,* that is to say, "poor suitors" into great "noblemen." And, to shift the pope from note of stateliness, ye have imagined a long commentary of your own, ye wis a great way besides[16] the text. ☞

Pope Leo.

Addition. ☞

Conc. Aphr. cap. 105. Superbum sæculi typhum. M. Hard. 170. a. [Detect.] Potentibus.

Petentibus.

τινῶν αἰτούντων.

Basil. ad Euseb. Epist. 8.

Pope Bonifacius II. condemned St Augustine and all the said whole council of Africa, and called them all heretics and schismatics for the same, and said they were all *led by the devil[17].

Addition. ☞ M. Harding saith[18]: That pope Bonifacius II. condemned that blessed father St Augustine by name, or the council of Africa by solemn sentence, it is an impudent lie. *The answer.* These words be ordinary, M. Harding, and therefore move me but little. But what talk you of condemning by "name" or by "solemn sentence?" I say, "Pope Boniface the second condemned St Augustine." You add "name" and "sentence" of your own. They are not mine. But whether he condemned St Augustine or no, the indifferent reader may easily judge. His words be these: "Aurelius, sometime the bishop of Carthage, began with other his fellow-bishops, by the enticing or leading of the devil, to be proud and arrogant against the church of Rome[17]." Here is Aure-

Inter Decret. Bonifac. II.

* Instigante diabolo.

Addition. ☞

Epist. Bonifac. II. ad Eulal.

[13 Concil. Aphr. cap. 105. Epist. ad Cœlest. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 521.]

[14 Epist. Synod. Afric. ad Pap. Celest. in Canon. Apost. Concil. &c. cum Comm. Theod. Balsam. Lut. Par. 1620. p. 760.]

[15 Basil. Op. Ad Euseb. Episc. Epist. ccxxxix. 2. Tom. III. p. 368.]

[16 Beside, 1570.]

[17 Aurelius enim ... Carthaginensis ecclesiæ olim episcopus, cum collegis suis (instigante diabolo) superbire ... contra Romanam ecclesiam cœpit.—Bonifac. II. Ad Eulal. Alex. Episc. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 1058.]

[18 1570 omits *saith.*]

Pope Leo.

lius condemned with his fellows. But who were his fellows, M. Harding? Who sat with him in council? Who were partners of his pride against the church of Rome? Why carry you this away so closely in a cloud? Verily you know right well, and cannot choose but know, that St Augustine was one of that company, together with Alypius, Restitutus, and two hundred and fourteen bishops besides, as appeareth by their epistle unto Bonifacius I.[1] In the subscriptions of every of these councils, of Carthage, of Milevetum, and of Africa, you may find these words: *Ego Augustinus episcopus Hipponensis subscripsi*[2]. You see, therefore, that pope Boniface II. condemned not only Aurelius the archbishop of Carthage, but also the great learned father St Augustine and two hundred and fourteen other his fellow-bishops, that sat with him in council, and that above one hundred years after they were dead. But you say: "Bonifacius condemned them not for schismatics." I grant, by any such express words he condemneth them not. Perhaps he condemned them for good catholics. Certainly he divided them from the communion of the church; and for so much he condemned them as schismatics. Heretics indeed he calleth them not. And yet pope Nicolas saith: *Qui Romanæ &c.*[3]: "Whoso seeketh to make void the privilege of the church of Rome falleth into heresy. For he breaketh the faith, whosoever withstandeth the church of Rome, that is the mother of faith." This, M. Harding, is it that pope Bonifacius meant when he said, Aurelius, St Augustine, and two hundred other learned and godly bishops in the council of Africa were led by the devil.

Conc. Aphr. p. 518.

Dist. 22. Omnes.

M. Hard. 172. a. [Detect.]

The pretty nice difference that M. Harding here imagineth between "enticing" and "leading" is not worthy of answer. For no pope was ever so cruel to condemn a man for that he was enticed, but only for that he yielded, and was led by the devil.

Pope Zosimus, to maintain this claim, corrupted the holy council of Nice. Hilary, the bishop of Vienna, and other[4] learned bishops of France, for usurping such unlawful authority, charged this same pope Leo of whom we speak with pride and ambition.

Addition.

Addition. And therefore thus Leo complaineth of him: *Ipsius quoque beatissimi Petri reverentiam verbis arrogantioribus minuit*[5]: "By his arrogant words he abaseth the reverence of the most blessed Peter himself." By this reverence due unto Peter he meant the reverence that he claimed to himself; for doubtless M. Harding himself cannot think that Hilary's quarrel was against Peter the apostle of Christ, now reigning in heaven. It was only against that inordinate ambition and pride of Peter's successors, that even then sought to rule over the whole church of God.

Leo, Epist. 89.

But, gentle reader, that thou mayest the better understand what credit thou oughtest to give to this pope Leo, specially setting forth his own authority, I beseech thee consider with what majesty of words, and how far above measure, he advanceth[6] the authority of St Peter. These be his words: *Christus Petrum in consortium individuæ Unitatis assumpsit*[7]: "Christ received Peter into the company of the indivisible Unity." *Auctoritate Domini mei... Petri apostoli*[8]: "By the authority (not of Christ, but) of my lord Peter the apostle." *Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo*[9]: "By the inspiration of God and of St Peter the apostle." *Deus a Petro, velut a quodam capite, dona sua velut in corpus omne diffudit*[10]: "God from Peter, as from the head, hath poured out his gifts into all the body." *Nihil erit ligatum aut solutum, nisi quod Pe-*

Leo, Epist. 89.

Leo, Epist. 52.

Leo, Epist. 89.

Leo, in eadem epist.

Leo, in Serm. de Nat. Petr. et Paul.

[1 Concil. Aphric. Epist. ad Bonifac. I. cap. 101. in eod. p. 518.]

[2 Ibid. pp. 486, 99.]

[3 Qui...Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium ab ipso summo omnium ecclesiarum capite traditum auferre conatur, hic proculdubio in hæresim labitur...Fidem quippe violat, qui adversus illam agit, quæ mater est fidei.—Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100.]

[4 St Hilary and other, 1567.]

[5 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Episc. per Vienn. Prov. Epist. lxxxix. 2. col. 465.]

[6 Avanceth, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Hunc enim in &c. assumptum.—Id. ibid. 1. col. 464.]

[8 Id. ad Episc. Gall. Epist. lii. 4. col. 373.]

[9 Id. ad Episc. per Vienn. Prov. Epist. lxxxix. 7. col. 469.]

[10 ...ut ab ipso quasi quodam &c. diffunderet.—Id. ibid. 1. col. 464.]

trus... ligaverit aut solverit[11]: "There shall be nothing bound or loosed, but that Peter shall bind or loose." *Nunc quoque Petrus pascit oves, et mandatum Domini pius pastor exequitur*[12]: "Even now Peter feedeth the sheep, and as a godly shepherd he fulfilleth the commandment of his Master." Such immoderate and ambitious dignity Leo was content to yield to Peter, to the end that the possession and fruit thereof might redound wholly unto himself.

Pope Leo.

Leo, in Serm. 3. in Anniv. die Assump.

Addition. ☞ But all these sayings, M. Harding, you say, may well be justified. Touching the first, whereas pope Leo saith, "Christ took Peter into the fellowship of his indivisible Unity," your answer is this: "Leo meant thereby an unity in quality, an unity in grace, an unity that is proper to Christ himself. But the indivisible Unity in substance," you say, "he meant not." And yet this, you say, was my devilish meaning. In good sooth, M. Harding, you do me wrong: I never meant it. But thus I say: Give these words of pope Leo the most favourable construction you can devise, yet may not the same reasonably be applied to any creature; no, not unto the blessed angels and archangels of God. You cannot say, they are in the fellowship of Christ's Unity. I grant, Peter is called the rock. So is John: so is James: so are the rest. The learned father Origen saith: *Petra est, quisquis est discipulus Christi*[13]: "Whosoever is Christ's disciple, he is the rock." Will you say therefore, M. Harding, that Christ received Peter to be his fellow, and his fellow in Unity? and that in such unity as might never be dissolved? Wherefore then doth Christ immediately after call him Satan? For thus he said unto Peter: "Get thee behind me, Satan: thou understandest not the things that are of God." Shall we say that, being Satan, he was nevertheless in the fellowship of Christ's Unity? Indeed, friar Ambrosius Catharinus, in his late declamation openly pronounced in the council of Trident, calleth the blessed virgin our lady *fidelissimam Christi sociam*[14], "Christ's most faithful fellow." And you, M. Harding, upon warrant of Bernard's words, have no doubt to say: "The pope by power is Peter; and by anointing is Christ[15]." This, I trow, is enough. "The pope is Peter: the pope is Christ." "Yet all this," you say, "is well spoken, and may be justified."

Addition.

☞ M. Hard. 174. a. [Detect.]

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Matt. xvi.

Conc. Trid.

M. Hard. Confut. fol. 210. a.

Leo saith further: "Christ called Peter the rock, that the building of the everlasting temple might stand in the soundness of Peter[16]." Alas! M. Harding, and must this likewise be justified as the rest? Is this the building of the church of God? We are built upon Christ, and not upon Peter. Christ is the Rock, that standeth for ever. St Paul saith: "No man can lay other foundation than that is already laid, which is Christ Jesus."

Leo, Epist. 89. Ut æterni ædificatio templi... in Petri soliditate consisteret.

1 Cor. x.

1 Cor. iii.

Howbeit, I deny not but in some reasonable kind of speech Peter also may be called the rock; but so as Paul, and James, and John, and all other the apostles of Christ may likewise be called, and none otherwise. Origen saith: "The words of Christ, spoken as unto Peter, were common to all[17]." So likewise St Hierome, notwithstanding he call Peter the head or principal of the apostles, yet he saith: *Ecclesia fundatur super omnes apostolos ... Ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur*[18]: "The church is built upon all the apostles: the strength of the church is founded (not only upon Peter, but) equally upon them all." "Upon them all," he saith, "the church is built, and that equally," that is to say, no more upon Peter than upon the rest. What vanity then is this[19], M. Harding, to apply that thing only or specially unto one, that is equally common unto so many!

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

Ex æquo.

You say: "Christ, being himself the Rock, gave the same title unto Peter; there-

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[11] Id. in Nat. Apost. Petr. et Paul. Serm. ii. 2. col. 229; where *ligatum nihil solutum*. This sermon is probably not genuine. It appears to be gathered principally from the Serm. iii. in Anniv. Die Assumpt. col. 9.]

[12] *Pasce oves meas:* quod et nunc proculdubio facit, et &c.—Id. ibid. 3. col. 230. Conf. Serm. iii. in Anniv. Die Assumpt. col. 9.]

[13] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 10. Tom. III. pp. 523, 4.]

[14] Ambros. Catharin. Polit. Orat. in sec. Sess. Synod. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1007. See before, page 121.]

[15] ...tu...potestate Petrus, unctione Christus.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. II. cap. viii. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 422. See Vol. I. page 438, note 9.]

[16] Leon. Magni Op. Ad Episc. per Vienn. Prov. Epist. lxxxix. 1. col. 464; where *æterni templi ædificatio.*]

[17] Orig. Op. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 11. Tom. III. p. 525.]

[18] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 168. See before, page 288.]

[19] It, 1570.]

fore Leo might justly say, Christ received Peter into the fellowship of his indivisible Unity." This argument hangeth very loosely, as it shall appear. For Christ likewise saith of himself, "I am the Light of the world;" and yet he saith to his disciples, "You are the light of the world:" giving them that name that was proper and peculiar to himself. Shall we therefore say, Christ took all his disciples into the fellowship of his indivisible Unity? If so, where then is Peter's privilege? Or what hath Peter above the rest? Or how can these words of pope Leo be excused? It is too ambitious, M. Harding: it is too much. No learned father ever gave St Peter the like title. Justify no more than may well be justified.

John viii.

Matt. v.

Leo, Epist. 89. Again Leo saith: *Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo*[1]: "By the inspiration of God and of the most blessed St Peter the apostle."

M. Hard. 179. a. [Detect.] Here, M. Harding, in defence of these unsavoury words, unadvisedly uttered by pope Leo, you have used such unmannerly and unmanly speech, as may become no man but only yourself. Though I had misconceived pope Leo, and taken him otherwise than he meant, as you have often the holy fathers, yet sobriety and gravity had been fitting and seemly for a doctor. Much talk you move of the preposition *a*, first placed, and after repeated, and yet not expressed; of the ablative case ruled, and of the ablative case absolute; and so you lead the simple along in the dark, he wotteth not whither: but indeed you have purposely corrupted and mispointed the whole place, as it may easily appear to any man that shall compare your book and Leo's epistles both together. For Leo hath two commas[2] between these words *apostolo* and *decreta sunt*, and readeth thus, as in all the books that I have read it is easy to see: *Obtestamur, ... ut ea, quæ a nobis, Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo, discussis, probatisque nunc omnibus causis, decreta sunt, ... servetis.* By which manner of pointing it may appear to any man that is able to judge, that these words, *Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo*, are governed by one rule of construction, and go together; as if, in plainer sort, the whole sentence were laid thus: *Obtestamur, ut servetis ea, quæ discussis, probatisque omnibus causis, decreta sunt a nobis, Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo;* "We beseech you to keep those things which, all causes being discussed and proved, have been decreed by us, by the inspiration of God and the most blessed Peter the apostle." Neither is there any grammarian that, the points thus standing, as they be in all books both printed and written, can expound it otherwise.

M. Hard. 176. a. [Detect.]

Now, M. Harding, behold Leo's words, as you have stalled them. Thus you write: *Obtestamur, ut ea, quæ a nobis Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo decreta sunt, servetis.* Marry, now it is as you would have it; but yet is it nothing as Leo left it. Lay these places together: view your words again. Where is the comma after this word *apostolo?* Where is the other comma after this word *causis?* Why have you brought these words *apostolo* and *decreta sunt* so near together? Could you cut off two commas[2] together in one place, and so cunningly beguile your simple reader? Indeed, ye were ashamed of the error: the sense was blasphemous: you thought it most wisdom to leave out the points, and to alter your book, and to shift away blasphemy by plain corruption. I would never have made so great account of so simple reckonings, had not you, M. Harding, given the occasion.

Howbeit, let us yield unto you, and, contrary to the credit of all your books, printed or written, new or old, let us follow your own reading, and say thus: *Obtestamur, ut servetis ea, quæ decreta sunt a nobis, et beatissimo Petro apostolo.* Beware ye fall not from one error into another. Here first the pope placeth himself before St Peter; for thus he saith: "It is decreed by me and by St Peter." This perhaps is no great blasphemy: it may rather seem to be some lack of good manners[3]. Yet is it not likely that Leo, being so holy a man as M. Harding imagineth, no, though he were never so much ambitious, would set St Peter behind, and himself before. That had been enough for pope Alexander III., who, when he had set his foot in Fredericus the emperor's neck, and the

[1 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Episc. per Vienn. Prov. Epist. lxxxix. 7. col. 469.]

[2 Commates, 1570.]

[3 Manner, 1570.]

emperor had told him that he yielded that honour not unto him being pope, but unto Peter: Yes, said the pope, *et mihi et Petro*[4]; "Thou shalt stoop to me and to Peter;" giving the first place unto himself. Carion. in Vit. Alex. III.

Besides this, by M. Harding's construction, Leo imagineth that St Peter is always present with the pope, and sitteth with him in consistory or in closet, discussing of cases and devising of laws. I will not say that this is blasphemy. Perhaps I may think it is great folly. For what part of Peter is it that sitteth there? His soul is in heaven, his body in the grave. If he be there neither in soul nor in body, how is he there? Or, if St Peter be there, and that in such order that he is able to hear causes, to make decrees, and to govern the church, what need hath he then of any successor? A successor hath no place while the predecessor is present. By such fables, M. Harding, and outrage of speech, ye abuse the poor people, and bear them in hand, that whatsoever is done by the pope[5], it is done by St Peter.

But, if Peter be yet still in Rome, and make laws now as when he was living, wherefore then, M. Harding, have you written thus in your late Confutation, "Christ now requireth us not to obey Peter and Paul, but him that sitteth in their chair?" These be your words: you may not forget them. If St Peter be now in Rome, and make laws for you, as you say, how can you say you are not bound to obey him? If ye be not bound to obey him, how can you tell us he maketh you laws? Certainly, it is meet that the law-maker be ever obeyed. But we must pardon you, M. Harding: ye walk in the dark, and say and unsay ye know not what. Confut. p. 192. b.

In the life of this Leo it is written thus: "Leo wrote an epistle against the heretic Eutyches, and, doubting the ability of his own learning, he laid the same epistle upon Peter's altar, and fasted forty days, and besought St Peter that, if there were any error therein, he would correct it with his own hands[6]." The fable is true; Peter came down from heaven with pen and ink, as I trow, and corrected it. After the fortieth[7] day the epistle was perfect[8]. In Vit. Leon. Ut ille suis manibus correctum absolveret.

Leo himself saith: *Omnes sacerdotes proprie regit Petrus*[9]: "In plain manner of speech, or to speak conveniently, Peter governeth all the priests that be." Again he saith: *Si quid... nostris temporibus recte a nobis agitur,... Petri gubernaculis est deputandum*[10]: "If in our time any thing be well done by us, we must reckon it as done by Peter's government." Again: "There shall nothing be bound or loosed but that Peter shall bind or loose[11]." And again: "Even now Peter feedeth the sheep[11]," &c. Leo, in Anniv. die Assump. suæ, Serm. 3. In eodem Serm. Leo, in Nat. Petr. et Paul. Serm 2. Leo, in Anniv. die Assump. suæ.

St Gregory saith: *Transmisimus vobis de benedictione S. Petri apostoli cucullam et tunicam*[12]: "I have sent you a cowl and a coat of the blessing of St Peter." Likewise he writeth to Theoctistus: "I have sent thee St Peter's blessing, I mean a key taken from his blessed body, that by that same key you may have life, both present and everlasting[13]." Gregor. Lib. viii. Epist. 45. Gregor. Lib. vi. Epist. 23. Ut per eam vos, qui eum timetis et diligitis, et præsentem salutem et æternam habere valeatis.

Now, M. Harding, if St Peter can sit with the pope, write letters, discuss causes, govern priests, rule the church, feed the flock, bless cowls, coats, and keys, and bind and loose, why may he not also inspire the faithful?

Take heed in shunning one blasphemy ye commit not another. Shift pope Leo's words as you shall think best: whatsoever sense ye shall pick out of them, it will be blasphemy.

[4 Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 109.]

[5 Hope, 1611.]

[6 Cum beatus Leo epistolam ad Fabianum episcopum Constantinopolitanum adversus Euticium et Nestorium scripsisset: super sepulchrum beati Petri ipsam posuit, et jejuniis et orationibus insistens dixit: Quicquid in hac epistola ut homo erravi, tu cui ecclesiæ cura commissa est corrige et emenda. Et post dies xl. oranti illi Petrus apparuit dicens: Legi et emendavi. Accipiensque Leo epistolam invenit eam manibus apostoli correptam et emendatam.—Opus Aur. et Legend. Insig. Lugd. 1526. De Sanct. Leon. lxxxiii. fol. 62. 2.]

[7 Fourth, 1570.] [8 Perfit, 1570.]

[9 ...ut quamvis...multi sacerdotes sint...omnes tamen proprie regat Petrus.—Leon. Magni Op. In Anniv. Die Assumpt. Serm. iii. col. 8.]

[10 Id. ibid. col. 9; where *recte per nos*, and *illius sit gubernaculis deputandum*.]

[11 Id. ibid. Conf. In Nat. Apost. Petr. et Paul. Serm. ii. 2, 3. cols. 229, 30. See before, pages 296, 7, notes 11, 12.]

[12 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. XI. Indict. IV. Ad Pallad. Presb. Epist. ii. Tom. II. col. 1094.]

[13 Præterea benedictionem sancti Petri apostoli clavem a sacratissimo ejus corpore transmisi...ut per eam vos &c.—Id. Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Theoctist. Patr. Epist. xxvi. Tom. II. col. 872.]

Some others have thought that as well these epistles of Leo, as also others more of other the ancient bishops of Rome, have been interlaced and falsified by the ambitious popes that followed afterward. Which thing is the more likely, both for that the self-same words be likewise alleged, partly under the name of pope Julius[1], partly under the name of pope Nicolas[2]; and also for that pope Zosimus, which was the fifth before Leo, as it is said before, doubted not for an advantage to falsify the holy council of Nice[3].

Epist. Jul. I. Extr. de Elect. Fundamenta. Conc. Aphr. cap. 105.

Verily, when the council of Chalcedon had offered unto this same Leo the title of universal bishop, as Gregory witnesseth[4], he utterly refused[5] it, and would none of it.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 36.

Now, touching that St Hierome saith, the poor bishop of Eugubium and the bishop of Rome are both of one authority (for of authority he speaketh, as it is proved before), St Cyprian also saith the same, that the authority of the bishops in Africa is as good as that[6] authority of the bishop of Rome; and calleth them all lewd and desperate persons that would[7], as M. Harding doth, say the contrary[8].

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3. Nisi paucis desperatis et perditis.

Equality of Bishops.

Therefore, whereas M. Harding saith, By very order of Christ himself it hath been ordained that matters touching faith and religion be referred to that one prince of pastors, who sitteth on[9] the chair of Peter, the highest bishop, and that the same hath always been done and observed from the apostles' time until our days; he bringeth us two manifest untruths together, without any manner proof at all, only avouched upon himself. For it appeareth not that Christ ever took this order, or ever made any such mention either of any such prince of pastors or of Peter's chair. And in the council of Africa it was decreed that no matters should be removed from thence to Rome. The words of the council are these: *Ad transmarina* [*judicia*] ... *qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur*[10]: "Whosoever shall think he ought to appeal to the judgments beyond the seas (that is, to the bishop of Rome), let no man within Africa receive him to the communion."

Conc. Aphr. cap. 92.

Touching that M. Harding calleth the pope the prince of pastors, he might have remembered that the right of this name belongeth only unto Christ. St Peter saith that, "when Christ the Prince of pastors shall appear, ye may receive the uncorruptible crown." Now, to enfeoff the pope with Christ's peculiar titles, a man might think it were great blasphemy. Certainly St Cyprian saith: *Nemo nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit*[11]: "None of us appointeth himself bishop of bishops"—much less the prince of all pastors. And in the council of Constantinople it was decreed, that the bishop there should have even and equal authority with the bishop of Rome[12].

1 Pet. v.

In Conc. Carth.

Conc. Const. II. cap. 36. τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαβεῖν πρεσβείων τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης θρόνου.

As for the other authority of St Cyprian, M. Harding saith we understood it not; and therefore he willeth us to look better upon our books. The counsel is good. But, if M. Harding will grant that St Cyprian himself knew what he himself wrote, and understood his own meaning, it shall be sufficient. Verily the words that he useth seem not so dark. For thus he writeth: *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia ... una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fœcunditatis extenditur; quomodo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum*[13]: "The bishoprick is one, a part whereof of every several bishop is possessed in whole. The church is one, which by her great increase is extended unto many: as in the sun

Cypr. de Simpl. Præl.

[1 In the epistles of Julius Peter is repeatedly extolled as the chief of the apostles; but these words have not been found. See Epist. i. Jul. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 303, &c. This epistle is spurious.]

[2 Nicol. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. vi. cap. 17. col. 131.]

[3 Concil. Aphric. Epist. ad Bonifac. I. cap. 101. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 518, 9.]

[4 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Eulog. et Anast. Episc. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 771.]

[5 Refuseth, 1611.]

[6 The, 1567.] [7 Will, 1567.]

[8 ...oportet...eos...agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere et testes sui criminis possint; nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, &c. —Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Corn. Epist. lix. pp. 136, 7.]

[9 In, 1567.]

[10 Concil. Aphric. cap. 92. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 517.]

[11 Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit.—Concil. Carthag. in Cypr. Op. p. 229.]

[12 Concil. Quinisext. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 1159; where ἀπολαύειν.]

[13 Cyprian. Op. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108.]

the beams be many, but the light is one; and in a tree the boughs be many, but the body is one."

If there appear any great darkness or doubt in these words, St Cyprian himself in other places thus expoundeth his own meaning in plainer wise: *Una est ecclesia a Christo per totum mundum in plura membra divisa; item episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus*[14]: "There is one church, divided by Christ into many members throughout the world; likewise one bishoprick, poured far abroad by the agreeable multitude of many bishops." Again: *Ecclesia ... una est, ... [et] ... connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata*[15]: "There is one church, joined and fastened in one by the consent of bishops agreeing together." Again: *Quando oramus, non pro uno oramus, sed pro toto populo; quia totus populus unum sumus*[16]: "When we pray, we pray not for one, but for the whole people: for we the whole people are but one." Again, immediately before these words, which, M. Harding saith, we are not able to understand, he saith: *Hanc unitatem firmiter tenere et vendicare debemus, maxime episcopi, qui in ecclesia præsidemus; ut episcopatum quoque ipsum unum et indivisum probemus*[17]: "This unity must we hold, specially bishops, that sit as rulers in the church; that we may declare our bishoprick to be one, and without division." Again: *Etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus; et oves universas, quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsivit, colligere et fovere debemus*[18]: "Notwithstanding we be many shepherds, yet we feed but one flock; and we are all bound to gather up and to nourish all the sheep that Christ hath won by[19] his blood and passion."

Cypr. Lib. iv. Epist. 2.

Cypr. Lib. iv. Epist. 9.

Cypr. in Orat. Domin.

Cypr. de Simpl. Præl.

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist. 13.

If either the author of the Apology or the interpreter understood not St Cyprian, yet, M. Harding, ye may give St Cyprian leave to understand himself.

And in this sense St Hierome saith: *Communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur*[20]: "The churches were ordered (not by the universal authority of the bishop of Rome, but) by common[21] advice of the priests." Likewise St Cyprian saith: *Idcirco ... copiosum est corpus sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutine atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresim facere et gregem Christi lacerare ac vastare tentaverit, subveniant ceteri*[22]: "Therefore is the body or company of priests so copious, joined together with consent, concord[23], and unity, that, if any one of our company enterprise to raise an heresy, and to scatter and waste the flock of Christ, the rest should help." So likewise St Basil: *Interrogate patres vestros, et renuntiabunt vobis, quod, etiamsi loci situ divisæ inter se sint paræciæ, tamen veluti coronamento quodam unitæ unaque sententia gubernatæ fuerunt. Assidua quidem populi fuit inter se commixtio: ipsi vero pastores tanta præditi fuerunt mutua inter ipsos caritate, ut alius alio præceptore ac duce usi fuerint*[24]: "Ask of your fathers, and they will tell you, that, although bishopricks be divided and sundered by distance of place, yet were they ever knit together as with a garland, and ever ruled by one advice. Indeed the people was ever mingled together; but the bishops were also joined in charity, that every of them was content to be taught and to be led by other."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i.

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist. 13.

Basil. ad Neocæs. Epist. 75. in ipso fine.

Addition. ☞ Here, M. Harding, dissembling all other authorities and proofs by me alleged, ye take hold only of St Basil, seeking means to shadow one plain sentence of that holy father by the manifest corruption of another. "St Basil's meaning," you say, "may best be known by St Basil himself writing thus to Athanasius: *Visum est utile scribere ad episcopum Romanum, ut consideret res nostras, et judicii sui decretum interponat: ut, quoniam de communi et conciliari decreto aliquos inde huc amandari difficile est, ipse sua auctoritate nego-*

Addition. ☜

M. Hard. fol. 179. b. [Detect.]

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[14] ...cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per &c. in multa membra &c.—Id. ad Antonian. Epist. lv. p. 112.]

[15] Id. ad Florent. et Pupian. Epist. lxvi. p. 168.]

[16] Id. de Orat. Domin. p. 141; where *oramus* comes after *populo*.]

[17] Id. de Unit. Eccles. p. 108; where *quam unitatem*, and *atque indivisum*.]

[18] Id. ad Steph. Epist. lxviii. p. 178.]

[19] With, 1567.]

[20] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 413.]

[21] By the common, 1567.]

[22] Cypr. Op. Ad Steph. Epist. lxviii. p. 178; where *corpus est*, and *glutino*.]

[23] Consent of concord, 1567, 1570.]

[24] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Neocæs. Epist. cciv. 7. Tom. III. p. 307.]

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tium componat[1]." Which whole sentence, being by you untruly Latined, it hath pleased you to English thus: "It hath seemed good unto us to write unto the bishop of Rome, that he will consider our cases (or 'visit us,' for so the Greek word ἐπισκέψαι may be translated), and to determine the matter by his sentence; that, forasmuch as it is hard for any to be sent hither from thence by authority of a common and synodical decree, he take the matter into his own hand, and by his authority strike the stroke." These be St Basil's words, M. Harding, so miserably maimed by you, and so set out of joint, as well in the Latin as in the English, that it is pity to behold them. And yet, as though the case were clear of your side, you say further: "Why should St Basil, being a Greek of the east church, think it convenient to write to the bishop of Rome, being in the west, to consider of, or to visit them of the east" (for so too the Greek word ἐπισκέψαι, as you say, signifieth), "their state, and to send forth a decree of his judgment, and to give sentence, unless he agnised the prerogative of the bishop of Rome?" In the end you conclude thus: "The more ye stir the matter, the more it turneth still to your shame." Such is the maidenly modesty of your talk.

M. Hard. fol. 180. a. [Detect.]

You say: "Why should St Basil desire the bishop of Rome to visit them of the east, to send forth the decree of his judgment, and to give sentence?" Nay, nay, M. Harding, why should you thus allege Greek authors, if you know them not? or, if you know them, why should you thus corrupt them? Verily in these few words you have much betrayed your want of skill. First, δοῦναι γνώμην you expound thus: "To determine the matter by decree or by sentence." And why so? doth δοῦναι signify "to determine?" or is γνώμη "a decree" or "sentence" in judgment? Surely, M. Harding, δοῦναι γνώμην is nothing else but "to give advice," or "to aid with counsel." These words, αὐθεντῆσαι περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, you expound thus: "To take the matter into his own hands, and by his authority to strike the stroke." And why so? Who taught you this exposition? Every child could have told you that αὐθεντῆσαι signifieth neither striking nor stroking. St Basil's meaning is this, that, forasmuch as a council of all the parts of the west church could not be gathered upon the sudden, and the church of Græcia stood in need of present help, that therefore the bishop of Rome in the mean while should use his own discretion, and entreat some of the western bishops to travel unto them. And so much in this place signifieth the Greek word αὐθεντῆσαι.

"But ἐπισκέψαι," you say, "signifieth 'to visit'." So doth *bubo* signify "a nightingale." Twice ye have used this word ἐπισκέψαι in one place; not only in[2] inclosing it in your text, but also pricking it in your margin, that your simple reader might think there were some mystery in your Greek. But, I pray you, M. Harding, in all the Greek books that ever you read, where ever saw you ἐπισκέψαι in the indefinite[3] of the infinitive mood? If ye ever once saw it, I will yield unto you. If you never saw it once, why have you used it twice, and that even together in one place? Ἐπισκέψασθαι ye should have said, M. Harding: ἐπισκέψασθαι it is, and not ἐπισκέψαι. And yet ἐπισκέψασθαι in this place is not "to ride in visitation," as you imagine, but to consider of the miserable state of the east church, and to be careful for it. The true and common translation is this: *Visum est mihi consentaneum, ut scribatur episcopo Romæ, ut quæ hic geruntur consideret, detque consilium; et, quoniam difficile est ut communi ac synodico decreto aliqui illinc mittantur, ipse sua auctoritate in hac causa usus viros eligat ad ferendas itineris molestias accommodos*[4]: "It seemeth good unto me that we write unto the bishop of Rome, that he consider our estate, and give us counsel; and, forasmuch as it is a hard matter for any to be sent hither from thence by the common decree of a council, that he, using his own authority or

Basil. Epist. 52. Ad Athanas.

[1 Id. ad Athanas. Episc. Epist. lxix. 1. Tom. III. p. 162.]

[2 1570, 1609 omit *in*.]

[3 The first indefinite, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Ἐφάνη δὲ ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθον ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ δοῦναι γνώμην, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ καὶ συνοδικοῦ δόγματος ἀποσταλῆναί τινας δύσκολον τῶν ἐκεῖθεν, αὐτὸν αὐθεντῆσαι περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκλεξάμενον ἄνδρας ἱκανοὺς μὲν ὁδοιπορίας πόνους ὑπενεγκεῖν. —Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Athanas. Episc. Epist. lxix. 1. Tom. III. p. 162.]

discretion in the case, choose such men as be able to bear the travail of the journey," &c.

Equality of Bishops.

Now, M. Harding, compare your translation and this together: here is neither visitation of the church, nor determination by sentence, nor striking of strokes. Ye could not have missed so oftentimes in one thing without some study. If I listed to follow some part of your eloquence, I could say, "Fie!" and "Shame!" and I know not what, as you do.

Yet you say: "St Basil thought it good that the bishop of Rome should consider their estate, and send forth a decree of his judgment." O M. Harding, gross error and ignorance maketh no proof. But, be it that all this were true, yet what decree of judgment could the pope send forth? He had heard neither the one part nor the other, but was a mere stranger to their cases. And think you he would determine matters before he knew them? So might he cast Christ, and quit Barabbas. Hereof Basil himself writeth thus: *Quid auxilii conferet nobis occidentalium fastus? qui quid in causa veri sit neque sciunt neque discere sustinent; falsis vero suspicionibus præoccupati eadem nunc quoque faciunt, quæ antea in causa Marcelli: cum illis, qui veritatem annunciabant, contentiose egerunt, et hæresim interea per seipsos corroborarunt. Ego quidem ipse non publica formula, sed privatim volebam scribere ipsorum coryphæo: de ecclesiasticis quidem rebus nihil, nisi tantum ut admonerem ipsos neque veritatem rerum nostrarum scire, neque viam qua doceri possint admittere*[5]: "What shall the pride of the western bishops avail us? For neither do they know, nor will they learn to know, the truth of our matters; but, being led away with vain suspicions, they do even now as they did before in the case of Marcellus: for then they cavilled contentiously with them that told the truth, and by mean thereof emboldened and confirmed heresy. Indeed, for mine own part, I was contented to write unto the chief or principal of them all" (that is, to the pope), "not by any public instrument, but mine own private letter. Of matters ecclesiastical I would write nothing, but only to tell him, that neither they do know the truth of our cases, nor will abide the way whereby they may know it." This, M. Harding, is that decree and determination of judgment St Basil found in the pope. Neither did he know the case, nor would he learn how to know it. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Non est congruum, ut hi qui sunt in Ægypto judicent eos qui sunt in Thracia*[6]: "It is not meet that they that be in Egypt should be judges over them that dwell in Thracia." St Cyprian also likewise saith: *Æquum justumque est, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi crimen admissum est*[7]: "It is good reason that every man's cause be heard there where the fault was committed."

Basil. Epist. 8. Ad Euseb.

The pride of the west church. Neither know, nor will learn.

Confirmed heresy.

Chrysost. Epist. Prior. ad Innoc.

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

But you will say, St Basil "thought it good to write to the pope." I grant you; but in such sort as I have told you. Again ye say: "Why should Basil so do, unless he knew the privilege of the pope?" How followeth this, M. Harding? Will you bear us in hand that every bishop, unto whom St Basil wrote to like purpose, had therefore the like privilege? At the same time thus he wrote, not only to the pope, but also to all the bishops of the west: *Quantam poteritis, consolationem et opem laborantibus et afflictis ecclesiis afferre ne detrectetis*[8]: "Foreslow not to help our miserable afflicted churches with such aid and comfort as you may." Likewise he writeth to the bishops of France and Italy: "We have good hope that, as soon as we shall do you to understand the cause of our griefs, you will be moved to seek help for us[9]."

M. Hard. p. 179. b. [Detect.]

Basil. ad Episc. Occid. Epist. 61.

Basil. ad Ital. et Gall. Epist. 69.

To like purpose the whole council of Alexandria writeth, not only to the pope, but also to all other bishops of the catholic church: *Vos vindices hujus injustitiæ imploramus*[10]: "We beseech you to revenge this wrong." Yet had not therefore every such bishop supreme authority in the government of the church. So writeth St Basil unto Athanasius: *Quanto ecclesiarum, &c*: "The more the maladies

Athanas. in Apol. p. 378. et 349.

Basil. ad Athanas. Epist. 49.

[5 Id. ad Euseb. Episc. Epist. ccxxxix. 2. Tom. III. p. 368.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Innoc. Epist. Tom. III. p. 517.]

[7 ...cum...æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut &c. est crimen admissum.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Corn. Epist. lix. p. 136.]

[8 Basil. Op. Ad Episc. Occident. Epist. xc. 1. Tom. III. p. 181.]

[9 ...ἀλλά τις ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐλπὶς χρηστοτέρα θάλπει, ὡς τάχα ἂν εἰ ἐξαγγείλαιμεν ὑμῖν τὰ λυποῦντα ἡμᾶς, διαναστήσαιμεν ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν.—Id. ad Ital. et Gall. Epist. xcii. 1. Tom. III. pp. 183, 4.]

[10 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. contr. Arian. 19. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 139.]

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of our churches do abound, the more we all turn ourselves to thy goodness, believing that the comfort of our griefs resteth only in thy defence. For thou by the power of thy prayers, and by the skill of government, art thought able to deliver us from this horrible tempest[1]." "Thou carriest the care of all churches: thou disputest, thou warnest, thou writest, thou sendest. We fly[2] unto thee, as unto the head of all: we use thee as our counsellor and as the leader and prince of our causes[3]." "The whole state of the church of Antioch dependeth of thee. Thou mayest instruct some, repress others, and make them quiet, and restore the strength of the church[4]." Such power and authority St Basil giveth to Athanasius. Yet was Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria, and not of Rome. Had you well considered these things, M. Harding, ye would not so rawly have thus concluded: "St Basil thought it good to write thus and thus to the bishop of Rome; *ergo*, he confessed that the bishop of Rome had a privilege above all others."

Basil. ad Athanas. Epist. 52.

Athanasius head of all. Basil. ad Athanas. Epist. 48.

All this notwithstanding, you say: "Why should St Basil think it convenient to write to the bishop of Rome?" &c. The answer is easy. St Basil himself saith[5]: *Quæ nos loquimur, multis suspecta sunt, &c.*[6]: "Whatsoever we ourselves say, it is suspected of many, as if for our own private quarrels we would keep them in awe. But you" (being strangers), "the further ye dwell from them, the more credit ye[7] have with our people." This was it, M. Harding, that St Basil required of the pope. Here is no universal power, no privilege, no decree, no determination by sentence, no striking of strokes. Advise yourself better hereafter of your authorities, before you allege them.

Basil ad Episc. Occid. Epist. 74.

Therefore, as many faiths in sundry faithfuls are but one faith; as many churches are but one church; as many baptisms are but one baptism; even so, saith St Cyprian, many bishopricks are but one bishoprick; and therein as well the bishop of Rome, as also every other several bishop, hath his portion.

I say, the bishoprick of Rome is not this whole bishoprick, but a part; not the body of the sun, but a beam; not the stem of the tree, but a branch.

And thus, by St Cyprian's mind, neither doth one bishop hold of another, nor is any one bishop head of the whole, nor is one bishop all in all; but all bishops are only one.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 6.

And, according to the judgment of the Nicene council, we say that the bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the church of God than the rest of the patriarchs, either of Alexandria or of Antioch[8], have.

M. HARDING.

If it be a shame to belie the devil, according to the old proverb, what is it to belie the church of God represented in the Nicene council?...

[1 Ὅσον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ ἀῤῥωστήματα ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον πρόεισι, τοσοῦτον πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ἐπιστρεφόμεθα τελειότητα, μίαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπολείπεσθαι τῶν δεινῶν παραμυθίαν τὴν σὴν προστασίαν πεπιστευκότες· ὃς καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν προσευχῶν, καὶ τῷ εἰδέναι τὰ βέλτιστα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, διασώσασθαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ τούτου χειμῶνος, παρὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἢ ἀκοῇ ἢ πείρᾳ γνωριζόντων τὴν τελειότητά σου, πιστεύη. κ. τ. λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Athanas. Episc. Epist. lxxx. Tom. III. p. 173.]

[2 Flee, 1570.]

[3 ... ἡ μέριμνά σοι πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ... ἐπίκειται, ὅς γε οὐδένα χρόνον διαλείπεις διαλεγόμενος, νουθετῶν, ἐπιστέλλων, ἐκπέμπων ... ὅθεν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς ... ἐνομίσαμεν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην ἀρχὴν τοῖς πράγμασι δώσειν, εἰ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κορυφὴν τῶν ὅλων, τὴν σὴν ἀναδράμοιμεν τελειότητα, καί σοι συμβούλῳ τε χρησαίμεθα καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πράξεων. —Id. ad eund. Epist. lxix. 1. pp. 161, 2.]

[4 Ἡ μέντοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας εὐταξία προδήλως τῆς σῆς ἤρτηται θεοσεβείας· ὥστε τοὺς μὲν οἰκονομῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ καθησυχάσαι, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τῆς συμφωνίας.—Id. ad eund. Epist. lxvi. 2. p. 159.]

[5 Saith thus, 1570.]

[6 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος ὕποπτός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς τάχα διὰ τινὰς ἰδιωτικὰς φιλονεικίας τὴν μικροψυχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑλομένων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπῳκισμένοι τυγχάνετε, τοσούτῳ πλέον παρὰ τοῖς λαοῖς τὸ ἀξιόπιστον ἔχετε.—Id. ad Occident. Epist. cclxiii. 2. p. 405.]

[7 You, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Antiochia, Conf.]

The Council of Nice.

The sixth canon of the Nicene council declared to make against the defenders.

The sixth canon, among all others of the Nicene council, is that you ground your surmise upon, I know well. For that hath been wrested to your purpose by certain of your side. And the same, rightly construed, [a]maketh most against you. For it seemeth to acknowledge the bishop of Rome his supremacy and sovereignty of judgment over other patriarchs. These be the words of the canon rightly Englished: "Let the ancient custom continue in force which is in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapoli; so that the bishop of Alexandria have power over them all: quandoquidem etiam episcopo Romano hoc consuetum est[9]: *"Forasmuch as the bishop of Rome hath thus used. Likewise in Antiochia also, and in other provinces, let the churches keep their prerogative." What can be gathered of the words of this canon, but that, for ratifying the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antiochia, the fathers of the Nicene council thought good to alter nothing, but to follow the ancient custom of old time used and allowed by the bishop of Rome? For it is as much to say as this: Inasmuch as [b]the bishop of Rome hath been wont from the beginning to grant to the bishop of Alexandria jurisdiction over Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapoli; the [c]Nicene council, following his authority and rule, or at the least[10] his usage, willeth and granteth that the said bishop retain and keep his ancient right. For, if the bishop of Alexandria had not received such jurisdiction by authority and grant of the bishop of Rome of old time, what reason should have moved those fathers, for confirmation thereof, to allege the custom of the bishop of Rome? And, in that case, [d]whereto pertained the addition of the cause,* Quia episcopus Romanus hoc consuevit, *"Because this was the bishop of Rome his custom?" If this had not been their meaning, they would never so have spoken. For what was his custom, other [e]than to allot those provinces to the bishop of Alexandria? If any other thing be alleged to have been his manner and custom, besides that the words of the canon bear it not, what had that been to the purpose, whatsoever it be, for cause and confirmation of the bishop of Alexandria his jurisdiction over Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapoli? Allege you, defender, for old custom of the bishop of Rome what else you list, so that you make no violence to the canon, and thereupon make your argument, inferring of your allegation the conclusion, "*Ergo, *the bishop of Alexandria ought to have jurisdiction over Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapoli;" and you shall find it to be such an argument as any sot would be ashamed to make....*

[a] Untruth. For the express words are plain to the contrary.

[b] Untruth. Vain and childish.

[c] This exposition is like a sick man's dream.

[d] O folly! The words are plain: "Quia[11] episcopo Romano parilis mos est."

[e] Untruth. For the bishop of Rome never had power to allot provinces; but himself had his province allotted him, as well as others.

Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο συνηθές ἐστι.

Against this if it shall like you to reply, we warn you before, that neither ye take advantage of a doubtful interpretation, as we know that canon to be found in divers books not so plainly translated, and therefore we require you to stand to the original, as it is in Greek; neither that ye defend your lie with the wrested exposition of Theodore Balsamon, who hath written Greek commentaries upon the canons of the councils, sithence the schism of the Greeks, himself being a schismatic. For he, being a Greek born, and pricked with the hatred of his nation against the Latin church, and specially the see of Rome, in the exposition of that sixth canon of the Nicene council swerveth both from learning and also from reason.

A ne recipiatur.

Theodore Balsamon.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Indeed it is a shame to belie any creature, for that lying is shameful of itself. And therefore, M. Harding, ye might do much better to use it less. You have brought us here an exposition of the council of Nice, such as I think from that time until this time hath seldom been heard of. You say the bishop of Rome's custom was to give jurisdiction to the patriarchs of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Hierusalem; and that they had none authority of government, but only so much as was limited and allowed by him. And this, you say, was the only and undoubted meaning of that council. This fantasy is not here avouched by any ancient doctor or learned father: therefore we must think, whatsoever it be, it is your own. And, weighing the strangeness of the same, I must needs say of you as St Hierome said sometime of one Rheticius in the like case: *Rheticius eloquens quidem est, sed in-*

Hieron. ad Marcell.

[9] Concil. Nic. can. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 32; where ἐπειδάν.]

[10] At least, Conf.]

[11] Qui, 1611.]

The Council of Nice.

eptus interpres[1]: "Rheticius is an eloquent man indeed; and yet but a fond interpreter." For it is certain, and known even unto children, that the bishop of Rome, before the council of Nice, had neither such custom of superiority, nor such dealing of jurisdictions. Pope Pius Secundus saith: *Ante Nicenam synodum unusquisque sibi vixit, et parvus respectus ad Romanam ecclesiam habebatur*[2]: "Before the council of Nice every bishop lived to himself, and there was then small regard had of[3] the church of Rome."

Æn. Sylv. Epist. 268.

As for our sottish argument[4], such as by your judgment any sot would be ashamed to make, I may leave them well to you, M. Harding; not for that ye lack them greatly, but for that, as it appeareth by your books, ye know best how to use them.

Touching the sixth canon of this council, which you imagine is so dark and doubtful, I trust it shall be plainly and clearly opened by them that were never hitherto accounted sottish.

The words thereof are plain enough. The sense is this: The whole body of Christendom was divided into four patriarchships, whereof the first was Rome, the second Alexandria, the third Antioch, the fourth Hierusalem. And each of these was limited and bounded within itself; Alexandria to have the oversight over Egypt and Pentapolis, Antioch over Syria, Hierusalem over Jewry, Rome over Italy and other churches of the west. And herein we have the exposition of Theodorus Balsamon[5], that lived five hundred years ago, and was patriarch of Antioch, and, as some of M. Harding's friends have thought, a man of great learning[6]. Yet, forasmuch as M. Harding here utterly refuseth him, not only as a schismatic, but also as a man[7] void of learning and reason, let us therefore see some others.

Lipom. in Præfat. Cop. Dial. I. 166.

Balsamonem virum certe doctum[6].

Addition.

Addition. ☞ Here saith M. Harding: "Search out, M. Jewel, why was Rome the first, and not rather the second or the third? Thereby shall you perceive how yourself unwares are taken in your own snare." This matter, M. Harding, is easily searched, and soon found. Indeed, your forged Anacletus saith: "The apostolic church of Rome hath the pre-eminence over all churches, not from the apostles of Christ, but from Christ himself[9]." And therefore full prettily he expoundeth the words of Christ: *Super hanc petram, id est, super ecclesiam Romanam, ædificabo ecclesiam meam*[10]: "Upon this rock, that is to say, upon the church of Rome, will I build my church." But such vain forgeries make simple proof. The very cause why the church of Rome was placed in order and dignity before all others was not the word of Christ, as you imagine, but the empire and honour of that city, which then, in respect of worldly glory, was the lady and head of the world. And therefore in the council of Chalcedon it is written thus: *Sedi veteris Romæ propter imperium civitatis illius patres consequenter privilegia reddiderunt*: "The fathers orderly gave the privilege of chiefty to the see of old Rome, because that city had the empire." And immediately after it followeth further: *Et eadem intentione permoti ... æqua sanctissimæ sedi novæ Romæ privilegia tribuerunt, rationi congruum judicantes, ut civitas illa, ornata imperio et senatu, æquis seniori regiæ Romæ privilegiis frueretur*[11]: "The said holy fathers, moved with like

Epist. 3.

Anaclet. Epist. 1.

Concil. Chalc. Act. 16. p. 936.

[1 ... virum eloquentem præter ineptias sensuum ceterorum.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Marcell. Epist. Tom. II. col. 622.]

[2 ...ante concilium Nicænum, dum sibi quisque vivebat, et ad Romanam ecclesiam parvus habebatur respectus.—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Ad Mart. Mayer. Epist. cclxxxviii. p. 802.]

[3 To, 1567.]

[4 Arguments, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Theod. Balsam. in Concil. Nicen. can. 6. in Canon. Apostol. Concil. &c. cum Comm. Lut. Par. 1620. pp. 286, 7.]

[6 Lipoman. De Vit. Sanct. Lov. 1565. Præf. fol. + iiii. 2; where the writer numbers Balsamon as one of the gravissimorum, pariterque doctissimorum patrum.]

[7 As man, 1570.]

[8 ... Balsamonem, licet virum certe doctum, minus moror.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. xxiv. p. 166.]

[9 Hæc vero sacrosancta Romana et apostolica ecclesia non ab apostolis, sed ab ipso Domino Salvatore nostro, primatum obtinuit, et eminentiam potestatis super universas ecclesias &c.—Anaclet. Epist. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 63.]

[10 ... sedem ... apostolicam, super quam Christus universam construxit ecclesiam, dicente ipso ad ... Petrum: Tu es (inquit) Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, &c.—Id. Epist. i. in eod. p. 58.]

[11 Concil. Chalced. Act. xvi. in eod. Tom. I. p.

consideration, gave the like privileges to the most holy see of Constantinople, which is called new Rome, thinking it agreeable unto reason that the same city of Constantinople, being honoured with empire and senate, as Rome was, should enjoy the same privileges that Rome enjoyed." The Council of Nice.

The like hereof is written in the council of Constantinople[12]. This, this, M. Harding, was the cause, and not the voice of Christ our Saviour, as you would tell us. For Christ never spake one word of the cities either of Constantinople or of Rome, or of the first see, or of the second. Concil. Const. cap. 5.

Nilus, a Greek author, hereof writeth thus: *Sed, ut etiam liquidius apparet papam non imperare aliis omnibus episcopis, legatur sextus canon synodi Nicænæ; quo diserte præcipitur, ut aliis ecclesiis Alexandrinus, aliis Romanus, aliis Antiochenus præsit; ut non liceat alteri alterius provinciam invadere*[13]: "That it may the more plainly appear that the pope hath no government over all other bishops, read the sixth canon of the council of Nice. There it is expressly commanded that the bishop of Alexandria shall have the rule over certain churches, and the bishop of Rome over certain, and the bishop of Antioch likewise over certain; and that it be not lawful for any one of them to invade another's jurisdiction." Farther he saith: *Quod si quis suis non contentus aliena appetit, ille sane merito et consuetudinis et sanctorum canonum violator haberi debet*[14]: "If any one (of these patriarchs), not contented with his own, crave dominion over others (as doth the pope), he ought of right to be called a breaker both of the custom and also of the holy canons." Nil. de Prim. Rom. Pont. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἑτέρῳ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπιδεῖν.

If M. Harding will yet say this exposition is sottish, let us see in what sort others have expounded the same. Ruffinus, opening the same canon, saith thus: [*Statutum est in concilio Nicæno*], *ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur; ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic suburbicarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat*[15]: "It was decreed in the council of Nice, that in Alexandria and in Rome the old custom should be kept, that the bishop of Alexandria should rule over Egypt, and the bishop of Rome (not over all the world, but) over the churches of his suburbs." Ruffin. Eccles. Hist. Lib. i. cap. vi. Suburbicarum ecclesiarum.

Likewise it was afterward ordered in the council holden at Constantinople: *Definimus sedi Constantinopolitanæ paria jura et privilegia cum sede veteris Romæ*[16]: "We decree that the see of Constantinople shall have rights and privileges equal (and one) with the see of old Rome." Concil. Const. II. cap. 36. τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαβεῖν πρεσβείων.

Therefore Nicephorus saith: *Romano et Constantinopolitano episcopo ex æquo paria sunt et dignitatis præmia et honorum jura*[17]: "The titles of dignities and rights of honour given to the bishop of Rome and the[18] bishop of Constantinople are one, and equal." Niceph. Lib. xii. cap. xiii.

For this cause Athanasius saith: *Roma*[19] *erat metropolis Romanæ ditionis*[20]: "Rome was the mother church (not of the whole world, but) of the Roman jurisdiction." In like sort the emperor Justinian saith: *Ecclesia urbis Constantinopolitanæ... Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur*[21]: "The church of Constantinople enjoyeth the prerogative or privilege of the church of old Rome." So likewise St Augustine, and other learned and godly bishops in the council of Africa, understood the same canon. And therefore they called the pope's presumption, craving universal jurisdiction over all the world, *fumosum seculi typhum*[22], "the smoky pride of the world." To conclude, Nilus saith thus: Athanas. ad Sol. Vit. Agent. Cod. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. Omni Innov. Concil. Aphr. cap. 105.

936; where *rationabiliter judicantes imperio et senatu urbem ornatam æquis senioris regiæ Romæ privilegiis frui.* Conf. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 795.]

[12 Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.—Concil. Constant. I. can. 3. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 947.]

[13 Nil. Thessal. Lib. de Primat. Rom. Pont. Franc. 1555. fol. B 7. 2.]

[14 Id. ibid. fol. B 8.]

[15 Fact. Nic. Concil. 6. in Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. vi. fol. 107. 2; where *vel in urbe*, and *suburbigarum.*]

[16 Concil. Quinisext. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VI. col. 1159. See before, page 300, note 12.]

[17 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XII. cap. xiii. Tom. II. p. 244.]

[18 And to the, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19 Romano, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[20 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 35. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 364.]

[21 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. I. Tit. ii. 6. Tom. II. p. 6; where *ecclesiæ.*]

[22 Concil. Aphr. Epist. ad Cœlest. cap. 105. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 521.]

Nil. de Prim. Pap. *Nunc, cum aliæ regiones assignatæ sint Romano, aliæ Alexandrino, aliæ Constantinopolitano, non magis hi sub illo sunt quam ille sub hisce*[1]: "Seeing there be certain countries appointed out for the bishop of Rome, certain for the bishop of Alexandria, and certain for the bishop of Constantinople, they are now no more subject unto him than he unto them."

But all these perhaps were sots, and their sayings sottish; and no man is able rightly to understand these matters, but he that can say *consuetudo* is Latin for "a commission," or *mos parilis* for "universal jurisdiction."

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 7.

And as for the bishop of Rome, who now calleth all matters before himself alone, except he do his duty as he ought to do, except he minister the sacraments, except he instruct the people, except he warn them and teach them, we say that he ought not of right once to be called a bishop, or so much as an elder. For "a bishop," as saith Augustine, "is a name of labour, and not of honour; that the man that seeketh to have pre-eminence, and not to profit, may understand himself to be no [2]bishop[3]."

M. HARDING.

A Bishop no Bishop.

Neither the bishop of Rome nor any other bishop is worthy of the name of a bishop, except he doth[4] *the duty of a bishop. All this we grant. But that he ought not of right to be so called of those whom he hath charge over in case of omitting his duty, thereto we say that, although in respect of his demeanour he be not worthy to be called a bishop, yet, in respect of the vocation, degree, and pre-eminence, though he leave his duty undone, for which he incurreth danger of damnation, that title pertaineth unto him of good right, and so continually he is, and ought to be acknowledged for, a bishop, though an evil and an unworthy bishop; likewise a priest.... And whereas St Augustine saith that "a bishop is a name of labour, and not of honour," he is to be understood*[6] *so as the scripture is; which in some places, speaking of two things that are both indeed to be affirmed, the one being of more importance than the other, denieth the one in comparison of the other, &c.*[7]...

An evil bishop loseth not the name of a bishop, though he lose the merit of a bishop. Vide August. Lib. ii. contr. Epist. Parmen. cap. xiii. Tom. vii.[5] *1 Tim. ii.*

Yet it seemeth to be a secret preparation towards[8] *a purpose against such time as the prince's government shall mislike their fantasies. For, where they learned this opinion concerning bishops, there learned they also the like concerning civil magistrates. I mean Wicliffe; among whose heretical articles, condemned by the church in the council of Constance, this is reckoned for the fifteenth:* Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus est prælatus, nullus est episcopus, dum est in peccato mortali[9]: *that is to say: "None is a temporal lord, none is a prelate, none is a bishop, so long as he is in deadly sin."*...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This matter shall need no great contention. The like words have been

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[1 Nil. Thessal. Lib. de Primat. Rom. Pont. Franc. 1555. fol. B 8. 2.]

[2 Because he would have that man to understand himself to be no bishop, which will seek to have pre-eminence and not to profit others, Conf.]

[3 ...nomen est operis, non honoris...ut intelligat non se esse episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 563.]

[4 Do, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5 Id. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 28. Tom. IX. col. 44.]

[6 Understanded, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 In the part omitted, Harding accuses Jewel of being ready to apply the principle to kings; and asks whether a king who rules ill is not to be esteemed a king. This doctrine, he says, would not at present be set forth in kings' courts; "yet it seemeth," &c.]

[8 Toward, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Artic. 15. Wicleff. damnat. in Concil. Constant. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1169.]

uttered by sundry other holy fathers. St Chrysostom saith: *Multi sacerdotes, et pauci sacerdotes; multi nomine, pauci opere*[10]: "Many priests there be, and few priests there be; many in name, and few in labour." Again: *Quomodo ... potest esse magister qui discipulum non habet? ... Acquire discipulum, et esto magister*[11]: "How can he be a master that hath no scholar? Get thee a scholar, and then be a master."

A Bishop no Bishop.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 43.

Chrysost. in eadem Hom.

St Ambrose saith: *Nisi bonum opus amplectaris, episcopus esse non potes*[12]: "Unless thou embrace the good labour, a bishop thou canst not be." St Gregory saith: *Sacerdotes nominamur, et non sumus*[13]: "Priests we are called; but priests we are not."

Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. cap. iv.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

As for Wicliffe, his scholar John Huss expoundeth his meaning[14], and that with M. Harding's own construction. For these be his words, even as they are alleged by his enemies: *Papa vel prælatus malus et præscitus est æquivoce pastor, et vere fur et latro*[15]: "The pope, or any other wicked prelate, in double or doubtful speech is a pastor; but in very deed he is a thief and a murderer." So Chrysostom saith: *Qui ab hominibus ordinatus est, quantum ad Deum attinet, non est sacerdos aut diaconus*[16]: "He that is appointed by men (and not by God) before God is neither priest nor deacon."

In Concil. Constant. Sess. 15.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 53. in Op. Imp.

If Wicliffe, upon just zeal of the house of God, for that he then saw the bishops either knew nothing, or did nothing, or cared for nothing, either spake or meant more than truth may bear, we defend it not. Notwithstanding, touching that is objected of deadly sin, it seemeth he followed therein the council of Valentia in France. The words be these: *Quicunque sub ordinatione vel diaconatus vel presbyterii vel episcopatus mortali crimine dixerint se esse pollutos, a supradictis ordinationibus submoveantur*[17]: "Whosoever after the order either of deaconship, or priesthood[18], or of bishoprick, shall say they have been defiled with mortal sin, let them be removed from the foresaid orders." If M. Harding shall devise any other exposition hereof, I will not greatly strive with him for it[19]. So St Augustine saith, as he is alleged by Gratian[20]: "He that neither hath wiped off his own sins, nor corrected the sins of his children, ought rather to be called a shameless dog than a bishop[21]."

Concil. Valent. sub Damas. cap. 4.

ii. Quæst. 7. Qui nec regiminis.

Yet notwithstanding, to remove all strife, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, or whatsoever he do, let him hardly be called a bishop, because, as M. Harding saith, he standeth in room of a bishop; or, as Wicliffe saith, let him so be called *æquivoce*, that is to say, "by a word of double meaning," as unsavoury salt is called salt, or as the prophets of Baal are called prophets, or as a painted man is called a man; and, as St Gregory saith, let him in words[22] be called a priest, although in deed he be no priest. Let him be called a teacher, although he teach not. Let him be called a feeder, although he feed not. St Cyprian saith of St Paul: *Ipsum quamvis inane nomen et umbram quandam sacerdotis cogitans, [expavit]*[23]: "St Paul was afraid, considering only the empty name and shadow of a bishop." And in the late council of Trident the matter is concluded thus: *Qui dicit eos qui non exercent ministerium verbi et sacramentorum*

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

Concil. Trid. De Sacram. Ordin.

[10 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiii.]

[11 Id. ibid. p. clxxxv.]

[12 ...si et opus bonum simul amplectaris. Nam si aliter esse cupis, episcopus &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Dign. Sacerd. cap. iv. Tom. II. Append. col. 360. This treatise is spurious.]

[13 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 747.]

[14 Wickliffe he expoundeth plainly his own meaning, 1567.]

[15 Artic. 22. damnat. in Concil. Constant. Sess. XV. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 1087, 1171.]

[16 Qui autem ex hominibus ordinatus est, quantum ad Deum non est diaconus aut sacerdos.—Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. liii. ex cap. xxv. Tom. VI. p. ccxxi.]

[17 Concil. Valent. cap. 4. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 414; where *submovendos.*]

[18 Or of priesthood, 1567.]

[19 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[20 1567 inserts the Latin, *Qui nec sua crimina detersit, nec filiorum crimen correxit, canis impudicus dicendus est magis quam episcopus.*]

[21 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. can. 32. col. 698; where *qui...nec sua delicta.* These words do not appear in Augustine. They have been variously ascribed to Gregory and Origen. Conf. Dist. lxxxiii. can. 2. col. 401; notas in loc.; Burchard. Decretor. Libr. Col. 1548. Lib. I. capp. 13, 203. foll. 2. 2, 29.]

[22 1567 omits *in words.*]

[23 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 128.]

non esse sacerdotes, anathema sit[1]: "Whosoever saith[2] that they that minister neither the word of God nor the sacraments be no priests, accursed be he." But Athanasius saith: *Quid opus est hominibus titulo episcopis*[3]? "What need have we of these men that bear only the name of bishops?" Therefore St Hierome saith: *Auferet ... Dominus nomina vanæ gloriæ et admirationis falsæ, quæ versantur in ecclesia.... Sed et nomina sacerdotum cum sacerdotibus [auferet], qui frustra sibi applaudunt in episcopali ... et in presbyterii dignitate, et non in opere*[4]: "The Lord shall take away the names of vain-glory and of feigned wondering which are in the church. Yea, he shall take away both the names of those priests, and the priests withal, which vaunt themselves in the dignity of bishoprick and priesthood, but not in the labour."

Athanas. ad Sol. Vit. Agent.

Hieron. in Soph. cap. i.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 1.

And that neither the pope nor any other worldly creature can no more be head of the whole church, or a bishop over all, than he can be the Bridegroom, the Light, the Salvation, and Life of the church. For these privileges and names belong only to Christ, and be properly and only fit for him alone.

Proud Name.

And that no bishop of Rome did ever suffer himself to be called by such a proud name and title before Phocas the emperor's time (who, as we know, by killing his own sovereign Mauritius[5] the emperor, did by a traitorous villany aspire to the empire), which was about the sixth hundred and thirteenth year after Christ was born.

M. HARDING.

*... The name of universal bishop, which this interpreter meaneth, being taken in a right sense, is no proud name in respect of him *to whom it belongeth. Whether any bishop of Rome ever suffered himself to be called by that name, or no, as you deny it, and prove it not, so it forceth not whether any did so, or no. If they refused it of humility, that proveth it not to be unlawful....*

Universal bishop.

* Untruth. For it belonged[6] not unto the pope.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If the name of universal bishop be a proud name in others, why may it not also be a proud name in the bishop of Rome? Hath the bishop there such a special privilege for pride above all others? May pride be humility, and humility pride, only in respect of divers persons? You say this title of right belonged to the bishop of Rome; and therefore in him it was no pride. This, M. Harding, is a foul untruth, as it shall appear by the next division. For these be the words of the council of Carthage, or at least, by your own confession, of Gratian, alleging the council of Carthage[7]: *Universalis autem (episcopus) nec ipse Romanus pontifex appelletur*[8]: "The bishop of Rome himself may not be called the universal bishop."

Dist. 99. Primæ sedis.

[1 Jewel appears to have quoted from Chemnicius, who, after giving the actual words of the canon, Si quis dixerit...eos, qui non prædicant, prorsus non esse sacerdotes, anathema sit; observes, Sed Tridentinum concilium simpliciter definit sacerdotium actione sacrificii: et canon 1. anathema denunciat illi, qui dixerit, eos qui non exercent ministerium verbi et sacramentorum, non esse sacerdotes.—M. Chemnic. Exam. Concil. Trident. Franc. 1596. Pars II. pp. 215, 7. Conf. Concil. Trident. Sess. XXIII. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 863.]

[2 Say, 1567.]

[3 Εἰ γὰρ ἐπισκόπων ἐστὶ κρίσις, τί κοινὸν ἔχει πρὸς ταύτην βασιλεύς; εἰ δὲ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἀπειλή, τίς ἐνταῦθα χρεία τῶν λεγομένων ἐπισκόπων;—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 52. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 376.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1647.]

[5 Morice, Conf.]

[6 Belongeth, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Carthage as Gratian allegeth them, 1567.]

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcix. can. 3. col. 479; where *etiam* for *ipse*. These words are Gratian's addition to the African canon.]

Proud Name.

That the old learned and godly bishops of Rome refused this name as proud and arrogant, it is so plain by St Gregory, that I marvel any learned man would call it in question. His words thereof be these: *Nullus ... decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit*[9]: *Nullus* [*Romanorum pontificum*] ... *hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*[10]: *Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere*[11]: "None of my predecessors, bishops of Rome, ever consented to use this ungodly name:" "No bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity:" "We, the bishop[12] of Rome, will not receive this honour being offered unto us." Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 32. et 36.

If the bishops of Rome in old times refused this name, not for want of right, but only, as M. Harding saith, of humility; wherefore then did their successors that followed afterward so ambitiously labour to get the same? Platina saith: *Bonifacius tertius obtinuit a Phoca, magna tamen contentione*[13]: "Pope Bonifacius the third obtained of the emperor Phocas (that Rome should be called the head of all churches), but with great contention and much ado." Wherefore then doth St Augustine and the whole council of Africa condemn the attempt of this usurped jurisdiction, and call it *fumosum seculi typhum*[14], "the smoky pride of the world?" and that even in the bishops of Rome? Platin. in Bonif. III.

If the bishop of Rome be so full of humility as we are here borne in hand, why advanceth[15] he himself so high above all general councils? Why saith he that no creature may judge his doings? Why claimeth he the sword and sceptre of all the world? Why saith he that Christ's consistory and his consistory are all one, and that he can do all that God can do[16]? Why doth he say that the emperor is but the proctor or bailiff of the church of Rome? *Procurator ... sive defensor Romanæ ecclesiæ*[17]? Why doth he suffer kings and emperors to hold his stirrup, to lead his palfrey, and to kiss his foot? Verily this kind of humility in other places might go for pride. Hesychius saith: *Ubi ... superbia regnat et hypocrisis, humilitas locum non habet*[18]: "Where pride and hypocrisy bear the sway, there humility can have no place." Likewise Chrysostom saith: *Quicunque desideraverit primatum in terra, inveniet in cœlo confusionem; nec inter servos Christi computabitur, qui de primatu tractaverit*[19]: "Whosoever desireth primacy in earth, in heaven he shall find confusion; neither shall he be accounted among the servants of Christ, that will once entreat of primacy." Dist. 96. Si imperat, in Gloss. Hesych. Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 17. Cur ergo. Dist. 40. Multi.

Addition. ☞ But hereto M. Harding answereth: "Why did you not quote the place, M. Jewel? Chrysostom hath no such saying. That which goeth before in Gratian is taken out of *Opus Imperfectum, Homil.* 43, which is well known not to be Chrysostom's. But this saying which here you allege out of Gratian is neither there nor in Chrysostom[20]. It is a forgery; and that you know[21] well enough. Yet you are not ashamed to use it to deceive the ignorant reader. Leave, leave, M. Jewel, to abuse the simplicity of the unlearned with such forged pieces and patches." *The answer.* M. Harding, how shall poor M. Jewel be able to answer this kind of eloquence? It becometh you so well, that it were great pity ye should speak better. Though this were a forgery indeed, as you have so sadly told us, yet you know it was[22] your own Gratian's forgery: it was[22] not mine. You say: "The book intituled *Opus Imperfectum* was never written by Chrysostom." I can easily yield hereto, and never strive for it: and yet your Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 185. a. [Detect.] M. Hard. 185. b. [Detect.]

[9 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 771.]

[10 Id. ibid. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 749; where *nomine uti consensit.*]

[11 Id. ibid. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. col. 771.]

[12 Bishops, 1567.]

[13 Bonifacius tertius...a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, ut sedes beati Petri apostoli, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, ita et diceretur &c.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Bonifac. III. p. 75.]

[14 Concil. Aphr. Epist. ad Cœlest. cap. 105. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 521.]

[15 Avaunceth, 1567, 1570.]

[16 God himself can do, 1567.]

[17 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 469.]

[18 Pet. Lombard. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xvii. fol. 376.]

[19 Chrysost. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 198; where *confusionem in cœlo.*]

[20 The passage is (see below, page 312, note 2,) in the Opus Imperfectum, commonly though erroneously ascribed to Chrysostom. And there is a marginal note in Gratian expressly referring to Hom. XXXV. ad cap. XX.; the place where the words will be found.]

[21 Knew, 1570.]

[22 Were, 1570.]

Proud Name.

Gratian allegeth the same book by the name of Chrysostom[1], as you know. Neither did I allege these words as out of Chrysostom, but as out of the book of Gratian's decrees, allowed to the world by pope Eugenius III., and commonly called *Fundamentum Juris Canonici.* Whoso is able truly to bring forth his author ought not of right to be charged with forgery. You do wrong therefore, M. Harding, with such outcries to raise the country upon him that hath not offended.

Dist. 40. Multi.

But, I pray you, be these words neither in *Opere Imperfecto*, as you say, nor in any other book of Chrysostom? And do I know it, as you tell me? Or will you say yourself do know it? Or, if you so say, may we believe it? Surely, if ye had sought these words better, ye might have found them. But ye sought them where they were not, and sought in vain. In the 35th homily of that same book it is written thus: *Quicunque desideraverit primatum in terra, inveniet in cœlo confusionem; ut jam inter servos Christi non sit de primatu certamen*[2]. These be the self-same words that you say cannot be found, neither in *Opere Imperfecto*, nor in any other book of Chrysostom. Here is neither piecing nor patching, M. Harding. It is plain dealing: it is no forgery. If these words thus placed do not like you, as it appeareth they do not, then change them hardly, and take the contrary, and rather say thus: "Whosoever desireth primacy in earth shall find no confusion in heaven." This perhaps may seem better to serve your turn. Here might I triumph, and say to you as you say to me: "Yet are you not ashamed," &c.: "Leave, leave, M. Harding," &c.

Hom. 35. in Op. Imperf.

To conclude, a learned man, one of M. Harding's own side, hereupon hath noted thus: *Bonifacius...obtinuit a Phoca....ut ecclesia Romana esset caput omnium ecclesiarum....Ex quo posset modo consimili sumi argumentum, quod ad imperatorem pertineat primatum ecclesiæ transferre, et de ecclesiis ordinare*[4]: "Pope Bonifacius the third obtained of the emperor Phocas that the church of Rome should be the head of all churches. Whereof we may in like case gather an argument, that it belongeth to the emperor to translate the primacy of the church, and to take order for the churches."

Johan. de Par. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xiii.[3]

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 2.

Also the council of Carthage did circumspectly provide, that no bishop should be called either the highest bishop, or chief priest[5].

M. HARDING.

Here, by your leave, sir defender, you play false, and are taken as it were with false dice; and therefore ye ought justly to lose all that ye have unjustly won by your false play and false dice; I mean, your shameful falsifying of this council by you alleged. And for this and other your falsehood[6] *it is right you lose the credit which unjustly (because by false teaching) you have won among the unlearned. That your false play might not soon be espied, you do as like to M. Jewel as though you were his father's son: for that false sleight he useth more than any that ever I read. For whereas we have seven councils of Carthage, neither shew you which of them it is that you allege, nor give any notice of the number where the canon may be found: but contrariwise, as the lapwing with her busy cry leadeth a man from her nest, so you lead us from the place where it is, by putting in the margin*[7] *of your book the number* 47, *that, not finding it by your note, we should*

Falsifying of a council.

M. Harding is a merry man.

[1 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 198. The heading is: Item Joannes Chrysostomus [id est, auctor operis imperfecti in Matth. hom. xliii. ad cap. xxiii.].]

[2 ... quicumque autem desiderat primatum in terra, inveniet confusionem in cœlo: ut jam &c.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxv. ex cap. xx. Tom. VI. p. cliii.]

[3 1567 gives this reference as *Hervœus De Potestate Papæ, cap. xiii.*]

[4 Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Pap. cap. xv. in Goldast. Monarch. Rom. Imp. Hanov. 1611-14. p. 129; where *apud Phocam*, and *pertinet.*]

[5 Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 26. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 428. See below, page 314, note 4.]

[6 Falsehead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

John iii.

give over further looking for it. "Who doth evil hateth light," saith Christ. So here, falsifying [a] *and forging a canon of a council, you would fain walk in clouds, that your lying might not be deprehended, &c.*[8] *... So had it been done more circumspectly for furtherance of your falsehood*[6]*, if the matter should never come to trial of learning.*

Highest Bishop, Prince of Priests.

Now whosoever examineth the place truly, must needs cry out, Shame on you, defender, who are the author. The words, if you had listed to have alleged them without falsehood[6]*, be these which we find in the 26th canon of the third council of Carthage, which council was authorised by the sixth general council holden at Constantinople in Trullo:* Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus[9]. *And thus they are to be Englished: "It hath liked us," say the fathers of that council, "that a bishop of a first see be not called prince of priests, or highest priest*[11]*, or any such other thing, but only a bishop*[12] *of a first see." Now cometh me this jolly defender, and saith, the council of Carthage hath express*[13] *words (for so much his Latin soundeth), ... that no bishop should be called either the highest bishop or chief priest. By which canon, thus by him untruly uttered, he thought to deprive the pope of this* [b] *ancient title that all the world hath ever attributed unto him, so as he be called no more* summus pontifex.

The 26th canon of the third council of Carthage discussed.

Vide Epist. Leon. IX. ad Petrum et Johannem, Aphricæ episcopos[10].

[a] Untruth. For this canon will soon be found.

[b] Untruth, as shall appear.

For the right understanding of this canon two things are to be considered; how far the authority of this council ought to be extended, and what is meant by a first see. [c] *The decrees of this council pertained but to the province of Afric. For provincial councils bind only the provinces in which and for order of which they be kept. Only the general councils are to be received of all. ...*

[c] Untruth. For this council namely restraineth the bishop of Rome.

Prima sedes, what it meaneth. Dist. 99. de Primatibus.

By these two words, prima sedes, *those fathers understood any city in which a patriarch or primate, who are of one office though of diverse names, hath his see*[14]*. I call it a first see, or rather (if it might be permitted) a primate see.* [d] *In great cities, where the highest courts for justice were kept, and where the chief pagan priests of the Latins, named* primi flamines, *were resident before the coming of Christ, there after Christ's coming were patriarchs or primates placed, by whom the weighty matters of bishops should be decided.* [e] *Which order was taken first by commandment of St Peter, as Clement writeth*[15]*; by the apostles and Clement, as Anacletus witnesseth*[16]*; by the apostles and their successors afterward, as Lucius the pope saith*[17]*. ...*[18]

Dist. 99. cap. Provinciæ.

[d] Untruth, grounded upon a fable.

[e] Untruth, grounded as the former.

Now the council of Carthage by this defender alleged, and likewise the African council, ordained and willed that a bishop of any of the primate sees of Afric should not be called princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, *"prince or chief of the priests, or highest priest," by which word a bishop is there signified, but only a bishop of the primate see whereof he was primate. By which decree they willed* [f] *only their primates of Afric to keep themselves within their limits, and not presumptuously to take upon them more glorious titles and further jurisdiction than to them pertained, lest surely they might seem to prejudicate the pope's supremacy. Thus it is evident, the authority of that Carthage council being restrained to Afric only, that by this canon the pope's primacy and title is no whit diminished or disproved. And so, for all this defender, he remaineth as he hath* [g] *ever, highest bishop.*

[f] Most manifest and most vain untruth[19].

[g] A great untruth.

[8 Here and elsewhere sneers at the "lady interpreter," as Harding calls lady Bacon, are omitted.]

[9 Concil. Quinisext. can. 2. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 1141.]

[10 Leon. Papæ IX. ad Petr. et Joan. Episc. Epist. iv. in eod. Tom. IX. col. 974.]

[11 Priests, 1611.]

[12 Only bishop, Conf.]

[13 Hath by express, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[14 Primates et patriarchæ diversorum sunt nominum, sed ejusdem officii. — Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcix. col. 478.]

[15 In illis vero civitatibus, in quibus olim apud ethnicos primi flamines eorum atque primi legis doctores erant, episcoporum primates poni vel patriarchas beatus Petrus præcepit, qui reliquorum episcoporum causas, et majora, quoties necesse foret, negotia in fide, agitarent.—Clem. Epist. i. in eod. ibid. Dist. lxxx. can. 2. col. 382.]

[16 Anaclet. Epist. ii. in eod. ibid. Dist. xcix. can. 1. col. 478.]

[17 Lucius in eod. ibid. Dist. lxxx. can. 1. cols. 381, 2.]

[18 Here follows an enumeration of patriarchships, or primate sees.]

[19 1567 adds, *For the words of the council are these:* Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Highest Bishop, Prince of Priests.

What, M. Harding, so much falsehood[1] upon us at one time? Falsifying of councils, shameful falsifying, false teaching, false sleight, false dice, false play, and all false? Christ[2] saith of himself, "I am the truth." God give you grace to credit him! For the error of quotation in the margin, wherein you spend so many words, it may please you to know that I neither was the printer, nor could be present at the printing. For the rest, if there can be any one point of falsehood[1] found in me touching the allegation of this council of Carthage, I will not refuse to stand charged with the whole. But, if every of these horrible falsehoods[3] be found an evident and plain truth, then it may please you to take home all these pretty titles to yourself again, as in every of these words so often doubled, and so heaped together, having yourself committed a several falsehood[1].

And herein, for trial of your courteous dealing, I am content yourself shall sit and be the judge. For, notwithstanding it be thought of many that ye dissemble deeply, and will not bestow your voice to say the truth, yet I doubt not but in this matter, if ye have eyes, ye may easily look up and see the truth.

You say, "Sir defender hath falsely alleged the council of Carthage." And why so? For that he saith, the council decreed by express words that the bishop of Rome should not be called the universal bishop. This you say is forged and falsified, and is no part of that council. For indifferent trial both of the truth and of the falsehood[1] herein, I beseech you behold the very words of the council, even as they are alleged by your own doctor Gratian. These they are: *Primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, vel summus sacerdos, vel aliquid hujusmodi; sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus. Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur*[4]: "Let not the bishop of any of the first sees be called the prince of priests, or the highest priest[5], or by any other like name; but only the bishop of the first see. But let not the bishop of Rome himself be called the universal bishop." And in the gloss thereupon it is noted thus: *In hac distinctione dicitur, quod papa non debet dici universalis*[6]: "In this distinction it is said that the pope ought not to be called the universal bishop."

Dist. 99. Primæ.

Addition.

☞ M. Hard. 190 b. [Detect.] M. Hard. 191. a. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding crieth out bitterly: "M. Jewel is a shameless man: three main lies: O impudent glosser! Are ye not ashamed? &c. These be not the words of the council of Carthage. They are to be referred to the third part of the distinction that followeth afterward." Your speech is terrible, M. Harding, and argueth some inordinate passion in your stomach. Refer these words whither you will. If they be not written in the council of Carthage, yet at the least they are the words of Gratian alleging the words of the council of Carthage. Be they his words, or be they the council's, I will not strive. Well you know they are not mine. Thus he saith by your own confession: *Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur:* "Let not the bishop of Rome himself be called the universal bishop." And thus[7] you confess is the meaning of pope Pelagius, that followeth immediately in the same distinction. Now, M. Harding, what great prejudice is this, as touching the right of our cause, if we lose the authority of the council of Carthage, and get the authority of the pope himself, who in your judgment, and as you have written and published to the world, is above the authority of all councils? Whatsoever the council of Carthage say, the pope himself saith, as it is noted in the rubric: *Nec etiam Romanus pontifex universalis est appellandus.*

M. Hard. Conf. p. 284. a. [Detect. 191.]

Now, touching the gloss, ye run upon me with hue and cry: "O impudent glosser!" you say, "are you not ashamed to shew your peevish falsehood[8]? Why left you out the beginning of the sentence?" Truly, M. Harding, I knew not your diet; otherwise I could as good cheap have served you with all together.

[1 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Yet Christ, 1567.]

[3 Falseheads, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Ex Concil. Afric. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, ibid. Dist. xcix. can. 3. col. 479; where *aut aliquid.* The last sentence is not printed in Gratian as a part of the decree of the council. But bishop Jewel asserts (see Vol. I. page 425) that there was MS. authority for its really being so.]

[5 Priests, 1611.]

[6 Hæc est 3. pars distin. in qua dicitur, &c. vocari universalis.—Gloss. in can. ibid.]

[7 This, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Falsehead, 1570.]

I left out nothing that was necessary. But, forasmuch as ye want something, I know not what, ye shall have free liberty to make it up at your pleasure. The whole words be these: *Hæc est tertia pars distinctionis, in qua dicitur, quod papa non debet vocari universalis*[9]: "This is the third part of this distinction, wherein it is said that the pope ought not to be called the universal bishop." Highest Bishop, Prince of Priests.

Now tell us, good Master Harding, what peevish falsehood[8], or what impudent glossing is this? or, saving some part of your folly, whereat ought any man to be ashamed? ❧[10]

Touching that you so pleasantly cheer yourself with these words, "You do as like to M. Jewel, as if you were his father's son;" I must answer you as St Augustine sometime did the heretic Cresconius: *Serva potius puerilia pueris*[11]: "Keep such childish toys to play with your children." God make us both like unto our Father that is in heaven! August. contr. Cresc. Lib. iii. cap. xxxviii.

Where you say of yourself only, without farther witness, that this title is the pope's ancient right, ever given to him by all the world, I doubt not but the untruth hereof, by my former reply[12] touching the same, may soon appear. Certainly, when the same title was offered to St Gregory, he refused it utterly, as none of his[13]. Art. iv. Gregor. Lib. vii. Epist. 30.

Indeed, this council of Carthage notwithstanding, the title of highest bishop[14] was sometime[15] given, not only to the bishop of Rome and other patriarchs, but also unto all other bishops. M. Harding's own Amphilochius calleth St Basil *principem sacerdotum*[16], "the prince or chief of bishops." Ruffinus calleth Athanasius *pontificem maximum*[17], "the highest bishop." Nazianzenus calleth the same Athanasius *archisacerdotem sacerdotum*[18], "the chief bishop of bishops." Lactantius calleth every bishoprick *summum sacerdotium*[19]. Likewise St Hierome saith: *Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet*[20]: "The safety of the church standeth in the dignity of the highest priest." By which highest priest, M. Harding himself saith, is meant every several bishop within his own diocese. St Augustine saith; *Quid est... episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos*[21]? "What is a bishop but the first or chief priest, that is to say, the highest priest?" Therefore we may safely spare the pope this title of highest bishop, not as peculiar to him alone, as M. Harding imagineth, but as common and general to all bishops. M. Harding's Amphilochius. Rufin. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii. Nazianz. ad Heron. Lactant. Lib. iv. cap. xxx. Hieron. contr. Lucif. M Harding in his Answer to the Apology, fol. 204. b. In Quæst. ex utroque Test. mixt. Quæst. 101.

All that you[22] have here alleged of the *flamines* is a mere fantasy, grounded only upon an unsavoury fable of Anacletus and Clemens. Neither are you able to find either these names, *archiflamines* or *protoflamines*, which here are imagined, in any ancient allowed writer, or any such universal jurisdiction to them belonging.

The first, or principal, or mother sees were limited, not by the *flamines*, but by the prince. So it is written in the council of Chalcedon: *Quascunque civitates per literas regias metropolitico nomine honorarunt*[23]: "What cities soever by the prince's charter they honoured with the name of the mother see." Concil. Chalc. cap. 12.

And therefore the emperor Theodosius, upon displeasure conceived, took that name of honour from the city of Antioch, minding it should be so called no more[24]. And for that cause was the city of Rome chosen amongst others to be a Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 17.

[9 See above, note 6.]

[10 There is here a paragraph in 1567, in which Jewel declared that he had only reported the words of the council, and retorted the charge of falsehood on Harding. The "addition" appears to have been substituted for this paragraph.]

[11 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. III. cap. lxxviii. 89. Tom. IX. col. 480.]

[12 See Vol. I. pages 338, &c.]

[13 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par.1705. Epist. Lib. VIII. Indict. I. Ad Eulog. Episc. Epist. xxx. Tom. II. col. 919.]

[14 Bishops, 1609, 1611.]

[15 Sometimes, 1567, 1570.]

[16 Amphiloch. Op. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 156, 224.]

[17 Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. XI. cap. xxviii. fol. 129. 2.]

[18 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Heron. Orat. xxv. 11. Tom. I. p. 462.]

[19 Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xxx. Tom. I. p. 353; where *maximum* for *summum*.]

[20 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295.]

[21 August. Op. Quæst. ex utroq. mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Append. col. 93.]

[22 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[23 Concil. Calched. Act. XV. can. 12. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 762.]

[24 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xvii. Tom. II. pp. 175, &c.]

primate, or a principal mother see, not for that either Christ or Peter had so appointed, as M. Harding telleth us, but for that it was the most noble city, and of greatest renown in all the world. The words be plain: *Sedi veteris Romæ patres merito dederunt primatum, quod illa civitas aliis imperaret*[1]: "The fathers worthily gave the chiefty to the see of the old Rome, because that city had the princehood over others."

Concil. Chalc. cap. 28.

Now concerning this decree of the council of Carthage, it touched as well the bishop of Rome as other primates. And therefore pope Adrian, afterward alleging and corrupting the same, added thereto this special proviso for himself: *Nullus archiepiscoporum, nisi qui primas sedes tenent, appelletur primas, aut princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, &c. Salva semper in omnibus auctoritate beati Petri apostoli*[2]: "Let no archbishop, saving such as have the principal or first sees, be called either the primate, or the prince of priests, or the highest priest, or by any other like name, &c. Saving always and in all things the authority of blessed St Peter the apostle."

Adrian. Pap. In Capit. ex Synod. et Canon. Div. Coll. Tom II. p. 611.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 3.

And therefore, sithence the bishop of Rome will now-a-days so be called, and challengeth unto himself an authority that is none of his; besides that he doth plainly contrary to the ancient councils and contrary to the old fathers, we believe that he doth give to himself, as it is written by his own companion Gregory, a presumptuous, a profane, a sacrilegious, and an antichristian[3] name; that he is also the king of pride, that he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren; that he hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of antichrist[4].

All these be the words of Gregory.

M. HARDING.

Universal.

Here is much ado about nought, and a number of bitter words picked out of St Gregory's epistles, pretended to be written against the bishop of Rome, to no purpose. For if we say, [a] *as we may say truly*[5], *that he challengeth to himself no such name, then what hath this defender to say? Let him shew us how many bishops of that see ever took the name of the universal bishop upon them, specially as Gregory understandeth it to signify. If he can shew none, why blotteth he so much paper with so impudent lies?...*

[a] Untruth. For Platina saith: *Bonifacius III. obtinuit a Phoca, magna tamen contentione*[6].

[b] *Indeed the six hundred and thirty fathers of the general council of Chalcedon gave to pope Leo that name, as Gregory in three sundry epistles writeth*[7], *and certain other in their writings have attributed to the pope the same. But that either Leo or any other his successor* [c] *affected so to be called, Gregory denieth.* [d] *And that any since Gregory's time to our days ever called or wrote himself universal bishop, we deny....*

[b] There appeareth no such matter in all that council.

[c] Untruth. As appeareth by the former authority of Platina.

[d] Untruth. As further appeareth by the answer.

Whereas Pelagius[8] *and Gregory, writing against the presumption of John the bishop of Constantinople for taking upon him this name, are much alleged by the enemies of unity, against the authority of Peter's successor over the whole church; we say that they, following the steps of their predecessors, refused the name of universal bishop in such sense, as Pelagius, and specially Gregory, oftentimes declareth, that where one is called universal bishop, he seemeth to be called* [e] *bishop*

[e] Untruth, and most vain fantasy. For no bishop of Constantinople ever dreamed of such authority.

[1 Concil. Calched. Act. xv. can. 28. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 770.]

[2 Capit. per Adrian. Pap. ex Synod. et Canon. Div. Collect. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 611; where *vel aliquid.*]

[3 And antichristian, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4 See Vol. I. pages 344, 5; where these and several similar expressions are given from the epistles of Gregory.]

[5 Say and truly, Conf.]

[6 Bonifacius.....a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna &c.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Bonifac. III. p. 75.]

[7 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 743; Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 749; Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. col. 771.]

[8 Pelag. Papæ II. ad Joan. Episc. Constant. Epist. viii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. V. cols. 948, &c. This epistle is spurious.]

alone, so as bishoprick should be taken away from all others. But they refused not so to be called after this meaning, as though, by that refusal, the authority of the bishop of Rome should be restrained, and not extended[9] *over the whole church. They deny that any man might so be universal bishop as he should be also the peculiar ruler and governor of every particular church. For so all other bishops had been in vain; and that is contrary to Christ's institution, who ordained all the apostles to be bishops.... To say all in few, they refused the name that might odiously be taken; they refused not the primacy* [f] *which Christ to them had committed. Therefore Gregory, writing to Morice the emperor, alleging the words that make for Peter's authority over the whole flock of Christ, saith of Peter:* [g] *"The charge of the whole church and principality is committed to him, and yet is he not called universal apostle*[10]*." Where it is plain that Gregory doth both affirm the charge of the whole, and denieth the name of universal.... Let these defenders grant the thing; and we strive not for the name.*

Universal.

[f] Untruth. For Christ never erected any such primacy.

[g] The like whole charge was given to Paul, John, and Matthew, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here it pleaseth M. Harding of his courtesy to say, we have blotted our papers with so many and so many impudent lies. His whole discourse standeth only in the construction of this word "universal," in what sense it may be either refused or claimed. Howbeit, understand thou, gentle reader, that all this is M. Harding's own only commentary: for other doctor or father he allegeth none.

Addition. ☞ "But," M. Harding saith, "M. Jewel misliketh with me for saying that the name of universal bishop in a right sense is no proud name in respect of him to whom it belongeth. By a right sense, I mean that sense which St Gregory allowed, and that which the fourth general council of Chalcedon allowed." *The answer.* But what is that right sense, M. Harding? "The same," you say, "that is allowed by the council of Chalcedon and by St Gregory." But what sense that may be, neither the council of Chalcedon nor St Gregory ever told you. Verily, St Gregory, having occasion largely to dispute hereof, even in the same sense and meaning as it was claimed by the bishop of Constantinople, saith that the same title with the same sense was offered by the council of Chalcedon to the bishop of Rome. In the same sense, I say, M. Harding, and in none other; and in what sense it was offered by the council, in the same sense the pope refused it. The sense therefore being one, why do you so vainly imagine such choice of senses? "The sense that was offered," you say, "was good. The sense that was refused," you say, "was naught." And yet both these senses were all one sense. Otherwise shew you me, where St Gregory ever called himself the universal bishop in any kind of sense. Certainly, speaking of the same title of universal bishop, and of the same sense, and of none other, he saith: *Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur*[10]: "St Peter is not called the universal apostle." If this title and this sense never belonged unto St Peter, how then may it belong unto the pope? Wherefore, M. Harding, touching the right sense of these words, I think him not in his right wits that can devise such distinction of senses without any difference. Him St Gregory meant to claim the name of "universal bishop," that sought to subdue all the members of Christ's church unto himself. And this is that self-same title, and that self-same sense, that this day is claimed by the pope, as it is evident unto the world. Pope Clement saith: *Omnes subjecti sunt motioni papæ; et sunt in illo, quasi membra de membro*[11]: "All men are subject to the pope's will; and are in him, as members of a member." Durandus saith: *Omnes episcopi descendunt a papa, tanquam membra a capite*[12]: "All bishops come from the pope, as members from the head." Another saith: *Papa est ordinarius totius mundi*[13]: "The pope is the ordinary or bishop of all the whole world." And therefore pope Bonifacius

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 186 b. [Detect.]

Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

Clem. Lib. v. De Hæret. Ad vestrum.

Durand. De Minist. et Ordin. Lib. ii.

De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam.

[9 Extend, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 748. See Vol. I. page 343, note 16.]

[11 Omnes igitur sunt subjecti motioni illius; et &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. v. Tit. iii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 274.]

[12 ... caput est omnium pontificum, a quo illi, tanquam a capite membra, descendunt.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. II. cap. i. 17. fol. 46.]

[13 See below, page 319, note 16.]

Universal.

VIII. hath concluded by solemn sentence, "that every creature must submit itself unto the bishop of Rome, upon the pain of everlasting damnation[1]." This is the right sense that you mean, M. Harding: thus the pope claimeth this day to be the "universal bishop." And this same title and sense is it that St Gregory condemneth.

First, where it is said that St Gregory by this word "universal bishop" meant him that would be bishop alone over all the world, excluding all others, this exposition is not only strange, but also vain, and fond, and void of reason. For what bishop of Constantinople ever was there that called himself the only bishop, and excluded all others? Doubtless John, that first laid claim unto this name, as he called himself the "universal bishop," so he wrote his letters unto others, and never refused to call them bishops.

But, to leave these glosses and fantasies, by the title of "universal bishop" St Gregory meant such a one, not as would be bishop alone, but as would claim infinite authority and universal jurisdiction over all other bishops throughout the world; and that, as St Cyprian saith, would call himself *episcopum episcoporum*[2], "the bishop of bishops."

Cypr. in Concil. Carthag.

Therefore St Gregory thus writeth unto John the bishop of Constantinople, the first usurper of this title: *Quid tu Christo universalis ... ecclesiæ Capiti in extremi judicii responsurus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet universalis conaris*[3] *appellatione supponere*[4]*?* "What answer wilt thou make unto Christ, the Head of the universal church, when thou shalt be examined at the last judgment, (not that thou hast called thyself[5] the only bishop, but) that thus goest about by the name of universal bishop to make all his members subject unto thee?" It was this immoderate universal jurisdiction that St Gregory reproved, and not the making of himself bishop alone, excluding all others.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

Likewise he writeth of himself unto Eulogius: *Beatitudo vestra ... mihi* [*sic*] *loquitur: ... Sicut jussistis. Quod verbum jussionis, peto, a meo auditu removete ... Non ... jussi; sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi*[6]*:* "Your holiness saith thus unto me (being the bishop of Rome), 'As you have commanded.' Have away this word of 'commanding' from my hearing, I beseech you. I 'commanded' you not; but that I took to be the best I thought good to shew you." The fault therefore, that Gregory findeth with John the bishop of Constantinople, stood not in calling himself the only bishop, for so he never did; but in bidding, and commanding, and claiming universality of jurisdiction over the whole church of Christ. And for that cause he saith unto Eulogius: *Ecce in præfatione epistolæ, quam ad meipsum, qui prohibui, direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum, universalem me papam dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod, peto, dulcissima mihi sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat; quia vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plusquam ratio exigit præbetur*[7]*:* "Behold, even in the title of your letter ye have written this proud posy, naming me 'the universal pope,' notwithstanding I have forbidden it. I beseech your holiness to do so no more: for, whatsoever is given unto any other above reason, the same is taken from yourselves."

Gregor. Lib. vii. Epist. 30.

Gregor. Lib. vii. Epist. 30.

M. Harding saith: "Gregory affirmeth the charge of the whole, and denieth the name of universal. Let these defenders," saith he, "grant the thing; and we strive not for the name." Verily this play had been too vain for children, to allow the thing itself, and to cavil only about the name; that is, to receive the body, and to shun the shadow; or, as Christ saith, to swallow a camel, and to strain a gnat. So Appian saith, Julius Cæsar nicely refused to be called a king; and yet in all manner authority and government bare himself none otherwise than as a king.

Matt. xxiii.

Appianus: εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ ἔργα βασιλεῖς.

It was not the bare name of universal bishop that so much offended the holy fathers; but the pride, and tyranny, and universal government and jurisdiction,

[1 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See Vol. I. page 95, note 11.]

[2 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Concil. Carthag. p. 229.]

[3 Conaris universalis, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 742; where *tu quid, es dicturus examine*, and *conaris universalis*.]

[5 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Id. Lib. VIII. Indict. I. Ad Eulog. Episc. Epist. xxx. col. 919; where *vestra beatitudo*.]

[7 Id. ibid.]

that is signified by that name. If the name were naught, then was the usurpation of the thing itself a great deal worse.

Universal.

But St Gregory saith: "The charge and principality of the whole church was committed unto Peter." This is not denied: in like sort Chrysostom saith: "The like charge and principality of the church was committed unto Paul[8]." For thus he writeth: *Paulo totus orbis creditus est: Paulus gubernat orbis ecclesiam*[10]: *Paulus universum gubernat orbem*[11]: "Unto Paul the whole world is committed:" "Paul governeth the church of the world:" "Paul ruleth the whole world." And yet Chrysostom meant not hereby that Paul had the universal government of the whole; but that his care and charge was general, as not bound or limited unto one place, but indifferent and common unto all. So he saith: *Paulus tam anxie omnium salutem curabat, ac si totus mundus unica esset domus*[12]: "Paul was so careful for the salvation of all men, as if the whole world had been but one house." Again: [*Paulum tangebat*] *sollicitudo . . . omnium ecclesiarum; non unius, aut duarum, aut trium, sed omnium quæ erant per orbem terrarum*[13]: "Paul was moved with the care of all churches; not of one, or two, or three, but of all the churches throughout the world." Likewise he saith of St John: *Columna erat omnium quæ in orbe sunt ecclesiarum*[14]: "He was the pillar of all the churches in the world." Likewise again of St Matthew: *Matthæus universi orbis curam gerebat*[15]: "The whole world was under Matthew's charge."

Chrysost. in Serm. de Eleemos.[9]
Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 53.
Chrysost. de Laud. Paul. Hom. 2.
Chrysost. in Hom. De Profect. Evang.
Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 73.
Chrysost. in Prolog. in Johan.
Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 48.

Therefore, if M. Harding will gather out of these three words of St Gregory, *totius ecclesiæ cura*, that Peter had universal jurisdiction over all, it must needs follow by the same words, that Paul, John, and Matthew had the same jurisdiction over all. What other thing he hopeth to gain by these words of St Gregory, I cannot tell; unless happily he will found his reason thus: St Gregory saith, *Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur*, "Peter is not called the universal apostle;" *ergo*, the pope is the universal bishop.

So handsomely these things are gathered together to serve the purpose.

"Pope Leo," ye say, "of humility refused this name openly in the council of Chalcedon." Indeed pope Gregory so reporteth it. Notwithstanding, it appeareth not by any thing done in that council that this title was ever offered him. And, to refuse a thing before it be offered, it is no great point of humility.

To be short, the best we can gather hereof is this: John the bishop of Constantinople ambitiously craved this name: pope Leo godly refused it, being offered unto him: the popes afterward gladly received it without offering. If it were a good name, why was it refused? If it were an ill name, why was it received?

Now let us see what they of M. Harding's side have meant by this word "universal," and with what humility the popes have received the same. Thus therefore they write[16]: [a]*Papa totius orbis obtinet principatum*[17]: "The pope hath the princehood of all the world." And, when the pope is consecrate, the chief minister saith unto him: [b]*Ego investio te de papatu, ut præsis urbi et orbi*[18]: "I do invest thee with the popedom, that thou mayest rule both the city and the world."

[a] Extr. de Stat. Regul. Periculoso, in Gloss.
[b] Ceremon. Lib. i. cap. iv.

And, whereas M. Harding demandeth how many popes have claimed this name, it may please him to remember, that in the late council of Constance it was not

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[8] Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Eleemos. et Hosp. Serm. Tom. V. col. 919. See before, page 283, note 12.]

[9] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[10] Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. liii. Tom. IX. p. 402.]

[11] Id. de Laud. S. Paul. Hom. ii. Tom. II. p. 485.]

[12] Id. de Prof. Evang. Tom. III. p. 305.]

[13] Id. Op. Lat. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lxxiii. Tom. V. col. 458; where *et duarum et trium*.]

[14] Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. i. Tom. VIII. p. 2.]

[15] Id. in Matt. Hom. xlvii. Tom. VII. pp. 491, 2.]

[16] Here in 1567 appear the following words: *Papa est ordinarius totius mundi*: "The pope is the ordinary of all the world." *Papa est ordinarius omnium hominum*: "The pope is the ordinary of all men."

And there are these marginal references: *Abbas De Concess. Præbend. Quia Diversita. Extra De Appell. Ut debitus, in Gloss.* See Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. viii. cap. 5. fol. 57. 2; Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. II. Tit. xxviii. Gloss. in cap. 59. col. 962.]

[17] ...totius enim orbis papa tenet principatum.—Sext. Decretal. in eod. Lib. III. Tit. xvi. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 556.]

[18] Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. i. cap. iv. fol. 15. This refers to a practice in the conclave, of which it is added: Sed hodie non servatur.]

only claimed, but also published, as an article of the faith. The words are these: [c] *De necessitate salutis est credere, papam esse œcumenicum*[1]: "It is of the necessity of salvation to believe that the pope is the universal bishop."

[c] Paral. Ursp. De Disp. Lipsic.

Of this universality of power Franciscus Zabarella[2] writeth thus: [d] *Papa [jam] occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum, ita ut inferiores prælati sint pro nihilo*[3]: "The pope hath now gotten the right of all inferior churches, so that the inferior prelates stand now for nothing."

[d] Franc. Zabarell.[2]

For these causes Gregory calleth the name of universal bishop a profane, a presumptuous, a wicked, and an antichristian[4] name; comparing the usurper thereof with Lucifer and antichrist[5].

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 1.

Further we say that the minister ought lawfully, duly, and orderly to be preferred to that office of the church of God, and that no man hath power to wrest himself into the holy ministry at his own pleasure[6]. Wherefore these persons do us the greater wrong, which have nothing so common in their mouths[7], as that we do nothing orderly and comely, but all things troublesomely and without order; and that we allow every man to be a priest, to be a teacher, and to be an interpreter of the scriptures.

M. HARDING.

...Ye say that the minister ought lawfully to be called (for so hath your Latin) and duly and orderly to be preferred to that office of the church of God. Why do ye not so? Why is not this observed among you gospellers? Whatsoever ye mean by your minister and by that office, [a] *this are we assured of, that in this your new church bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, or any other inferior orders, ye have none.....*

[a] Untruth. For it is known we have them.

For whereas, after the doctrine of your new gospel, like the forerunners of antichrist, ye have [b] *abandoned the external sacrifice and priesthood of the new testament, and have not in your sect consecrated bishops; and therefore, being without priests made with lawful laying on of hands, as scripture requireth, all holy orders being given by bishops only, how can ye say that any among you can lawfully minister, or that ye have any lawful ministers at all?*

[b] Untruth. For we have abandoned neither the priesthood nor the sacrifice that Christ appointed.

This then being so, let me have leave to oppose one of these defenders' consciences. And that for the better understanding I may direct my words to a certain person, let him be the author of this Apology; or, because his name to me is unknown, let him be M. Jewel: for with him gladly would I reason in this point, the rather for acquaintance, and for that he beareth the name of a bishop in that church where myself had a room. How say you, sir minister bishop, ought the minister to be lawfully called? ought he duly and orderly to be preferred to that office, or (as the Latin here hath) promoted, or put in authority over the church? In the Apology this defender saith yea.....

Succession.

...How many bishops can you reckon, whom in the church of Salisbury you have succeeded as well in doctrine as in outward sitting in that chair? How many can you tell us of that, being your predecessors in order before you, were of your opinion, and taught the faithful people of that diocese the doctrine that you teach? Did bishop Capon teach your doctrine? did Shaxton? did Campegius? did bishop Audley? Briefly, did ever any bishop of that see before you teach your doctrine? [c] *It is most certain they did not.....*

[c] Untruth. For bishop Shaxton and bishop Capon taught the same.

[1 Ad hæc Eccius concilii Constantiensis autoritatem allegavit, ubi inter damnatos articulos Hussitarum est et hic, de necessitate salutis est credere Romanum pontificem œcumenicum esse, ibi jactatum varie, concilium errare non posse.—Rer. Mem. Paral. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. Leips. Disp. Epit. p. 475.]

[2 Zarabella, 1567.]

[3 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. p. 704. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3.]

[4 And antichristian, 1567.]

[5 See Vol. I. pages 345, 6.]

[6 Pleasure and list, Conf.]

[7 Mouth, Conf.]

If you cannot shew your bishoply pedigree, if you can prove no succession, then whereby hold you? Will you shew us the letters patent[8] *of the prince? Well may they stand you in some stead before men: before God, who shall call you to an account*[9] *for presuming to take the highest office in his church,* [d]*not duly called thereto, they shall serve you to no purpose.....* Succession.

[d] Untruth. For he was chosen by canonical election of the chapter, as all other bishops have been before.

In Præscript. adv. Hæret. *You know what Tertullian saith of such as ye be:* Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, &c.[10] *We say likewise to you, M. Jewel, and that we say to you we say to each one of your companions: "Tell us the original and first spring of your church. Shew us the register of your bishops continually succeeding one another from the beginning,—so as that first bishop have some one of the apostles or of the apostolic men for his author and predecessor. For by this way the apostolic churches shew what reputation they be of: as the church of Smyrna telleth us of Polycarp, by John the apostle placed there: the church of the Romans telleth us of Clement, ordained by Peter." St Augustine, having reckoned up in order the bishops of Rome to Anastasius, successor to Siricius, who was the eight and thirtieth after Peter, saith that in all that number and roll of bishops there is not found one that was a Donatist; and thereof he concludeth:* ergo, *the Donatists be not catholics*[11]. *So, after that we have reckoned all the bishops of Salisbury from bishop Capon upward, we shall come at length in respect of doctrine and orders to St Augustine, the apostle of the English, who was made bishop by Gregory, and from Gregory upward to St Peter: and in all that row*[12] *of bishops* [e]*we shall find never a one that believed*[13] *as M. Jewel believeth;* ergo, *your Zuinglian and Calvinian belief, M. Jewel, and of the rest of your fellows, is not catholic.....*

These be Tertullian's words.

Epist. 165.

[e] Untruth, by your own confession.

Therefore, to go from your succession, which ye cannot prove, and to come to your vocation, how say you, sir? You bear yourself as though you were bishop of Salisbury. But how can you prove your vocation? By what authority usurp you the administration of doctrine and sacraments? What can you allege for the right and proof of your ministry? Who hath called you? Who hath laid hands on you? By what example hath he done it? How and by whom are you consecrated? Who hath sent you? Who hath committed to you the office you take upon you? Be you a priest, or be you not? If you be not, how dare you usurp the name and office of a bishop? If you be, tell us [f]*who gave you orders? The institution of a priest was never yet but in the power of a bishop. Bishops have always, after the apostles' time, according to the ecclesiastical canons, been consecrated by* [g]*three other bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan and confirmation* [g]*of the bishop of Rome.....*

[f] Even he that gave M. Harding orders in the time of king Edward.

[g] Untruths, two together in one sentence. See the answer.

Athanas. in Apolog. 2. *Macarius, a priest of Athanasius (as it was laid to his charge by his accusers), pulled Ischyras from the altar as he was at* [h]*mass, overthrew the holy table, brake the chalice. The matter brought to judgment, Athanasius and those bishops both denied the fact, and also, though it were granted, yet defended the same as well done, because Ischyras was not a lawful minister of the church*[14]. *And why so? Because he was not lawfully made priest, nor with churchly laying on of hands consecrated.... By which example, besides other points, we are taught what to judge of your pretensed communion.*

[h] A vain untruth. For if it had been any thing, it had been a communion, and not a mass. But Athanasius saith plainly: *Neque ecclesia ibi erat, neque sacra fiebant, neque tempus mysteriorum agebatur.*

Contra Hæreses, Lib. ii. *Again, what say you to Epiphanius, who writeth against one Zacchæus of his time, for that, being but a layman, with wicked presumption took upon him to handle the holy mysteries, and rashly to do the office of a priest?... Hereof St Hierome saith notably:* Hilarius, cum diaconus de ecclesia recesserit, &c.[15]: *"Hilary, forasmuch as he went from the*

In Dialog. contr. Lucifer.

[8 Patents, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 To account, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[10 Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscript. Hæret. 32. p. 243.]

[11 In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista episcopus invenitur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Generos. Epist. liii. 2. Tom. II. col. 121.]

[12 Rewe, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13 Believeth, Conf.]

[14 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. 11, 28, 46, 64. Tom. I. Pars I. pp. 133, 47, 65, 81, &c.]

[15 Hilarius, quum diaconus de ecclesia recesserit, solusque ut putat turba sit mundi, neque eucharistiam conficere potest, episcopos et presbyteros non

Succession.

church being a deacon, and is only (as he thinketh) the multitude of the world, can neither consecrate the sacrament of the altar, being without bishops and priests, nor deliver baptism without the eucharist. And, whereas now the man is dead, with the man also the sect is ended; because being a deacon he could not consecrate any clerk that should remain after him. And church is there none which hath not a priest. But, letting go these few of little regard, that to themselves be both lay and bishops, listen what is to be thought of the church." Thus St Hierome there: in whom, leaving other things, I note that, if there be no church where is no priest, where is your church like to become, after Sacerdotem.

M. Harding's brethren apostates.

*that our apostates, that now be fled from us to you, shall be departed this life? ... Therefore, this being true, it remaineth, M. Jewel, you tell us whether your vocation be ordinary or extraordinary. If it be ordinary, shew us the letters of your orders. At least shew us that you have received power to do the office you presume to exercise, by due order of laying on of hands and consecration. *But order and consecration you have not. For who could give that to you of all these new ministers, howsoever else you call them, which he hath not himself? If it be extraordinary (as all that ye have done hitherto is besides all good order), shew us some sign of*[1] *miracle. If you fail in all these, why ought not you to be put away? ...*

* A manifest untruth. For we have both order and consecration.

Finally, what can you answer to that which may be objected to you out of St Cyprian's epistle to Magnus touching Novatian? It was at those days a question, whether Novatian baptized and offered, specially where as he used[2] *the form, manner, and ceremonies of the church. Cyprian denieth it: "For he cannot," saith he, "be counted a bishop, who, setting at nought the tradition of the gospel and of the apostles,* nemini succedens a seipso ordinatus est, *succeeding no man, is ordained bishop of himself. For by no means may one have or hold a church that is not ordained in the church*[4]*". . . . .*

Lib. i. Epist. 6.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. xliii. in Græco.[3]

This being so, we do you no wrong, as ye complain, in telling you and declaring to the world that, touching the exercise of your ministry, ye do nothing orderly or comely, but all things troublesomely and without order: unless ye mean such order and comeliness as thieves observe among themselves in the distribution of their robberies.

M. Harding's modesty.

*Lastly, if ye allow not every man, yea, and every woman to be a priest, why drive ye not some of your fellows to recant *that so have preached? Why allow ye the books of your new evangelists that so have written? . . . .*

* An odious untruth. For, touching the ministry of the church, we have neither preached so nor written so.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here hath M. Harding taken some pains more than ordinary. He thought, if he could by any colour make the world believe we have neither bishops, nor priests, nor deacons this day in the church of England, he might the more easily claim the whole right unto himself. And indeed, if it were certain that the religion and truth of God passeth evermore orderly by succession, and none otherwise, then were succession, whereof he hath told us so long a tale, a very good substantial argument of the truth. But Christ saith: *In cathedra Mosis*[5] *sedent scribæ et Pharisæi:* By order of succession, "the scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair." Annas and Caiphas, touching succession, were as well bishops as Aaron and Eleazar. Of succession St Paul saith to the faithful at Ephesus: *Scio, quod post discessum meum intrabunt lupi rapaces. Ex vobis ipsis exurgent viri perversa loquentes:* "I know that after my departure hence ravening wolves shall enter, and succeed me. And out of yourselves there shall (by succession)

Matt. xxiii.

Acts xx.

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habens, neque baptisma sine eucharistia tradere. Et quum jam homo mortuus sit, cum homine pariter interiit et secta, quia post se nullum clericum diaconus potuit ordinare. Ecclesia autem non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes. Sed omissis paucis homunculis, qui ipsi sibi et laici sunt et episcopi, ausculta quid de omni ecclesia sentiendum sit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693–1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 302.]

[1 Or, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Useth, Conf.]

[3 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xliii. pp. 197, &c.]

[4 ...nec episcopus computari potest, qui evangelica et apostolica traditione contemta, nemini succedens, a seipso ortus est: habere namque aut tenere ecclesiam nullo modo posset, qui ordinatus in ecclesia non est.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Magn. Epist. lxix. p. 181.]

[5 Mosi, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

spring up men speaking perversely." Therefore St Hierome saith: *Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum*[6]: "They be not always the children of holy men that (by succession) have the places of holy men." Succession.

Addition. "Nay," saith M. Harding, "you bring these words as in the reproach of succession; whereas Christ of the same made an argument for succession. Could you not perceive that Christ made a plain argument, why and why only the scribes and Pharisees should be obeyed? Thus Christ saith: Obey them only for succession[7] sake, because by order of succession they sit in Moses' chair. This place so maketh for succession, that it can never be avoided." Dist. 40. Non est facile. Addition. M. Hard. p. 199. a. [Detect.] M. Hard p. 199. b. [Detect.]

The answer. And think you indeed, M. Harding, that the scribes and Pharisees came from Moses by succession, as the pope would seem to come from Peter? Were they the dukes and princes of the country, as Moses was? Or were they the high priests or bishops, as was Aaron? Or had they continued their estate and doctrine even from the time of Moses until Christ, well near by the space of two thousand years? Certainly St Hierome saith: "The scribes and Pharisees grew out of two houses in Jewry, the one called Sammai, the other Hillel, not long before Christ was born:" *Non multo prius quam Dominus nasceretur*[8]. And Josephus saith the Pharisees were first brought to the government of the state by the policy of Alexandra, after the death of Alexander her husband[9], which was not above three-score years before Christ. Now, M. Harding, if the scribes and Pharisees had neither the office of Moses, nor his doctrine, nor his laws, nor his sword, but only had shifted in themselves so many years after him, how then can you say that "Christ commanded them to be obeyed only for succession's sake, for that by order of succession they had placed themselves in Moses' chair?" Indeed they had set themselves in the room of Moses, and were his successors as touching place; but other succession of continuance, or universally of every part of doctrine, I know none. Universally, I say, and of every part; for otherwise in many parts they taught Moses' law, and taught it truly. Howbeit, as the scribes and Pharisees succeeded Moses, perverting and breaking the laws of Moses; even so do the bishops of Rome this day succeed Christ, perverting and breaking the laws of Christ. In Isai. cap viii. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. xiii. cap. xxi.

But, I pray you, did Christ command the people to obey the Pharisees, whatsoever they said, true or false, only because of their succession? Wherefore then said he to his disciples, "Beware of the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees?" "Blind they are, and lead the blind, and both fall into the pit." "They break the laws of God to uphold their own traditions." "They are thieves and murderers." "They seek only to destroy and kill." "They shut up the kingdom of God before men." Yet will you tell us that Christ commanded the people to follow the Pharisees absolutely, and without exception, breaking and defacing God's holy laws; shutting up the kingdom of God; destroying and killing the souls of God's people; and leading them headlong into the pit? Nay, M. Harding, Christ rather saith: "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me, and will not hear the voice of strangers." By strangers he meant the scribes and Pharisees and other like. For full answer hereto St Augustine saith thus: *Sedendo in cathedra Mosis legem Dei docent, &c.*[10]: "Sitting in the chair of Moses, they teach the law of God. Therefore it is God that teacheth in them. But, if they will teach any thing of their own, then," saith St Augustine, "hear it not, then do it not." Matt. xvi. Matt. xv. Ibid. John x. Matt. xxiii. John x. August. in Johan. Tract. 46.

Thus, M. Harding, you see neither had the Pharisees due succession and continuance from Moses, no more than the pope hath from St Peter; nor did they universally and in all points teach the true meaning of Moses' law; nor did Christ will the people universally and absolutely to obey them. So much this place maketh for your succession.

[6 Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 2. col. 194. But these words are not to be found in Jerome.]

[7 Successions, 1570, 1609.]

[8 ...duas familias...Sammai et Hillel: ex quibus orti sunt scribæ et Pharisæi...non &c.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. III. in Isai. Proph. cap. viii. Tom. III. col. 79.]

[9 Joseph. Op. Oxon. 1720. Antiq. Jud. Lib. XIII. capp. xv. xvi. Vol. I. p. 600.]

[10 Sedendo enim cathedram Moysi legem Dei docent: ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua vero illi si velint docere, nolite audire, nolite facere.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlvi. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 604.]

Succession.

Notwithstanding, the pope himself will say, as it is before alleged: *In papa si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt quæ a loci [præ]decessore præstantur*[1]: "If the pope want good things gotten by his own merits, the good things which he hath (by succession) of Peter his predecessor are sufficient." And the gloss thereupon: *Petrus fecit papas hæredes bonitatis suæ*[2]: "Peter made the popes heirs of his goodness (by succession)." And again: *Papa sanctitatem recipit a cathedra*[3]: "The pope receiveth his holiness (by succession) of his chair."

Dist. 40. Non nos.

Dist. 19. Sic omnes, in Gloss.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ The effect of M. Harding's answer hereto is this: "The pope may be holy, although not by virtue that should be within him, yet by his office that is without him." *The answer.* And yet it is universally confessed among the learned, that holiness is a virtue, and that virtue is an ornament of the mind, and is within us. *Sanctitas est virtus: virtus est habitus animi.* But the pope hath a privilege above others, and may be holy without holiness. So the scribes and Pharisees, and Annas and Caiaphas, were they never so wicked, might be holy by their office. And so by this conclusion it may stand well with reason, that wickedness and holiness may dwell together. But St Hierome saith: *Si quis hominem, qui sanctus non est, sanctum esse crediderit, et Dei eum junxerit societati, Christum violat, cujus ... membra sumus*[4]: "If any man believe that man to be holy that is not holy, and will join him to God's company, he doth villany to Christ, whose members we are." ☞

M. Hard. p. 204. a. [Detect.]

Caus. xi. Quæst. 3. Si quis hominem.

Such affiance sometime had the scribes and Pharisees in their succession. Therefore they said: "We are the children of Abraham:" unto us hath God made his promises: "art thou greater than our father Abraham?" As for Christ, "we know not from whence he came," or what he can shew for his succession. And, when Christ began to reform their abuses and errors, they said unto him: "By what power doest thou these things? And who gave thee this authority?" Where is thy succession? Upon which words Beda saith: *Intelligi volunt, diaboli esse quod facit*[5]: "They would have the people understand (for that he had no solemn succession) that all that he did was of the devil." And Cyrillus frameth their words in this sort: *Tu, ortus ex Juda, commissos nobis fasces usurpas*[6]: "Thou, being of the tribe of Juda (and therefore having no right by succession unto the priesthood), takest upon thee the office that is committed unto us." Likewise Chrysostom imagineth the Pharisees thus to say: *Tu de sacerdotali familia natus non es: senatus tibi hoc non concessit: Cæsar non donavit*[7]: "Thou art not of the house of priests: the council hath not granted it thee: the emperor hath not given it thee." Thus, to maintain themselves in credit, for that they had succession and continuance from Aaron, and sat in Moses' chair, they kept Christ quite out of possession; and said unto him then, even as M. Harding saith now unto us: Who ever taught us these things before thee? What ordinary succession and vocation hast thou? What bishop admitted thee? Who confirmed thee? Who allowed thee?

John viii.

John ix.

Luke xx. Mark xi. Bed. in Luc. Lib. v. cap. lxxx.

Cyril. in Caten. in Luc. xx.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 39. in Opere Imperfecto[8].

Addition.

Addition. ☞ But M. Harding saith: "Christ had a most perfect[9] succession from Adam till Joseph the husband of the virgin Mary." *The answer.* I grant, as touching his birth, Christ had his succession from Adam downward. So hath every man living, whatsoever he be. Even you yourself, M. Harding, are lineally descended from Adam by undoubted succession, although unknown; unless we shall think ye were born without father or mother, and are none of Adam's children. But we speak not now of succession of birth, but of succession of office: and you know the office of priesthood, whereof the Pharisees spake, was never in the house of David, that is reckoned in Luke and Matthew, but

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[1 Symmach. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 1. col. 193; where *in quo si desunt.*]

[2 ...ad hoc transmisit, ut essent hæredes bonitatis suæ.—Gloss. ibid.]

[3 Ibid. Dist. xix. Gloss. in can. 2. col. 81.]

[4 Hieron. in eod. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XI. Quæst. iii. can. 58. col. 942; where *sanctum non esse;* but this would seem to be a misprint. Conf. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Philem. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 448.]

[5 Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Luc. Evang. cap. xx. 81. Tom. V. col. 408; where *subintelligi,* and *faciat.*]

[6 Cyril. in Caten. Aur. sec. Luc. cap. xx. in Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Tom. XV. fol. 197.]

[7 De sacerdotali familia genitus non es: &c.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxix. ex cap. xxi. Tom. VI. p. clxiv.]

[8 *In Opere Imperfecto* does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

[9 Perfite, 1570.]

only in the house of Levi. Otherwise tell me, in that whole race of David's descent, who was ever accounted a priest, or offered the sacrifice, or had ordinary power to teach the gospel, before Christ? You do over vainly abuse your reader, thus confounding and blending[10] your things together. Touching the ordinary office of priesthood and instructing the people, whereof we speak, Christ saith plainly: "As many as came before me, they were thieves and murderers." As if he would say unto them: I have no ordinary descent from the bishops and priests of the house of Levi. I am able to shew you no such succession. My living Father hath sent me to you. Consider better what you write, M. Harding, ye shall the less deceive the simple. Succession.

Further you say: "St Peter's chair to the new law is that which Moses' chair was to the old law." Who told you this tale, M. Harding? In what scripture may we find it? Your own word carrieth no such credit. Prove it better, that we may believe you. Hereto ye add further: "Whatsoever king or queen or priest setteth up a succession against Peter's chair (you mean, that is not obedient to the pope), before Christ's second coming, is a schismatic, and without repentance shall be damned in hell-fire with idolaters for ever." And is this your definitive sentence, M. Harding? Or may not a poor man appeal from it? Indeed so said pope Bonifacius in his vanity: "I have decreed and determined," saith he, "that every creature be subject to the bishop of Rome, upon the necessity of his salvation[11]." Thus all other Christians whatsoever, dwelling in Græcia, Armenia, Africa, Asia, Æthiopia, India, &c. must needs be damned: for certainly they never knew any such subjection to the pope. But, God be thanked! St Peter himself, of whose chair we speak, saith thus: "Before God there is no difference nor choice of persons; but in every nation whosoever feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto him." But of any such necessity of obedience to the see of Rome he telleth us nothing. ☞ ☞

M. Hard. p. 210. a. [Detect.]

De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam.

Therefore, good christian reader, let not these M. Harding's great words much abash thee. The scribes and Pharisees in the like cases used the like language long ago.

Touching the church of Rome, I will say no more for this present, but only that was spoken openly by Cornelius, the bishop of Bitonto, in the late council of Trident: *Utinam non a religione ad superstitionem, a fide ad infidelitatem, a Christo ad antichristum, ... velut prorsus unanimes declinassent!*[12] "Would God they were not gone as it were utterly by consent[13] together from religion to superstition, from faith to infidelity, from Christ to antichrist!" These few words, considering either the speaker or the place where they were spoken, may seem sufficient. They are gone from faith to infidelity, from Christ to antichrist. And yet, all other things failing, they must hold only by succession; and, only because they sit in Moses' chair, they must claim the possession of the whole. This is the right and virtue of their succession.

Cornel. Episc. Bitont. in Concil. Trid.

The words of Tertullian, M. Harding, which you have here alleged, were spoken of certain your ancient fathers, that had raised up a new religion of themselves, as you have also done, without either word of God or example of the apostles and holy fathers. And therefore he saith, not unto us, but unto you and such as you be: *Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum*[14]: "Let them shew forth the originals of their churches." Even so we say unto you: Shew us the originals of your doctrine: shew us any one of the apostles of Christ, or of the learned catholic doctors of the church, that ever said your private mass: shew one at the least, either Greek or Latin. St Augustine saith: "Of so many bishops of Rome there could not one be found that had been a Donatist[15]." Even so in like sort say we to you: Of all the same bishops of Rome there cannot one be found that ever agreed with M. Harding in saying mass. Or, if there were any

August. Epist. 165.

[10 Blinding, 1570.]

[11 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See Vol. I. page 95, note 11.]

[12 Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 993. See Vol. II. page 900, note 5.]

[13 Not all gone by consent, 1567.]

[14 See before, page 321, note 10.]

[15 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Generos. Epist. liii. 2. Tom. II. col. 121. See before, page 321, note 11.]

Succession. Confirmation.

such, shew us his name, with other circumstances, when, and where, and who were witnesses of the doing. Shew us your originals, M. Harding: confess the truth: deceive us no longer: it is a new device: ye have it only of yourselves, and not by succession from the apostles.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 217. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ Hereto M. Harding answereth: "You say not even right so as Tertullian said. For he called not for the originals of doctrine, but of churches. For by the churches the doctrine is known to be good or evil, to be allowable or reprovable." *The answer.* I grant, M. Harding, great and worthy is the authority of the church of God: yet is not the truth of God's gospel always known by the name of the church; but contrariwise the true church is always known by the gospel. St Augustine saith unto Cresconius: *Ecclesiam .... sine ulla ambiguitate sancta scriptura demonstrat*[1]: "The holy scripture sheweth forth the church without doubtfulness." And the author of the book called *Opus Imperfectum*, speaking purposely hereof, saith thus: *Ideo mandat ut Christiani ... volentes &c.*[2]: "Therefore Christ commandeth that christian men, willing to be assured of the true faith, resort to nothing else but only to the scriptures. For, if they have regard to any thing else, they shall be offended and perish, not knowing which is the true church."

August. contr. Cresc. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii. Chrysost. in Op. Imper. Hom. 49.

M. Hard. p. 218. a. [Detect.]

Further you say: "It is clear that St Chrysostom said mass, and yet had no man to receive with him." *The answer.* This is all untrue, M. Harding. For your credit's sake prove it better. It is evident by Chrysostom, that when he ministered the holy communion, great multitudes, as well of the lay-people as also of the clergy, received with him. For proof whereof it may please thee, good reader, to consider some part of my Reply to M. Harding[3].

Art. i. Div. 34.

Again you say: "We say private mass, because the popes and other bishops who sit in Peter's and in other the apostles' chairs do tell us that it is lawful to say private mass." *The answer.* If this rule be infallible, then happy are you. Following the pope whithersoever he lead you, you can never go amiss. This is that mystery that ye have disclosed to the world in your late Confutation. Thus you say: "It shall be sufficient for us to do as Peter's successors bid us to do:" "Christ now requireth not of us to obey Peter or Paul, but him that sitteth in their chair, that is, the pope." ☜

M. Hard. Conf. p. 192. a. b.

But wherefore telleth us M. Harding this long tale of succession? Have these men their own succession in so safe record? Who was then the bishop of Rome next by succession unto Peter? Who was the second? Who the third? Who the fourth? Irenæus reckoneth them together in this order, Petrus, Linus, Anacletus, Clemens[4]; Epiphanius thus, Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens[5]; Optatus thus, Petrus, Linus, Clemens, Anacletus[6]. Clemens saith that he himself was next unto Peter[7]; and then must the reckoning go thus, Petrus, Clemens, Linus, Anacletus. Hereby it is clear, that of the four first bishops of Rome M. Harding cannot certainly tell us who in order succeeded other. And, thus talking so much of succession, they are not well able to blase their own succession.

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. iii. et Lib. iv. cap. iv. Euseb. Lib. v. cap. vi. Epiph. Lib. i. De Carpocr. Optat. contr. Donat. Lib. ii.

I might farther say that Peter's see apostolic was over the Jews, and not at Rome over the heathens. For so St Paul saith: *Mihi concreditum est evangelium præputii, sicut Petro circumcisionis: qui potens erat Petro in apostolatu circumcisionis potens erat in me inter gentes:* "The gospel of the uncircumcision among the heathens[8] was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision among the Jews[8] unto Peter: God, that was mighty in Peter in the apostleship of the circumcision, was mighty in me among the heathens." Therefore, if the pope

Gal. ii.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Cresc. Donatist. Lib. I. cap. xxxiii. 39. Tom. IX. cols. 407, 8.]

[2 Ideo &c. volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant nisi ad scripturas. Alioqui si ad alia respexerint, scandalizabuntur, et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera ecclesia.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[3 See Vol. I. pages 196, &c.]

[4 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. 3. p. 176.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. vi. p. 138. The bishops of Rome are here enumerated, Linus, Anacletus, Clemens.]

[5 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Hær. xxvii. 6. Tom. I. p. 107.]

[6 Optat. De Schism. Donat. Lut. Par. 1700. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 28.]

[7 Clement. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. 6. Tom. I. p. 82.]

[8 1567 omits the three preceding words.]

this day will claim only by Peter's title, and require no more than Peter had, then must he seek his primacy amongst the Jews, where Peter had his jurisdiction limited, and not at Rome among the heathen Christians, among whom, as St Paul saith, he had not much to do. Succession. Confirmation.

Addition. ☞ Here saith M. Harding: "The lewdness of this licentious minister passeth all reason. His malicious and fond conceit: you are so impudent: shame it is to you, M. Jewel: the shame of ignorance I mean; or, which is more likely, the shame of impudency." *The answer.* You are liberal, M. Harding. It is your good will I shall[9] want no shame. Of lewd and licentious ministers I have no skill. Such licentious speech might well be spared. But why are you so impatiently moved without cause? You say I "exclude not only the pope, but also St Peter, from the government of his own chair in Rome." You may not bear false witness, M. Harding, be you never so angry. "The mouth that seeketh such advantages killeth the soul." You know full well we exclude not the pope from the government of his own chair in Rome: otherwise why should we so oftentimes call him the bishop of Rome? God give him grace, that he may so govern his chair as the servant of Christ and the steward of God's mysteries, lest his chair be laid to his confusion! St Hierome saith: "It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to hold the chair of them now reigning with Christ[10]." And Chrysostom saith, as he is alleged by Gratian: *Non cathedra facit sacerdotem, sed sacerdos cathedram*[11]: "It is not the chair that maketh the priest, but it is the priest that maketh the chair."

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. p. 221. a. 222. a. [Detect.] 1 Cor. iv. Hieron. ad Heliod. 40. Dist. Multi. In Op. Imp. Hom. 43.

But I have said: "St Peter's see apostolic was over the Jews." This is it that hath offended you. Yet I said not his see was only over the Jews, utterly excluding all manner heathens. Behold my words better. Thus I say, speaking of the agreement taken between Peter and Paul: "At Rome among the heathen Christians St Peter had not much to do." "This," you say, "is lewdness, and impudency, and ignorance, and a malicious and fond conceit;" and I know not what. I beseech you, M. Harding, and doth not St Paul say the same? Did not Peter and Paul divide the charge between themselves, that Peter, James, and John should have the Jews for their portion, and Paul and Barnabas for their portion should have the heathens? Be not these St Paul's own express and plain words, "When James, Peter, and John, that are taken as the pillars or chief among them, had known the grace that was given to me, they joined with me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should preach among the heathens, and they in the circumcision among the Jews?" Weigh well these words, M. Harding. What signify they? What mean they? Was not this the conclusion of their agreement, that James, Peter, and John should use their apostolic authority over the Jews, and Paul and Barnabas their like authority over the heathens? If you can devise us any other exposition hereof, I pray you, shew it. Origen, writing upon the gospel of St Matthew, expoundeth it thus: "Peter and Paul gave right hands of fellowship the one to the other, that Peter should go unto the circumcision, to preach unto the Jews living under the law, as unto an ass under the yoke; but Paul should go unto the heathens, as unto a colt that had never been broken[12]."

Gal. ii. Orig. in Matt. Tract. 14.

St Augustine expoundeth it thus: "They agreed that Paul and Barnabas should go to the heathens; and themselves, James, Peter, and John, unto the circumcision, which seemed contrary to the heathens[13]." St Hierome thus: *Unus atque idem, &c.*[14]: "One God hath committed unto me the preaching of the

August. in Epist. ad Gal. Lib. i. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. ii.

[9 Should, 1570, 1609.]

[10 Non est facile stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri, jam cum Christo regnantium.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Heliod. Epist. v. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 11.]

[11 Chrysost. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 197. Conf. Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiii.; where *cathedra non facit.*]

[12 Πέτρος ... καὶ Παῦλος, δεξιὰς διδόντες ἀλλήλοις κοινωνίας, ἵνα Πέτρος μὲν εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν πρὸς τὸ ὑποζύγιον γένηται τὸν ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ νόμου γεγενημένον, Παῦλος δὲ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, τὸν νέον καὶ ἀδάμαστον πῶλον.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XVI. Tom. III. pp. 743, 4.]

[13 ...consentientes ut Paulus et Barnabas irent ad gentes, ipsi autem in circumcisionem, quæ præputio, id est, gentibus contraria videtur.—August. Op. Expos. Epist. in Galat. cap. ii. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 947.]

[14 ...unus atque idem mihi evangelium præputii, et Petro circumcisionis credidit. Me misit ad gentes, illum posuit in Judæa...Providentia itaque Dei alius

Succession. Confirmation.

gospel among the heathens, and to Peter among the Jews. He sent me unto the gentiles; and placed Peter in Jewry. By God's providence one apostle is given to the Jews, and another unto the heathens." Chrysostom thus: "One thing pleased them both, that Peter and his side should preach to the Jews, and Paul and Barnabas to the heathens[1]." Afterward he imagineth St Paul thus to say: *In prædicandi munere partiti sumus inter nos orbem terrarum*[2]: "In the office of preaching we have divided the world between ourselves." And a little before he saith thus: *Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius egebat voce, sed honore par erat illi. Nihil enim hic dicam amplius*[3]: "Paul had no lack of Peter, nor stood in need of his voice; but in honour was his peer. I will say no more." St Ambrose saith thus: "Paul saith that the grace he had received of God was allowed of them, that he might be thought worthy to have the primacy in preaching among the heathens, as Peter had in preaching among the Jews[4]." Anselmus, a latter[5] writer, saith thus: "These two principal apostles were chosen to the salvation of two peoples; Peter to the salvation of the Jews, and Paul to the salvation of the heathens[6]."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Ambros. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Anselm. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. ii.

What shall we need more authorities in a matter so evident? This is the exposition of all the learned fathers, both Greeks and Latins. Yet will you still tell us, "The lewdness of this licentious minister passeth all reason?" Will you still cry out, "Shame," "impudency," and "ignorance," &c.?

M. Hard. 222. [Detect.]

But you say I "have left out this word *enim*, which in English doth signify "for". This word "for," you say, "giveth great light to St Paul's meaning." A foul fault, no doubt[7], M. Harding, and well worthy to be proclaimed by printed books unto the world. Perhaps ye would rather I had begun the first sentence with *enim*, as doth your Hippolytus[8]. But, if there be any such special virtue in *enim*, let him come in again hardly, M. Harding, and take his place. Theophylactus, upon this *enim*, hath written thus: *Quin etiam parem hoc loco se Petro demonstrat*[9]: "Yea further, Paul in this place sheweth himself to be equal to Peter."

Theoph. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Chrysost. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Likewise upon the same *enim* saith Chrysostom: "Now Paul sheweth himself to be equal in honour unto the rest; not only unto others, but also unto (Peter) the chief of all[10]." Likewise it is written in the short scholies that bear the name of St Hierome: [*Ego*] *in nullo sum illi*[11] *inferior*[12]: "I," saith St Paul, "am in nothing inferior unto Peter." Verily, if he thought not himself inferior to Peter, then he thought not Peter to be his head.

Hieron. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Now have you your *enim*, M. Harding, and, as we may learn by these ancient fathers, the very light of St Paul's meaning; that is, that Paul should deal among the heathens, and Peter among the Jews. And therefore Erasmus expoundeth it thus: *Fœdus ac societatem inierunt, ut idem evangelium concordibus animis in sua quisque portione prædicaremus; illi inter Judæos, nos inter gentes*[13]: "They joined in league and fellowship with us, that with consenting minds we should preach one gospel, each man within his own portion; they among the Jews, and we among the heathens." Thus were they charged by their own agreement, each of them within his own particular portion. By their own agreement, I say: for otherwise Christ saith, not only to Peter, but also equally unto them all, "Go you

Erasm. Paraphr.

Mark xvi.

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apostolus circumcisis datus est...alius in præputio constitutis.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 240, 1.]

[1 Ταῦτα γὰρ ἑκατέροις ἐδόκει, καὶ ἐκείνους Ἰουδαίοις κηρύττειν οὕτω, καὶ τοῦτον τοῖς ἔθνεσι. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. ii. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 685.]

[2 Id. ibid.]

[3 Id. in cap. i. p. 677.]

[4 ...ab his itaque probatum dicit donum, quod accepit a Deo; ut dignus esset habere primatum in prædicatione gentium, sicut et habebat Petrus in prædicatione circumcisionis.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. vv. 9, 10. Tom. II. Append. col. 216.]

[5 Later, 1570.]

[6 Hic ostenduntur isti duo principales apostoli ad salutem duorum populorum fuisse electi, Petrus ad Judæorum, Paulus ad gentium.—Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 236.]

[7 Doubts, 1570.]

[8 See Vol. I. page 116.]

[9 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. Comm. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 335.]

[10 Καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπὸν, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει.—Chrysost. Op. In cap. ii. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 684.]

[11 Illo, 1570.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. Tom. V. col. 1038; where *illo*.]

[13 Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Tom. VII.

into the whole world, and preach the gospel." But by this commission Thomas and Thaddee might have preached in Rome as well as Peter. By their own agreement they knew their portions. It is no even dealing, M. Harding, to divide portions between two or more, and afterward to give over the whole to one alone.

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Here will you say: "Had Peter then nothing to do among the heathens? Or had Paul nothing to do among the Jews?" Yes, verily, M. Harding. For we know that Peter preached unto the heathen centurion; and Paul oftentimes entered into the synagogues of the Jews, as by the Acts of the Apostles it may appear: and of himself he saith thus, *Factus sum Judæis quasi Judæus:* "Unto the Jews I was as a Jew." And again: "I wish myself[14] to be accursed, and divided from Christ, for (the Jews' sake, which are) my brethren, and kinsmen according to the flesh."

Acts ix. xxii. & xxvi. 1 Cor. ix. Cupio anathema esse.

Wheresoever they saw occasion offered, they were always ready to do good to all men, without choice of persons, whether they were Jews or heathens.

Howbeit, this question is very well moved and[15] answered by St Hierome. Thus he saith: *Occulta hic oritur quæstio. Quid igitur? Petrus si invenisset ex gentibus, non eos adducebat ad fidem? Aut Paulus &c.*[16]: "Here ariseth a secret question: If Peter had found any of the heathens, did he not train them to the faith? Or, if St Paul had happened upon any of the Jews, did he not exhort them to be baptized?" This question, saith he, is thus assoiled: "We must say that either of them had a principal or a special commission, the one over the Jews, the other over the heathens; that the Jews, that defended the law, might have one whom to follow; and the heathens, that chose rather the free grace of God, and left the law, might likewise have a teacher to go before them. But generally this purpose was common to them both, that out of all nations, as well Jews as heathens, they might gather a church unto Christ." That is to say, Peter's apostleship was "ordinary" among the Jews, and "extraordinary" among the heathens[17]: of the other side, Paul's apostleship was "ordinary" among the heathens, and "extraordinary" among the Jews.

Hieron. ad Gal. cap. ii.

Principalis singulis in Judæos et gentes fuisse mandatum.

Thus much have I added for your sake, M. Harding: for otherwise it had been needless. Hereby it is evident, that "by God's secret providence, and by the apostles' agreement between themselves, Peter was placed in Jewry, and Paul among the heathens:" for so saith St Hierome; that "Paul had the primacy among the heathens, as Peter had among the Jews;" for so saith St Ambrose; that "Paul was equal unto Peter;" for so saith Chrysostom; that "Paul was in no point inferior unto Peter;" for so saith he that beareth the name of St Hierome; briefly, that "either of them was allotted to his several portion, and neither had the charge universal of the whole." This is neither lewdness, nor licentious ministry, nor shame, nor villany. Leave such wild talk, M. Harding, and learn your tongue to speak better.

Where you say, that according to the ecclesiastical canons, ever from the apostles' time, bishops have evermore been consecrate by three other bishops, with the confirmation of the bishop of Rome, as if without him no man might be allowed to be a bishop, ye should not so unadvisedly report so manifest untruth. For, I beseech you, where be these ecclesiastical canons? Who devised them? Who made them? Who gave the pope that singular privilege, that no bishops[18] should be admitted in all the world, but only by him? I remember your canonists have said: *Papa potest solo verbo facere episcopum*[19]: "The pope may make a bishop only by his word," without any farther consecration. And abbat Panormitane moveth a doubt, whether the pope by the fulness of his

Felin. de Constit. Ca. Can. Statut. Col. 6. Ver. fallit. Panorm. de Constit. Translat.

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col. 948; where *inierint,* and *nos inter gentes illi inter Judæos.*]

[14 Meself, 1570.] [15 An, 1570.]

[16 Quid &c. Paulus si ex circumcisione aliquos reperisset, non eos ad Christi baptismum provocabat? Quæ ita solvitur, ut dicamus principale singulis in Judæos et gentes fuisse mandatum; ut qui defendebant legem, haberent quem sequerentur; qui legi gratiam præferebant, non deesset eis doctor et prævius. In commune vero hoc eos habuisse propositi: ut Christo ex cunctis gentibus ecclesiam congregarent.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 241.]

[17 Among heathens, 1570.]

[18 Bishop, 1567.]

[19 ...papa solo verbo potest facere episcopum.—Felin. Sand. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 1. Pars I. fol. 10. 2.]

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power may deprive all the bishops in the world at one time[1]. But thus they say that care not greatly what they say.

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Harding answereth hereto: "Among the canons of the apostles this is the first: *Episcopus a duobus aut tribus episcopis ordinetur*[2]. Yet can you ask, where be these ecclesiastical canons? Who devised them? Who made them?" *The answer.* You forget yourself much, M. Harding. This was not the question. You are demanded one thing, and answer another. We deny not the consecration of three bishops. We deny not the confirmation of the metropolitan. We ourselves are so consecrated, and so confirmed. The matter that lieth between us is this: "Whether through the whole church of Christ no man may be allowed for a bishop without the confirmation of the pope." Thereto I say, Where be your ecclesiastical canons? Who devised them? Who made them? If ye have any, shew them forth hardly: they will further your cause. If ye have none at all, why should you thus vaunt yourself of empty store? Why should you talk so vainly of your ecclesiastical canons, so old, so ancient, so long continued in the catholic church, from the apostles' time until this day?

M. Hard. Confut. 58. a.

M. Hard. Detect. 223. b.

"Christ," you say, "loved Peter, and inspired him, and gave the bishop of Rome, Peter's successor, this privilege, that no bishop ought to be a bishop without his consent." Verily this had been a jolly large commission. And was it granted unto the pope, as you say, and not unto Peter? For so you say. Behold your words: "Christ gave the bishop of Rome, Peter's successor, this privilege, that no bishop ought to be a bishop without his consent." Of Peter's privilege or consent you tell us nothing: you speak only of the consent and privilege of the pope, the successor of Peter. But where may we find this commission? In what gospel? In what scripture? In what general council? In what ancient father? Are such monuments laid up only in the rolls and pipes[3] of your memory? Or is it sufficient for you to tell us, "Christ inspired and loved Peter; Christ gave privileges to the pope," without any manner word of proof? I beseech you, M. Harding, how many bishops can you reckon that were confirmed by St Peter? Where dwelt they? Where preached they? What were their names? Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Tam Petri primatus inter apostolos et Judæos, quam Pauli primatus inter gentes, immediate a Christo conferebatur, &c. Nec in hoc alter alteri suberat; sed ambo sub Christo immediate*[4]: "As well Peter's primacy among the apostles and Jews, as also Paul's primacy among the heathens, was given by Christ immediately, that is to say, without the consecration and confirmation of any man, &c. And in this respect neither of them was under other, but either was immediately under Christ." That is to say, St Paul was no more confirmed by St Peter than St Peter was confirmed by St Paul. And may we think St Peter knew not his own authority? Or that he had such privileges and charters given him by Christ, and would not use them? Here, it seemeth, somewhat would ye tell us of pope Anacletus, if ye wist what it were. But what saith he? That Peter confirmed all the rest of the apostles? Or, that the pope ought to confirm all other bishops through the world? It pitieth me, M. Harding, in your behalf, to see these follies. ☞

Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.

Verily, Nilus, a Greek writer, saith thus: *Constantinopolitanus Cæsariensem episcopum aliosque sibi subjectos ordinat; Romanus vero nec Constantinopolitanum nec alium quenquam metropolitanum*[5]: "The bishop of Constantinople doth order the bishop of Cæsaria and other bishops under him; but the bishop of Rome doth order neither the bishop of Constantinople nor any other metropolitan."

Nil. de Primat. Roman. Pontif.

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Harding answereth hereto: "It skilleth not much what Nilus doth say. He speaketh of a matter of fact, and not of power. He saith not that the bishop of Rome is not able, or hath no power to order some metro-

M. Hard. fol. 225. a. [Detect.]

[1 Panorm. sup. Prima Prim. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. ii. De Constit. cap. 3. fol. 19.]

[2 Canon. Apost. 1. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[3 An allusion to the rolls and pipe-rolls of chancery and the exchequer.]

[4 De utriusque tam Petri inter apostolos &c. Pauli inter gentes primatu, immediate a Christo utrique collato: &c. Nec &c.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 836.]

[5 Nil. Thessal. Lib. de Primat. Rom. Pont. Franc. 1555. fol. B. 7.]

politan; but only that he doth not so. Or, if he were so foolish to think so, yet you, M. Jewel, should not in that behalf bear the bauble with him. You, that can call so many glosses to your remembrance, could you not remember that Agapetus, that good bishop of Rome, consecrated and ordered with his own hands Mennas, making him bishop of Constantinople?" Confirmation. Consecration.

The answer. And must Nilus and poor M. Jewel needs bear the bauble? I pray you, M. Harding, what will you do the while? Will you stand by and do nothing? Verily, Nilus was a bishop, and, as it may appear by his writings, a learned man, and would think scorn to bear the bauble in your presence. But you say: "Could you not remember that pope Agapetus with his own hands ordered Mennas, and made him the bishop of Constantinople?" Yes, M. Harding, I remember it very well. And further I can remember that Liberatus your author saith: *Tunc papa principis favore Mennam... ordinavit antistitem*[6]: "The pope," saith he, "ordered Mennas the bishop of Constantinople (not by any right or authority of his own, but) by the licence and favour of the emperor." Again I can remember, that pope Agapetus was then present in Constantinople, to deal with the emperor about certain great matters touching the state[7]; and, being there present in his own person, and a new bishop being by occasion to be installed, it was most meet that he should have the honour of consecration. And, as for the taking of that long and painful journey, thus much also I can remember, that, whensoever the emperor by his messenger had willed the pope to come unto him, although it were from Rome to Constantinople, straightway he went along, all occasions set apart, yea[8], although he certainly knew that he should never return home again, but be sent into banishment. Further I can remember, that pope Agapetus himself said thus at the time of the said consecration, in the behoof and commendation of the said Mennas: *Et hoc dignitati ejus accedere credimus, quod a temporibus Petri apostoli nullum alium unquam orientalis ecclesia suscepit episcopum nostræ sedis manibus consecratum*[10]: "This also may be an augmentation to his dignity, that from the time of Peter the apostle until this day" (which was by the space of five hundred years) "the east church never received any one bishop consecrate by the hands of any bishop of Rome, but only Mennas." Mennas was the first, as it appeareth by the pope's own witness; and, for ought that I know to the contrary, he was also the last: and, had not pope Agapetus upon occasion been there present in his own person, then had he not consecrated Mennas neither. Consider better what ye bring us, M. Harding. Ye shall hardly thrive by such authorities. Last of all I can remember, that the bishop of Rome himself is always consecrate by the bishop of Hostia. Yet is not the bishop of Hostia therefore above the bishop of Rome. It is no great mastery to remember these things, M. Harding. But I marvel much wherein this remembrance should relieve you. ☞

M. Hard. 225. b. [Detect.] Liberat. cap. xxi. Liberat. cap. xxi. Liberat. eodem loco. Eutrop. in Appen. in Sylv.[9] Concil. Const. v. Act. 2.

But hereof I have spoken more at large in my former Reply to M. Harding[11]. Certainly St Cyprian willeth that Sabinus, being lawfully elected and consecrated[12] bishop in Spain, should continue bishop still, yea, although Stephanus[13], being then bishop of Rome, would not confirm him[14]. Art. iv. Div. 25. Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 4.

Addition. ☞ "By this a man may know what a dodger you are, and whence your great books proceed. Verily from certain heretical note-books, made by some grammarians or schoolmasters of Germany." *The answer.* I marvel, M. Harding, you said not as well from tailors and shoemakers; for we poor men must take our learning at delivery, as it may like you to allow it. The matter itself, by your own confession, is true: for St Cyprian willed that Sabinus, being once elected and consecrated bishop in Spain, should continue so still; yea, although the bishop of Rome had disallowed him. If ye doubt hereof, leave dodging in your

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 226. [Detect.] Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 4.

[6 Liberat. Breviar. cap. xxi. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 119.]

[7 Id. ibid. p. 118.]

[8 Ye, 1570.]

[9 Eutrop. Presb. Long. Tractat. de Jur. ac Priv. Imp. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612—14. Tom. I. pp. 8, 9.]

[10 Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. V. col. 46.]

[11 See Vol. I. page 408.]

[12 Consecrate, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Cornelius, 1567.]

[14 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. et Pleb. in Hisp. consist. Epist. lxvii. pp. 170, &c.]

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note-books, and read St Cyprian, and ye shall find it. Twice together in one place ye tell us that pope Stephanus restored Basilides by his decree; as if his only authority had been sufficient to set up bishops and to pull them down at his pleasure. But in so saying you condemn pope Stephanus of manifest folly. For what wisdom had it been to be so ready with his sentence, and to publish his decrees, before he had heard both parties together? A judge must walk with feet of lead. A certain grave wise man saith thus:

Seneca.

Qui statuit aliquid, parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuit:

"Whosoever decreed any thing before he heard both parties, although his decree were just, yet was he no just man in his doing."

Pope Stephanus, M. Harding, entreated only for Basilides that he might be restored. As for decree or sentence in judgment, he gave none. But, if St Cyprian had made such account of the pope's pleasure, and had thought it unlawful for Sabinus to occupy the room of a bishop without his special confirmation; he would have written unto Stephanus to call the parties before him, and to consider better of the matter: he would also have written to the clergy and people of Spain to stay their attempts until the pope had taken further order. But, contrariwise, notwithstanding he knew what the pope had written, yet he saith unto them: *Plebs ipsa habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi*[1]: "The people have power of themselves either to choose worthy bishops, or else to refuse them that be unworthy." As if he would say: Thus may the people do of themselves, whether the pope will or no.

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 4.

And, to come near unto the matter, thus he saith: *Fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur, plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, &c. Quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, &c. Neque rescindere ordinationem jure perfectam potest, quod Basilides, post crimina sua detecta .... Romam pergens, Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum .... fefellerit, &c.*[2]: "This order is kept well near throughout all countries, that at the consecration of a bishop the bishops of the same province next adjoining resort together to the people of that diocese over which the bishop must be consecrate, that the bishop may be chosen in the presence of the people, that best knoweth each man's life. This order I see you have kept in the consecration of my brother Sabinus. Neither may that thing hinder his consecration, being lawfully done, that Basilides, after his faults were espied, went to Rome, and beguiled my brother pope Stephanus, dwelling so far off." Mark well these words, M. Harding: neither Basilides running to Rome, nor the pope's letters written in his favour, were able to avoid the consecration of the other bishop, notwithstanding it was never confirmed by the pope.

But you will say: "The bishop of Rome, dwelling so far from Spain, yet had authority over the bishops of Spain." I deny it not. So had St Cyprian the like authority, notwithstanding he dwelt from Spain a great way further than the bishop of Rome. For, as Basilides fled to Rome for succour to pope Stephanus, so Sabinus his adversary fled to Carthage for succour to St Cyprian. As the pope decreed that Sabinus should not be bishop, so St Cyprian decreed that Sabinus should be bishop. There was like authority in them both. This only was the difference: the pope's decree was avoided by a writ of error; but St Cyprian's decree took place and continued still. And, lest you should think I imagine vainly of St Cyprian, extending his power from Carthage into Spain, Gregory Nazianzene of his authority writeth thus: *Pastor erat, et pastorum potentissimus et spectatissimus. Non enim Carthaginensium tantum ecclesiæ præfuit, &c.*[3]: "Cyprian was a bishop; the mightiest and noblest of all bishops. For

Nazian. De Cypr.

[1 ...quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem &c. —Id. ibid. p. 171.]

[2 Id. ibid. pp. 172, 3; where *nec rescindere*, and *fefellit.*]

[3 Εἶτα ποιμὴν, καὶ ποιμένων ὁ κράτιστός τε καὶ δοκιμώτατος· οὐ γὰρ τῆς Καρχηδονίων προκαθέζεται μόνον ἐκκλησίας, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον περιβοήτου μέχρι νῦν Ἀφρικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἑσπερίου, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑῴας αὐτῆς, νοτίου τε καὶ βορείου λήξεως.—Gregor. Naz.

he had rule not only over the church of Carthage, nor only over Africa, that until this day is famous of him and by his means, but also over all the west, and in a manner over all the east, likewise over both north and south." Over all these coasts and countries, saith Nazianzene, St Cyprian bare rule; and yet was he only the bishop of Carthage, and not pope of Rome. O M. Harding, if you could shew us but one such sentence of the pope, who should be able to stay your triumph? Deal substantially henceforth: it will better become you. Thus vainly trifling with your grammarians and note-books (to use your own words) ye shew yourself to be but a dodger. ☞

Confirmation. Consecration. Προκαθέζεται.

Indeed, touching every metropolitan's several jurisdiction Gratianus noteth thus: *Illud generaliter clarum est, quod, si quis præter sententiam metropolitani fuerit factus episcopus, hunc magna synodus definivit episcopum esse non oportere*[4]: "This is generally clear, that, if any man be made bishop without the consent of his metropolitan, the great council (of Nice) hath decreed that such a one may not be bishop."

Dist. 64. cap. fin.

So likewise saith Socrates of the bishop of Constantinople: *Præter sententiam episcopi Constantinopolitani electio episcopi ne fiat*[5]: "Without the consent of the bishop of Constantinople let no man be chosen bishop." Here is a right specially reserved to the bishop of Constantinople, and to every metropolitan within his own province; but of the bishop of Rome's universal right of confirmation we hear nothing.

Socrat. Lib. vii. cap. xxviii. Χειροτονίαν ἐπισκόπου μὴ γίνεσθαι.

Addition. ☞ Hereto M. Harding saith: "For lack of the pope's confirmation any bishop newly elected could not rightly have enjoyed his bishoprick, as it appeareth by many examples, which would require a discourse over long for this place." *The answer.* O M. Harding, will you deal so straitly with your friends? Of so many and so many examples may we not see so much as one? I speak not now of bishops within the territory of the Roman province; for they were confirmed by the bishop of Rome. I speak of the bishops of all other churches and jurisdictions throughout the world. You say: "It would require a discourse over long for this place." Therefore it was good skill, thus cursorily[6] to pass it over. Silence serveth best where nothing can be said. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 227. a. [Detect.]

Neither doth M. Harding's counterfeit Anacletus claim all the bishops through the world as belonging to his admission, but only a part. These be his words: *Omnes episcopi, qui hujus apostolicæ sedis ordinationi subjacent*[7]: "All the bishops that are under the ordering or confirmation of this apostolic see." So likewise writeth Damasus to the bishops of Illyricum: *Par est omnes, qui sunt in orbe Romano, magistros consentire*[8]: "It is meet that all the teachers within the Roman jurisdiction should agree together."

Anaclet. Epist. 3. Dist. 93. Juxta sanctorum. Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding's answer hereto is this: "The Roman world or jurisdiction was both east and west, as far as the Romans had conquered." *The answer.* And doth the jurisdiction of Rome reach from the east to the west; from the north to the south; and so over and over the whole world? How happeneth it then that no learned father nor ancient writer, Greek or Latin, whatsoever, vouchsafed ever to tell us of it? Did no man ever hear it or know it but M. Harding? Or is it enough for M. Harding to speak it, and to shew us nothing? At least he should have brought forth Constantine's Donation, or some other such antiquity of like value. But, if the Roman jurisdiction were so large as it is here imagined, wherefore then doth St Hierome say, *Major est auctoritas orbis quam urbis*[9]? "The authority of the world is more than the authority of the city of Rome?" For, by M. Harding's supposals, the one had been equal to the other. Or wherefore doth Gennadius, the patriarch of Constantinople, together with the

Addition. ☞ Fol. 228. a. [Detect.]

Hieron. ad Evagr.

Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Cypr. Orat. xxiv. 12. Tom. I. p. 445. It is doubtful whether Gregory is not speaking of an Antiochian Cyprian, or rather whether he has not confused the two.]

[4 Ex Concil. Nic. I. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxiv. can. 8. col. 336; where *est clarum.*]

[5 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. xxviii. p. 301.]

[6 Coursely, 1570. In the errata of 1609, *cursorily* is corrected to *coursely.*]

[7 Anaclet. et Zach. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xciii. can. 4. col. 441.]

[8 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VI. cap. xxiii. p. 542.]

[9 Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803.]

Confirmation. Consecration.

whole council of bishops there assembled, write thus unto the bishop of Rome, *Curet sanctitas tua universas tuas custodias, tibique subjectos episcopos*[1]? "Let your holiness see unto your own charge, and unto the bishops that be under you?" It had been wrong to restrain the pope to a few, having, as you say, a charge general over the whole. ☞

Gennad. in Concil. Constant.

Again, that you say, "A bishop hath always been consecrate by other three bishops;" whether it be true or no, it may well be called in question, as being of your part hitherto very weakly affirmed. Surely Petrus de Palude, one of your own doctors, would have told you thus: *In ecclesia...unus episcopus sufficit ad alium consecrandum; nec est nisi propter solennitatem ab ecclesia inventum, ut tres concurrant*[2]: "In the church one bishop is sufficient to consecrate another; and it is nothing else but for the solemnity of the matter that the church hath devised that three bishops should join together." Likewise Johannes Major, another of your own doctors, would have said unto you: *Quis ordinavit Petrum?...Non dabunt tres* [*ordinatores*]. *Dico ergo, esse constitutionem humanam, quod episcopus ordinetur a tribus. Paulus enim non quæsivit duos pro ordinatione Titi et Timothei*[3]: "Who ordered Peter, and made him bishop? They cannot shew me three bishops that ordered him. Therefore I say, that a bishop be ordered by other three bishops, it is an ordinance made by man. For Paul, when he ordered Titus and Timotheus, sought[4] not about for other two bishops."

Petr. de Palud. De Potest. Apost. Seneca.

Johan. Major. in iv. Sent. Dist. 24. Quæst 3.

Whereas it further[5] pleaseth you to call for my letters of orders, and to demand of me, as by some authority, Whether I be a priest or no? What hands were laid over me; and by what order I was made? I answer you, I am a priest, made long sithence by the same order and ordinance, and I think also by the same man and the same hands, that you, M. Harding, were made priest by, in the late time of that most virtuous prince king Edward the sixth. Therefore ye cannot well doubt of my priesthood without like doubting of your own.

Further[5], as if you[6] were my metropolitan, ye demand of me, Whether I be a bishop or no? I answer you, I am a bishop, and that by the free and accustomed canonical election of the whole chapter of Sarisbury, assembled solemnly together for that purpose: of which company you, M. Harding, were then one; and, as I was informed, being present there in your own person amongst your brethren, gave free and open consent unto the election. If you deny this[7], take heed your own breath blow not against you.

As for the impertinent tales of Ischyras and Zacchæus, they touch us nothing. They were none of ours: we know them not. Our bishops are made in form and order, as they have been ever, by free election of the chapter; by consecration of the archbishop and other three bishops; and by the admission of the prince. And in this sort not long sithence the pope himself was admitted; and, as Platina saith, without the emperor's letters patent, the pope was no pope[8], as hereafter it shall be shewed more at large[9].

Platin. in Severin. Pap.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ "What form or order mean you?" saith M. Harding. "In the old form, after the election notice was given to the bishop of Rome, and to all the bishops of the church, that such a man was lawfully chosen in the church, and not schismatically, &c. But so ye were not made bishops. If ye were, shew us to what bishops out of England ye wrote any such letters." *The answer.* What folly is this, M. Harding! What such letters[10] have the bishops of Spain used to write to the bishops of England? Or what letters have the bishops of France used to write to the bishops of Spain? Or when did the pope write his letters communicatory to the patriarchs of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch, or

M. Hard. fol. 234. a. [Detect.]

[1 Φροντισάτω δὲ καὶ ἡ σὴ ὁσιότης διὰ πάσης περιφυλακῆς ποιουμένη, δῆλα καταστῆσαι διὰ ἀντιγράφων καὶ τοῖς ὑπό σε θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις κ. τ. λ.—Gennad. Epist. Synod. in Concil. Constant. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 1030.]

[2 P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Apost. Art. ii. Sept. Concl. fol. a. viii. 2; where *inventam quod.*]

[3 J. Major. in Quart. Sentent. Quæst. Par. 1521. Dist. xxiv. Quæst. 3. fol. 157. 2; where *ordinaverit.*]

[4 He sought, 1567.]

[5 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Harding does deny this in the Detection, fol. 233.]

[8 Patents was no pope, 1567; patents the pope was no pope, 1570.]

[9 Vana tunc enim habebatur cleri ac populi electio, nisi id imperatores, aut eorum hexarchi confirmassent.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Severin. I. p. 79.]

[10 Letter, 1570.]

to the other bishops of the east? But you confess this order is broken by yourselves. Behold your own words. Thus you say: "The custom of these letters is out of use." And having broken it yourselves, M. Harding, would ye have us to keep it? Or would ye[11] have us to reverence those things that yourselves have refused? Fol. 234. b. [Detect.]

But you say: "After that the custom of those letters became to be out of use, the only bishop of Rome's confirmation was instead of the said notice." Thus you say, and say it only, and prove nothing; as if there were some weight in your saying. But who made us these laws? Where sprang they? When began they? In what synod, in what council were they written? If ye had any good thing to shew, it is likely ye would not hide it. ☞

Therefore we neither have bishops without church, nor church without bishops. Neither doth the church of England this day depend of them whom you often[12] call apostates, as if our church were no church without them. They are no apostates, M. Harding: that is rather your own name, and of good right belongeth unto you. They are for a great part learned and grave and godly men, and are much ashamed to see your follies. Notwithstanding, if there were not one neither of them nor of us left alive, yet would not therefore the whole church of England flee to Lovaine. Tertullian saith: *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo nos fecit. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus a Deo. Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offert et tingit sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. Sed* [*et*] *ubi tres* [*sunt*], *ecclesia est, licet laici. Unusquisque enim* [*de*] *sua fide vivit*[13]: "And we being laymen, are we not priests? It is written, Christ hath made us both a kingdom, and priests unto God his Father: the authority of the church, and the honour by the assembly or council of order, sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the lay and the clergy. Where as there is no assembly of ecclesiastical order, the priest being there alone (without the company of other priests) doth both minister the oblation and also baptize. Yea, and be there but three together, and though they be laymen, yet is there a church. For every man liveth of his own faith." Tertull. in Exhort. ad Castit.

Addition. ☞ For answer hereto M. Harding hath yielded us words enow[14]. "A thousand faults," he saith, "and many thousand lies are in my books. Ye[15] would blush," he saith, "if any shame were in you," &c. The total sum hereof is this: "Tertullian was an heretic, and wrote this book against the church: there is a difference between priests and laymen: there is priesthood internal, and priesthood external: where the external priesthood is denied, as among the Lutherans and Calvinists, there is no church," &c. Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 238. a. [Detect.] Fol. 240. a. [Detect.]

Touching the first part hereof, I grant, Tertullian in some part fell from the truth of God, even as you have also, M. Harding, and followed Montanus the heretic in his errors. The errors of Montanus were these: first, he said he "knew more than the apostles of Christ; and that the apostles' knowledge was uncertain, and wanted perfection." Further he said that "second marriage was fornication and filthiness." But the thing wherein you have taken hold, touching priests and lay-people, was no part of Montanus' errors. If it were, bring it forth out of some record: let it appear, that we may see it. Neither may you justly conclude, because Tertullian in one or two points was an heretic, that therefore every sentence in his book is full of heresies. As for these words, he had them not out of Montanus the heretic, but out of St Peter the apostle of Christ. Thus saith St Peter: *Vos estis regale sacerdotium:* "You are the kingly priesthood." And thus he saith not only unto priests and bishops, but also unto the whole christian people. Likewise St John the evangelist saith: "Christ with his blood hath washed us from our sins, and hath made us kings and priests unto God his Father." But ye tell us: "There is a priesthood internal, and a priesthood external; and there is a difference between laymen and priests." What needed this 1 Pet. ii. Rev. i.

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[11] You, 1570.]

[12] You so often, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Exhort. Cast. 7. p. 668; where *nos* precedes *et sacerdotes, adeo ubi ecclesiastici*, and *et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus.*]

[14] Enough, 1570.]

[15] Yea, 1611.]

Sacrifice.

talk, M. Harding? There is not one of us that ever taught otherwise. We know that the priest or minister of the church of God is divided from the rest of his brethren, as was the tribe of Levi from the children of Israel, and hath a special office over the people. Neither may any man force himself into that office without lawful calling. But, as touching the inward priesthood, and the exercise of the soul, we say even as St Peter, and St John, and Tertullian have said; in this sense every faithful christian man is a priest, and offereth unto God spiritual sacrifices: in this only sense, I say, and none otherwise.

Num. viii. Deut. x.

Now, if any man shall think it strange to hear a layman in any sense called a priest, may it please him to peruse some part of that hereafter followeth in this Defence. There shall he find by the authorities of St Augustine, St Ambrose, St Hierome and St Chrysostom, that whosoever is a member of Christ's body, whosoever is a child of the church, whosoever is baptized in Christ and beareth his name, is fully invested with this priesthood, and therefore may justly be called a priest. And wheresoever there be three such together, as Tertullian saith, "yea, though they be only laymen, yet have they a church."

Defens. Part. vi. cap. xi. Div. 4. & 5.

The old father Origen saith: *Omnes... quicunque unguento sacri chrismatis delibuti sunt, fiunt sacerdotes*[1]: "All they that are bathed with the ointment of holy chrism are made priests." St Augustine saith: *Holocaustum dominicæ passionis... offert quisque pro peccatis suis, &c.*[2]: "Every man offereth up the sacrifice of our Lord's passion for his sins." Likewise St Cyprian: *Omnes qui a Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum sacrificium, ordinati a Deo sanctimoniæ sacerdotes*[3]: "All men that of the name of Christ be called Christians offer up unto God the daily sacrifice, being ordained of God the priests of holiness." Thus we see all christian men are priests, and offer up to God the daily sacrifice, that is, the sacrifice of Christ's passion. Therefore, M. Harding, if ye condemn Tertullian in this behalf, ye must also condemn so many holy and learned fathers for the same.

Orig. in Lev. Hom. 9. August. in Expos. Inch. ad Rom. Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

"But you protestants," ye say, "have no external sacrifice; and therefore ye have no church at all." It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see the vanity of your dealing. Have we no external sacrifice, say you? I beseech you, what sacrifice did Christ or his apostles ever command, that we have refused? Leave your misty clouds and generalities of words, and speak it plainly, that ye may seem to say some truth.

M. Hard. fol. 240. a.

We have the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of alms-deeds[4], the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and the sacrifice of the death of Christ. We are taught to present our own bodies as a pure, and a holy, and a well-pleasing sacrifice unto God, and to offer up unto him the burning oblation of our lips. "These," saith St Paul, "be the sacrifices wherewith God is pleased." These be the sacrifices of the church of God. Whosoever hath these, we cannot say he is void of sacrifice. Howbeit, if we speak of a sacrifice propitiatory for the satisfaction of sins, we have none other but only Christ Jesus the Son of God upon his cross. "He is that sacrificed Lamb of God that hath taken away the sins of the world."

Rom. xii. Hos. xiv. Heb. xiii. John i.

You will say: "Ye offer not up Christ really unto God his Father." No, M. Harding, neither we nor you can so offer him; nor did Christ ever give you commission to make such sacrifice. And this is it wherewith you so foully beguile the simple. Christ offereth and presenteth[5] us unto his Father: for "by him we have access to the throne of grace." But no creature is able to offer him. Christ Jesus upon his cross was a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech. As for our part, St Augustine saith: *Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit*[6]: "Christ hath given us to celebrate in his church an image or token of that sacrifice for the remembrance

Heb. iv. August. in Lib. lxxx. Quæst. Quæst. 61.

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. ix. Tom. II. p. 243; where *sacerdotes effecti sunt.*]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 937; where *holocausto.*]

[3 ...ita et participes ejus quotquot sunt...dicantur a Christo Christiani, ut...offerant Deo &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

[4 Almouse deeds, 1570.]

[5 Presented, 1570.]

[6 ...ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in

of his passion." Again he saith: *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis... post ascensionem Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*[7]: "After Christ's ascension into heaven the flesh and blood of this sacrifice is continued by a sacrament of remembrance." Eusebius saith: *Sacrificium incendimus illi memoriam magni illius sacrificii, &c. Jussit nos offerre memoriam pro sacrificio*[8]: "We burn a sacrifice unto God, the remembrance of that great sacrifice upon the cross, &c. Christ commanded us to offer up a remembrance (of his death) instead of a sacrifice." It were an infinite labour to report all that may be said. To be short, St Hierome saith, turning himself unto Christ: *Tunc acceptabis sacrificium,... vel cum te pro nobis offers Patri, vel* [*cum*] *a nobis laudes et gratiarum actiones accipis*[9]: "Then shalt thou, O Christ, receive sacrifice, either when thou offerest up thyself[10] for us unto thy Father (which was only upon the cross), or else when thou receivest of us praises and thanksgiving."

Sacrifice.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi.

Euseb. de Demonstrat. Lib. i.

Hieron. in Psal. li.

All these things are true, M. Harding: you cannot deny them. You may therefore lay up the thousand faults, and so many thousand lies, with the shame and blushing that ye spake[11] of. Slander no more neither Montanus nor Tertullian. Though in some points they were deceived as heretics, yet herein they were catholic, and agreed with others the godly-learned fathers of the church. God's name be blessed for ever! we want[12] neither church nor priesthood, nor any kind of sacrifice, that Christ hath left unto his faithful. ☞ ☞

Again ye demand of me: "What bishop of Sarisbury ever sithence Augustine's time maintained this doctrine?" I might likewise, and by as good authority, demand of you, What bishop of Rome ever before the same English Augustine's time maintained your doctrine? Or, as I said before, what bishop of Rome ever before that time either said or knew your private mass?

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "The questions are not like, M. Jewel: many things have been or might have been lawfully concluded between this and Augustine's (the Italian monk's) time, albeit the same had not been used before," &c. *The answer.* I grant you, M. Harding, many pretty things have sprung up within these thousand years, your half-communions, your private masses, your unknown prayers in strange tongues, your adoration of images, your pardons, &c. But how well and how lawfully, it were hard to say. Verily, these be the things that neither Peter ever planted nor Paul ever watered.

Addition. ☞ Fol. 241. a. [Detect.]

M. Harding: "All the bishops of Rome, as well before Augustine (the monk's) time as sithence, maintained our religion. That I prove, because the bishop of Rome that now is doth allow our religion: for we communicate with him, and he with us. And this pope agreed with his predecessor, Pius the fourth; and so upward from pope to pope," &c. *The answer.* This doubtless is a mightiful argument, and concludeth from pope to pope, *a primo ad ultimum.* By this reason ye might very well justify Annas and Caiphas. For either of them followed the bishops their predecessors that had been before them, and so upward unto Aaron that was the first. Yet Christ saith unto them: "Ye have broken the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions:" "From the beginning it was not so:" "They are blind guides, and lead the blind:" "They have defaced the house of God, and turned it into a cave of thieves."

M. Hard. fol 241. b. [Detect.]

Matt. xv.

Matt. xix. Matt. xv. Matt. xxi.

By the same reason ye may say thus: The bishop of Rome that now is alloweth the stews; and therein we communicate with him, and he with us; for in all catholic towns and countries of our religion open stews be maintained, as well as in Rome. And this pope agreeth with his predecessor, Pius the fourth; and he again with his predecessor, Paulus the fourth; and so upward from pope to pope, &c. *Ergo,* St Peter, that was the first bishop of Rome, maintained the stews. So weighty, M. Harding, be the arguments that you send us.

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suæ passionis memoriam commendavit. — August. Op. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 34.]

[7 Id. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 348; where *adcensum.*]

[8 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. I. cap. x. pp. 40, 38. See Vol. II. pages 723, 716, note 3.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. l. Tom. II. Append. col. 254; where *quum vel te,* and *accipis actiones.*]

[10 Theeself, 1570.]

[11 Speak, 1570.]

[12 Want: are destitute of.]

Succession.

M. Hard. fol. 242. a. [Detect.]

M. Harding: "But, seeing M. Jewel can name no man who began to say or allow private mass, and yet, seeing it is said and allowed throughout all Christendom; it is St Augustine's own rule, that the said use of private mass came from the apostles themselves. For thus he writeth: *Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec [in] conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur*[1]: 'What thing the whole church keepeth, and hath not been instituted in councils, but hath been always retained, the same is most rightly believed to have been delivered none otherwise than by apostolic authority.'" *The answer.* St Augustine's rule I like very well, M. Harding; but your unhandsome using and applying of the same I cannot like. For the matters ye speak of are no way applicable[2] to the rule. Mark, I beseech you, St Augustine's words: *Quod universa tenet ecclesia; quod semper retentum est:* "That thing," saith St Augustine, "that the whole universal church useth; that thing that hath always and evermore been observed." Such a thing must it be, M. Harding, if ye will have St Augustine's rule to agree unto it. Now think you that your private mass hath been universally allowed throughout the whole church of God? Indeed ye have said so; but ye have said it full untruly, as in place hereafter more convenient it shall appear. Or think you that your private mass hath been holden and used always and evermore from the beginning? Or, if it be so, is your learning or your luck so ill, that for the space of so many hundred years, out of the records of so many learned fathers, with such conference of study, such help of friends, such time, and such leisure, ye are not able to shew us one good proof, neither of place where it is[3] said, nor of priest that said it, nor of witness that heard it? No, no, M. Harding, if you stand to St Augustine's rule, then must your mass needs be condemned. It was never universally used throughout the whole church of God: it hath not been continued always and evermore from the beginning: St Augustine himself, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, St Ambrose, and other holy fathers never knew it nor heard of it. Therefore, it was never delivered from the apostles.

Defens. Part v. cap. xv. Div. I.

Howbeit, you say you "cannot tell when your private mass first began, or who was the first that ever said it." God be thanked, that thus hath forced you to utter some truth! Yet are we able to tell you when the holy communion first began. We know in what place and at what time it was first ministered: we know that Christ Jesus, the Son of God, was the first that ever said it.

But because ye are not able to shew us the antiquity and first originals of your mass, must we therefore think, M. Harding, that Christ or his apostles were the first that ever said it? Or is your ignorance cause sufficient to prove it good? What if you cannot tell, as I reckon you cannot, in what time, or under what pope, your stews and pardons were first devised? Will you therefore tell us, and must we believe, that Christ and his apostles first devised them? As for your private mass, you yourself have confessed, it grew not either from the apostles or of the Spirit of God, but only of the negligence and want of devotion of the people[4]. Christ saith by way of a parable unto his disciples: "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man that sowed good seed in his ground; but when the folks were asleep, that man's enemy came and sowed tares and cockle[5] among the corn." Christ is the husbandman: he planted the holy communion in his church; and so it continued many hundred years. Afterward, when the priests and bishops became careless, and fell fast asleep, the devil came with negligence and ill disposition and want of devotion of the people, and planted your mass. The servants said to their master: "Sir, did not you sow good corn in your field? From whence then be these tares?" Even so may we say: Did not Christ deliver us the holy communion, that the people should feast and communicate together, and publish the benefits of his passion? From whence then is this private banquet, that one man receiveth all alone? The servants knew not who sowed the tares; neither do you know who founded

M. Harding in his Answer, fol. 12. a. Matt. xiii.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. IV. cap. xxiv. 31. Tom. IX. col. 140.]

[2 Applicable, 1570.]

[3 Was, 1570.]

[4 See Vol. I. page 118.]

[5 Cockles, 1570.]

your mass. Notwithstanding there is no less difference in the church of God between your mass and the holy communion, than is in the field between wild tares and wholesome corn. The one was planted by day, the other by night. But Christ saith: "Every plant, that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be taken up by the root." ☙ Succession. ☙

Touching the bishops of Sarisbury, you yourself have already named two, bishop Shaxton and bishop Capon, both learned and grave fathers, and both preachers and professors of the gospel. For the rest of the bishops that were before them, what faith they held, and what they either liked or misliked, by their writings or sermons it doth not greatly appear. I trust they held the foundation, and lived and died in the faith of Christ. If they had lived in these days, and seen that you see, they would not have been partakers of your wilfulness.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "These be the words of an antichrist, who, seeking to make himself equal[6] with Christ, doth use such phrases by his wicked members." *The answer.* The sobriety of these words needeth no answer. ☙ Addition. ☙ ☙

To be short, we succeed the bishops that have been before our days. We are elected, consecrate, confirmed, and admitted, as they were. If they were deceived in any thing, we succeed them in place, but not in error. They were our predecessors, but not the rulers[7] and standards of our faith. Or rather, to set apart all comparison of persons, the doctrine of Christ this day, M. Harding, succeedeth your doctrine, as the day succeedeth the night; as the light succeedeth darkness; and as the truth succeedeth error.

Now, forasmuch as ye have thought it so good to examine the petite degree of the bishops of Sarisbury, I trust ye will not think it ill, if I a little touch the like in the bishops of Rome; that we may thereby be the better able to see some of the branches of your succession. Therefore, shortly to say, you know that pope Marcellinus committed idolatry.

Addition. ☞ To this M. Harding answereth: "Yet this very idolater, because he was St Peter's successor, and sat in the first see, was in case for the room he occupied to be judged of no man in the earth, as the council of the three[8] hundred and thirty bishops assembled at Sinuessa[9] pronounced above twelve hundred years past." *The answer.* The reason hereof is declared in a council holden about the same time at Rome, by Sylvester the first: *Præsul summus non judicabitur a quoquam; quia scriptum est, Non est discipulus supra magistrum*[10]: "The highest prelate shall be judged of no man. For it is written, 'There is no scholar above his master'." Thus the pope is the schoolmaster; and all the bishops through the world are his scholars, and may not control him whatsoever he do; and all this he claimeth by the authority of the scriptures. If it be so, M. Harding, then is it true that the accusers of pope Symmachus said in the presence of king Theodoricus: *Successores Petri, una cum sedis privilegiis, peccandi quoque licentiam accepisse*[11]: "That the popes Peter's successors, together with the privileges of their see, have received liberty to do ill." Addition. ☙ Concil. Rom. I. Matt. x. Ennod. Concil. Tom. I.

Indeed the council of Sinuessa[9] used the pope Marcellinus with much courtesy, as it may appear. Yet, good reader, that thou mayest see the simplicity and plainness of M. Harding's dealing, whereas he saith, it was decreed by the council of Sinuessa[9], that Marcellinus, being Peter's successor, should be judged of no man in earth; he might also have told thee that the same pope Marcellinus the idolater, notwithstanding the succession of St Peter, and all the privileges of his see, is found five times, not only judged, but also condemned in the same council. And, for that the matter itself is not otherwise weighty, saving that it may witness the truth of M. Harding's reports, for shortness sake I will lay forth the words thereof only in Latin without translation.

[6 1570 repeats *equal.*]
[7 Rules, 1567, 1570.]
[8 Of three, 1570.]
[9 Sinnessa, 1570.]
[10 Neque præsul summus a quoquam judicabitur, quoniam scriptum est, &c. super magistrum.—Concil. Roman. Epil. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 271. This is spurious.]
[11 Non nos beatum Petrum (sicut dicitis) a Domino cum sedis privilegiis, vel successores ejus, peccandi judicamus licentiam suscepisse.—Ennod. Diac. Rom. Lib. in eod. Tom. I. p. 1011.]

Succession.

Concil. Sinues. de Condemn. Marcell. Concil. Tom. I. Alia. Et ecce. Singulis autem. In sinu.

Thus, therefore, it is written in the council of Sinuessa[1]: *Introivit et Marcellinus urbis Romæ episcopus, ... adhuc nomen tenens episcopatus; nondum enim fuerat damnatus, &c.* Again: *Episcopus Quirinus dixit, Infudisti cor tuum, pontifex, malitia, &c. Vulnerasti universa membra tua.* Again: *Te...non condemnamus, præsul; quoniam ex ore tuo justificaberis, et ex ore tuo condemnaberis: Marcellinus ....in conspectu synodi cecidit in terram. Ibi ergo jacentem eum, et moram facientem, damnaverunt.* Again: *Subscripserunt igitur in ejus damnationem, et damnaverunt eum extra civitatem.* Again: *Sacerdos .... Helchiades subscripsit primus in ejus damnationem, non tantum pro hoc tempore,...sed etiam in exemplum futuri temporis.* And again: *Diocletianus [imperator]....audivit, quod trecenti episcopi....in eandem damnationem convenissent*[2]. Now you say[3], "What have you won by this example?" Thus much, verily, M. Harding: first, that the successor of Peter may be an idolater; for so was Marcellinus: secondly, that the same Marcellinus was judged by the council of Sinuessa[1]; wherein also you may find yourself guilty of great untruth, unless ye will say so many grave fathers condemned the pope openly without judgment.

That pope Sylvester II. was a conjuror, and gave himself wholly[4] body and soul unto the devil, and by the devil's procurement was made pope; that pope Zosimus, for ambition and claim of government, corrupted the holy council of Nice.

Addition.

M. Hard. fol. 249. a. & b. [Detect.]

Addition. M. Harding: "You say it; but never did any honest man say it from the beginning of the world. You shew yourself to be a man of ill disposition. No man ever said it but Illyricus or bawdy Bale. You maintain the succession of your generation." *The answer.* This is M. Harding's ordinary eloquence, good reader; therefore let it not offend thee. For the truth of this matter I refer thee to the council of Africa, whereat were present St Augustine, Alypius, and two hundred and fifteen other bishops. The discourse is long. Shortly to open it, thus it standeth. Zosimus the bishop of Rome claimed a sovereignty in judgment and jurisdiction over all Africa. The bishops there withstood him, and said he had no such right to deal among them. Zosimus, for proof of his claim, alleged a canon of the council of Nice, touching the universal authority of the pope. They answered, they had likewise the council of Nice, but in all the same could find no such canon[5]. Alypius the bishop of Tagasta, speaking hereof, saith thus: "This thing moveth me much, that, when we laid together and examined the originals of the Nicene council, written in Greek, these things (concerning the superiority of the pope) we found not there. But how it cometh to pass, I cannot tell[6]." The pope sheweth forth one copy of the council: they shewed forth another. They were not so suppliant or simple to think the pope's copy was undoubtedly true, and therefore to yield unto him without further search. They imagined that either he sought to deceive them, or was deceived himself. In conclusion, they agreed that either party should send into the east, to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antiochia, for a copy of the same council, taken out of the very originals that remained among them, that thereby it might appear whether their copy were falsified or the pope's. Hereunto Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, and Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, returned their answers. Their epistles are extant to be seen until this day, as well in Greek as in Latin[7]. By this certificate it was evident to all men, that the pope's copy disagreed from all the rest, and was corrupted; but by whom and to what purpose, a babe may easily understand. All other copies were true: the pope's only copy was false. If this be not falsifying and corruption, M. Harding, give it any other name that may like you better. And withal I beseech you to consider, whether of these two things in your own

Concil. Aphr. cap. 101, 102, 103, 104, 105.

Concil. Carth. VI. cap. 4.

In Concil. Aphr. cap. 102, 103 in Græc. p. 83.

[1 Sinnessa, 1570.]

[2 Marcellin. Condemn. in eod. Tom. I. p. 192, 4, 6, 7; where *unus autem de episcopis nomine Quirinus*, and *et moram eum.* There can be no doubt that the account of this council of Sinuessa is spurious.]

[3 Say you, 1570.] [4 Whole, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Concil. Aphr. capp. 101-5. in eod. Tom. I. pp. 518-21.]

[6 Adhuc tamen me movet, quoniam cum inspiceremus Græca exemplaria hujus synodi Nicenæ, ista ibi, nescio qua ratione, minime invenimus.—Concil. Carthag. VI. cap. 4. in eod. Tom. I. p. 494.]

[7 Concil. Aphr. capp. 102, 3. in eod. Tom. I. p. 520.]

judgment seemeth more likely, either that the pope, to maintain his estate and authority, should falsify one copy, or else that all the bishops of Africa, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Græcia, without cause or hope of any manner gain, should falsify all the copies through the world. Verily the one is not unlikely; the other almost impossible. Succession.

But you say: "That pope Zosimus corrupted the Nicene council, never did any honest man say it from the beginning of the world. No man ever said it but Illyricus or bawdy Bale." Yes, M. Harding, there were some that said it before either Illyricus or Bale was born. And that M. Cope, one of your pew-fellows, could have told you. For thus he saith, although disdainfully and in scornful meaning: *Certe.... doctissimi quique ex omni Græcia, et inter eos Bessarion, cum Florentino concilio interessent, jactabant Nicenum canonem per Romanos pontifices depravatum*[8]: "Verily the best-learned men of all Græcia, and among them Bessarion, being present at the council of Florence, make cracks, that the canon of the Nicene council was corrupted by the bishops of Rome." Indeed these words they spake, and spake them with modesty, as might become them: as for their cracks and[9] brags, I remember none. Cop. Dial. i. p. 78.

Thus there said Marcus the archbishop of Ephesus in the name of all the rest: *Nonne vides, reverende pater, summum pontificem (Zosimum) falsum decretum, et non in synodo promulgatum, ad tantum concilium pro re tam magna misisse*[10]? "And see you not, right reverend father, that pope Zosimus, being the highest bishop, for a matter of so great weight sent unto that worthy council of Africa a false or a falsified decree, such as never was published in the council of Nice?" Concil. Florent. Sess. 20. Again he saith: "*Nullam equidem de Zosimo fecissem mentionem, reverende pater, nisi meum de eo sermonem verum esse possem ostendere*[11]: "I would not have spoken one word of pope Zosimus, reverend father, unless I had been able to prove my tale to be true." They that gave consent hereupon[12], and avouched the same, and at that time sat present in the council, were Josephus the patriarch of Constantinople, Bessarion the archbishop of Nice, and afterward bishop of Tusculum and cardinal of Rome, Isidorus the metropolitan of Syria, besides seventeen[13] other archbishops and metropolitans, with a great number of other inferior bishops and learned fathers that attended upon them. In eadem Sess.

It were very hard for you, M. Harding, to say that all these were unhonest men, or of ill disposition, or the maintainers of the succession of lies. They lived in the light and commendation of the world above an[14] hundred and forty years ago, long before either Flacius Illyricus or John Bale was heard of. They said openly in the council of Florence, that pope Zosimus had falsified the council of Nice; and further said they were able to prove it, and that otherwise they would not have said it. Mark, therefore, M. Harding, the truth and courtesy of your words. Thus you say: "Never did any honest man thus say from the beginning of the world." ☞ ☞

That pope Liberius was an Arian heretic.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Or else ye are an errant slanderous liar[15]." "How seemeth not this wicked generation to spring of the devil, seeing it maketh the worst of every thing, speaking ill of that which may well and ought charitably to be defended? And yet, if he had been an Arian with all his heart, so long as he never decreed any thing according to the Arian heresy, nor did set it forth by public authority of the see of Rome, that should not hurt our matter of succession." Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 249. b. [Detect.] M. Hard. 251. a. [Detect.]

The answer. Whoso is able to allege the allowed authority of good writers, and imagineth nothing of himself, M. Harding, is neither a slanderer nor a liar. First, yourself have granted that pope Liberius subscribed and gave his hand unto the Arian heretics: wherein it may reasonably be thought that the Arians believed he gave also the inward agreement of his heart, and therefore embraced him as

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[8 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. xiii. p. 78; where *Bessarion concilio Florentino interfuissent...jactarent Nicænum.*]

[9 Or, 1570.]

[10 Gen. VIII. Synod. Sess. xx. Florent. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 440; where *P. R. summum pontificem decretum falsum.*]

[11 Ibid. p. 442; where *mentionem fecissem P. R.*]

[12 Hereunto, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Seventy, 1609, 1611.]

[14 A, 1570.]

[15 Are errant slanderous liars, 1570.]

Succession.

one of their own. Further, Rhegino saith in plain wise: *Liberius reversus ab exilio hæreticis favet*[1]: "Pope Liberius, after he returned from out of banishment, bare good will to the heretics."

Rheg. Lib. i. Alphons. Lib. i. cap. iv. Sabell. Ennead. vii. Lib. viii.

Alphonsus de Castro saith: *De Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum*[2]: "Touching pope Liberius, it is well known he was an Arian." Sabellicus saith: *Ariani precibus suis apud Constantium.... Liberio reditum ad urbem confecere. Quo ille beneficio commotus, ex confesso Arianus, ut quidam scribunt, est factus*[3]: "The Arian heretics, by their entreaty unto the emperor Constantius, obtained of him that pope Liberius might be restored again unto the city. With which good turn Liberius being moved, as some have written, became an Arian heretic (*ex confesso*) in good earnest, and with his heart."

Plat. in Liber.

Platina saith: *Liberius imperatoris beneficio motus, ut quidam volunt, in rebus omnibus sensit cum hæreticis, &c. Pontifex.... tametsi cum Arianis sentiebat, [tamen] ecclesias Dei.... diligenter exornabat*[4]: "Pope Liberius, moved with the emperor's gentleness, as some think, agreed in all things with the heretics." Mark well these words, M. Harding. "He agreed," saith he, "in all things with the heretics." And again: "Pope Liberius, notwithstanding he were of one judgment with the Arians, yet he diligently furnished the church[5] of God." In an old pontifical written in vellum you may find this whole matter recorded thus: *Imperator Liberium, qui sibi et Arianis consenserat, in sede reposuit; et sic infelix Liberius basilicam S. Petri vi tenuit septem annos; et tum*[6] *facta est magna persecutio in urbe, ita ut clerici Liberio contradicentes martyrio coronarentur*: "The emperor Constantius, being an Arian heretic, restored pope Liberius to his see, for that he agreed with him and with the Arians. And thus wicked Liberius held Peter's church seven years by violence. Then was there raised a great persecution in the city of Rome, so that the priests there, for withstanding Liberius, were crowned with martyrdom."

Nicol. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. i. cap. xiv.

Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *Liberius, [et] Honorius, et alii in cathedra Petri aliquando insedentes, in errorem schismaticum seducti ceciderunt; sedes tamen absque vitio remansit*[7]: "Pope Liberius, and pope Honorius, and other popes sitting for a while in Peter's chair, being misled, fell into schismatical error; yet Peter's chair remained still without fault."

Nicol. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. v.

Again afterward he saith: *Liberius.... consensit errori Arianorum*[8]: "Pope Liberius gave his consent to the error of the Arians;" and for proof thereof he allegeth St Hierome *in Chronicis*[9].

Anselm. Rid.

Anselmus Rid saith: *Liberius...primus a pontificum Romanorum integritate recessit*[10]: "Pope Liberius was the first that forsook the pure doctrine of the bishops of Rome."

By these we may see that pope Liberius fell into the schismatical error of the Arians; that he subscribed and gave his name and hand unto the Arians; that he favoured the Arians; that he consented unto the Arians; that it is certainly known he was an Arian; that in good earnest and with his heart he became an Arian; and that in all matters and points of doctrine he was of one mind and judgment with the Arians. If all these writers were errant liars and slanderers, as you say, M. Harding, why then are they not so published to the world? I reckon ye will not say they[11] were all Lutherans.

But touching that pope Liberius was a favourer of the Arian heretics, I have said further, the author hereof is St Hierome, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis in Fortunatiano.* And one of M. Harding's own principal doctors saith: *De Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum.* Hereunto, M. Harding, you have answered thus: "Here have we two new untruths added to the old[12]. St Hierome, in the place by

M. Hard. fol. 62. a. [Detect.]

[1 Liberius...revocatus hæreticis favet.—Chronic. Reginon. Lib. I. in German. Rer. Quat. Chronogr. Franc. 1566. fol. 17.]

[2 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8.]

[3 Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. VII. Lib. VIII. Pars II. fol. 218.]

[4 ... qui imperatoris beneficio motus, cum hæreticis in rebus omnibus (ut quidam volunt) sentiens, &c. exornavit.—Plat. de Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Liber. I. pp. 44, 5.]

[5 Churches, 1570.]

[6 Cum, 1570.]

[7 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. I. cap. xiv. Tom. II. p. 707; where *aliquandiu sedentes*, and *ceciderint*.]

[8 Id. ibid. Lib. II. cap. v. p. 716.]

[9 Fortunatianus...Liberium...ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693–1706. Catalog. Script. Eccles. 97. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 124.]

[10 Ans. Ryd. Catal. Annor. et Princ. Bern. 1540; fol. 32; where *Romanorum Pontificum*.]

[11 Say that they, 1570.]

[12 In speaking of "new untruths," Harding

M. Jewel alleged, saith not that pope Liberius was a favourer of the Arians." *The answer.* Then, M. Harding, may it like you to hear Cardinalis Cusanus, what he can tell you. I trust ye[13] will not discredit him with so many untruths. He was a cardinal of the church of Rome. His words be these, as you have heard before: *Rediit Liberius ab exilio victus, et consensit errori, ut scribit S. Hieronymus in Chronicis*[14]: "Pope Liberius returned from banishment, and yielded and consented unto the error (of the Arians), as St Hierome writeth *in Chronicis.*" If yielding and consenting be not sufficient, Rhegino saith further: "He favoured the heretics." Sabellicus saith: "As some have written, he became an Arian in good earnest." Platina saith: "By the report of some he agreed in all things with the heretics." But hereof we have sufficiently spoken before.

Succession.

Nicol. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. v.

Favet hæret.

Ex confesso.

In rebus omnibus consensit cum hæreticis.

Further ye say: "But who is that one of M. Harding's principal doctors that saith these words, *De Liberio constat fuisse Arianum?* What is the cause that here M. Jewel nameth him not? Is he grown more shamefaced than heretofore, that he would be loth to be found a notorious liar? Well, though he were ashamed to be taken with a lie, yet was he not ashamed to make a lie. This principal doctor of mine is Alphonsus de Castro. How may this be known? Forsooth, even by M. Jewel himself, who in his pretensed Defence writeth thus, where without all error ye may be sure he bringeth much matter to shew that the pope doth err: 'Certainly Alphonsus saith,' &c. And where saith Alphonsus thus? Marry, saith M. Jewel in his marginal quotation, 'Alphonsus *contra Hæreses*, Lib. I. cap. iv.' But read that chapter who will, verily in the books of sundry prints that I have seen he saith it not. If it were once so printed, and afterward by the author revoked, it ought not to be alleged." *The answer.* "But who," say you, "is that one of M. Harding's principal doctors?" Ye wis, M. Harding, ye are not ignorant who it is. All your game is spilt in vain. No man was ready to spare you the laughter. Alphonsus it is; and Alphonsus de Castro, in his book intituled *De Hæresibus*, printed at Paris by Jodocus Badius, in folio, anno 1534. If it have been otherwise altered sithence, we may easily imagine who were the doers. Certainly thus saith Alphonsus: *Omnis homo errare potest in fide, etiamsi papa sit. Nam de Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum; et Anastasium papam favisse Nestorianis, qui historias legerit, non dubitat. Quod autem alii dicunt, eum qui erraverit in fide obstinate jam non esse papam, ac per hoc affirmant papam non posse esse hæreticum, est in re seria verbis velle jocari.... Non enim dubitamus, an hæreticum esse et papam esse in unum coire possint; sed id quærimus, an hominem, qui alias in fide errare potuisset, dignitas pontificalis efficiat in fide indeviabilem. Non enim credo aliquem esse adeo impudentem papæ assentatorem, ut ei tribuere hoc velit, ut nec errare nec in interpretatione sacrarum scripturarum hallucinari possit. Nam cum constet plures eorum adeo esse illiteratos, ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut sacras literas interpretari possint*[15]? "Every man may err in the faith, yea, although it be the pope. For as touching pope Liberius, it is certain that he was an Arian heretic. Neither can any man doubt, that hath read the stories, but pope Anastasius was a favourer of the Nestorians. But, whereas some say that he that erreth wilfully in the faith is now no longer pope, and therefore say the pope cannot be an heretic, they seem in a sad matter to dally with words. For we make no doubts whether the pope and an heretic may agree in one person; but this is our question, whether a man, that otherwise might have erred in the faith, by virtue of the papal dignity be made such as cannot err. For I do not believe that there is any so impudent a flatterer of the pope, that will give him this pre-eminence, that he can neither be deceived nor miss in the expounding of the scriptures. For, seeing it is well known that many popes be so utterly void of learning that they know not the principles of their grammar, how may it be that they should be able to expound the scriptures?"

[Detect.]

Lib. i. cap. iv.

Yea, although it be the pope. It is certain.

We make no doubt.

So impudent a flatterer.

Popes know not their grammar rules.

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refers to the "View of Untruths" prefixed to the edition of 1567. See before, page 144.]

[13 You, 1570.]

[14 ...Liberius...rediit...de exilio &c.—Nic. de Cusa Op. De Concord. Cathol. Lib II. cap. v. p. 716.]

[15 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8; where *coire in unum, pontificialis, a fide, aut in interpretatione sacrarum literarum, illiteratos esse*, and *interpretari possent.* The printer of this edition was Melchior Novesianus.]

Succession.

Thus saith my Alphonsus, M. Harding, printed at Paris five and thirty years ago. In like sort, and with the very same words, was the same book afterward printed at Colaine, by Arnold Brickman[1], anno 1539. What other new books or new spectacles you have gotten you, I cannot imagine. Even to like purpose writeth Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome: *Judicium fidei non est semper in nutu unius pontificis definibile, quia hæreticus esse potest*[2]: "The judgment of faith is not always to be determined by the beck of the pope alone; for the pope may possibly be an heretic."

Alphons. Colon. anno 1539.

Nicol. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. i. cap. xv.

The pope may be an heretic.

That pope Leo, as appeareth by the legend, was likewise an Arian.

Addition.

Addition. M. Harding: "As it appeareth by the legend. What an obscure proof is this! Forsooth there is an old moth-eaten book wherein saints' lives are said to be contained, &c. It shall not greatly skill who was the author of it. Certain it is, that among some true stories there be many vain fables written; among which is one," &c. *The answer.* This book was not so much moth-eaten nor so far out of credit, M. Harding, as you tell us. It was read sadly[3] unto the people, and had in reverence, when the holy scriptures of God were moth-eaten and thrown into corners; and it was called *Aurea Legenda*, as you know, "The Golden Legend," for the excellency that it seemed[4] to have above all other stories. Thus were you able in your kingdom of darkness to give the people dross, and to call it gold; and to lead them into the clouds and shadows of death, and yet to make them believe they walk[5] in the light.

M. Hard. 251. a. b. [Detect.]

As for this matter of pope Leo, I report it not as a certain truth, as it might appear unto you by my words. I leave the credit thereof to the author. If it be a fable, it is your own: it is not ours. Thus much at the least we may reasonably gather hereof: Although pope Leo were no Arian, yet, notwithstanding his popedom and the succession of Peter, by this author's judgment he might well have been an Arian.

That pope Cœlestinus was a Nestorian heretic.

Addition.

Addition. M. Harding: "Who ever heard such an impudent man? It was Cœlestinus which condemned Nestorius, &c. A most impudent liar: a wicked slanderer." *The answer.* These outcries full well become you, M. Harding. Bestow your shame upon him that hath best deserved it. "Pope Cœlestinus," you say, "condemned Nestorius and all his heresies." So did pope Liberius, as it is said before, condemn the Arians; and yet afterward himself became an Arian. This is a case that often happeneth, and may be proved by sundry examples. You yourself, M. Harding, have preached mightily and terribly against the Roman religion, as you may remember; and yet sithence ye know ye are become a defender and patron of the same. This matter that so much grieveth you, touching pope Cœlestinus, is recorded by Laurentius Valla, no Lutheran I trow, but a great learned man and a canon of the church of Rome. His words be these: *Neque aliquem sua dignitas ab increpationibus tutum reddit, quæ Petrum non reddidit; multosque alios eodem præditos gradu, ut Marcellum, quod diis libasset, ut Cœlestinum, quod cum Nestorio hæretico sentiret*[6]: "No man's dignity may defend him from controlment (if he offend); for Peter was not so defended, nor many others that were advanced[7] to the same degree; as pope Marcellus (or rather pope Marcellinus), for that he had offered up sacrifice unto idols; and as pope Cœlestinus, for that he agreed with the heretic Nestorius." Here you find plainly by express words, M. Harding, that pope Cœlestinus was a Nestorian heretic. Now, if you be so much ashamed hereof, return the shame to Rome again hardly, from whence it came; either to Laurentius Valla, that sent it hither, or to the pope himself, that best deserved it.

Laur. Vall. de Donat. Const.

Pope Cœlestinus a Nestorian heretic.

That[8] pope Honorius was a Monothelite heretic.

Addition.

Addition. M. Harding: "Now at length, M. Jewel, you say that which hath some face of truth. For Honorius indeed fell into the heresy of the Monothelites; but he fell into it when as yet it was not evidently condemned by the

M. Hard. 121. [Detect.]

[1 Birckman, 1570.]

[2 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. I. cap. xv. p. 708; where *possit.*]

[3 Sadly: gravely.]

[4 Seemeth, 1567, 1611.]

[5 Walked, 1570.]

[6 Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. In Don. Const. Declam. p. 762; where *tutum reddidit.*]

[7 Avanced, 1570.]

[8 1567 omits *that.*]

church in any general council, &c. It standeth well together that pope Honorius, albeit in his own person he favoured that heresy, yet durst not to publish it in common assembly; but contrariwise did there as they gave him counsel: whereby it came to pass that he both deposed the[9] Monothelites openly, and yet favoured their opinion privily. And this is the only pope who may justly be burdened with heresy." *The answer.* Here is a proper defence, and a proper pope. Openly abroad he condemneth them as heretics, whom privily in his heart he alloweth and liketh as catholics. "This only pope," you say, "may be justly charged with heresy. For indeed he fell into the heresy of the Monothelites." All this is your own confession, M. Harding; and yet, whereas I say the same pope Honorius was a Monothelite heretic, you tell me that "this tale hath some face of truth." "Some face," you say, and no more. For truth itself ye dare not allow me, be it never so true. ☞

Popes Heretics.

Justly charged. Indeed.

That[10] pope John XXII. was reproved by Gerson and the school of Paris for an heretic[11]: Petrarcha saith, "Rome is a sanctuary of all heresies[12]." Lyra saith, that "many popes have fallen into heresies[13]."

Nicol. Lyr. in Matt. cap. xvi.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "He saith many, as well princes as chief priests, have fallen from the faith; but not that many have decreed heresies, as to be followed. But I find not those many, nor yet M. Jewel himself, as diligent as he is about it." *The answer.* I marvel not, M. Harding, though ye find not these many; for ye seek as a man that would not find them. I have already reckoned seven popes that were heretics. Ye may add thereunto pope Anastasius II., an Arian heretic[14]. If all these may not be counted many in the see of Rome, ye may at your pleasure call them few. The law saith: *Decem faciunt populum*[15]: "Ten men are enow[16] to make a people." Much more eight men are enow[16] to make many. Verily, I know not any one see in all Europe wherein you can lightly find so many heretics as we have found sitting in Peter's chair. Nicolaus Lyra saith: "Many popes have fallen from the faith[13]." But you make small account of his authority. Add therefore to him the council of Basil. There shall you find the self-same words: *Multi pontifices in errores et hæreses*[17] *lapsi esse leguntur*[18]: "We read that many popes have fallen into errors and heresies." Add also Æneas Sylvius, being afterward a pope himself. Thus he saith: *De Romanis...pontificibus liceret exempla admodum multa adferre, si tempus sineret; quoniam aut hæretici, aut aliis imbuti vitiis sunt reperti*[19]: "Of the popes of Rome we might shew forth very many examples, if time would suffer it, that they have been found either heretics or else defiled with other vices." Thus you have by the witness both of a pope and of a council, that many, and very many popes have been heretics. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 256. [Detect.]

Fulgos. de Inusit. Mort. Gener.

x. Quæst. 3. Unio.

Concil. Basil. in Epist. Synod.

Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Concil. Basil. Lib. i.

Very many.

You know that pope Hildebrand, as he was charged by the council of Brixia, was an advouterer, a church-robber, a perjured man, a man-killer, a sorcerer, and a renegate of the faith.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "I know that you lie: I may say it, saving my charity rather than your worship. For pope Gregory the seventh was a very holy man, &c. If you were but a civil honest man, M. Jewel, you would not take that for a truth which one enemy saith of another. By perusing of Marianus Scotus, Platina, Lambertus Scaphnaburgensis, and Nauclerus, you shall find yourself a liar, and pope Hildebrand a virtuous man." *The answer.* No doubt, M. Harding, a holy and a virtuous man, and very much like unto the apostles of Christ; but wherein, I believe ye cannot readily tell us; unless it were for that he was proud and stately above all measure, and suffered the emperor Henry the

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 256. b. [Detect.] M. Hard. 257. a. [Detect.]

[9 1570 omits *the.*] [10 1567 omits *that.*]

[11 Propter quod apparet falsitas doctrinæ papæ Joannis vicesimi, quæ damnata fuit &c.—Joan. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Serm. in Fest. Pasch. Tom. III. Pars III. col. 1205.]

[12 Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,
Scola d'errori, e tempio d'heresia,
Gia Roma.—F. Petrarch. Op. Basil. 1581. Son. cviii. Tom. IV. p. 149.]

[13 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52. See Vol. I. page 381, note 15.]

[14 B. Fulgos. Fact. et Dict. Memor. Libr. Antv. 1565. Lib. IX. cap. xii. p. 778.]

[15 *Mancipia.* Cum ergo decem faciant plebem, &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. x. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 894.]

[16 Enough, 1570.] [17 Hæresis, 1570.]

[18 Concil. Basil. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Resp. Synod. Tom. III. p. 146. See Vol. I. page 400, note 6.]

[19 Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Comm. de Gest. Bas. Concil. Lib. I. p. 9; where *multa referre.*]

Popes Heretics.

fourth to wait upon him in Italy before the gates of Canossus[1], without his imperial robes, in the winter season, in hard frost and extreme cold, with bare legs and bare feet, three days together, before he would once admit him to his presence[2]. Thus, I trow, Peter and Paul but seldom did.

Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. iii. Blond. Decad. ii. Lib. iii. Beno.

"Beno," you say, "was his enemy, and wrote of displeasure; and therefore his words weigh the less." So may I say Marianus Scotus was his friend, and wrote of favour; and therefore his words likewise weigh the less. Indeed Beno, that lived with him, and best knew him, saith thus; that Hildebrand, being as yet but a cardinal, smote pope Alexander with his fist, and laid him in prison; that he poisoned six popes his predecessors to make himself way[3] to the popedom; that he was a conjuror, and a raiser of devils, and that in his fury he threw the sacrament into the fire[4]. But, lest only Beno should bear all the blame, a great number of catholic bishops in Italy, at the council of Brixia, called Hildebrand, then being pope, "a false monk; an usurper of the see of Rome; not appointed by God, but intruded by fraud and money; a disturber of the empire; a subverter of the church[5]." Howbeit you say: "All these bishops conspired together against our Lord, and against his vicar."

Ursp. anno 1080.

M. Hard. 237. a. [Detect.]

Anselm. Rid.

Anselmus Rid saith, that "pope Hildebrand by his means had made the leaden sword of the pope's authority so mighty, that it had utterly dulled and defaced the iron sword of the empire; and that in the time of his popedom both the ecclesiastical and the temporal jurisdiction was shaken and broken with infinite miseries[6]."

Sigeb. Gemb. anno 1074.

Sigebertus Gemblacensis saith: "Pope Hildebrand troubled the states of Christendom, raised up the Saxons against their liege prince, discharged the subjects from their oath of fidelity, caused Rodolphus the duke of Burgundy to proclaim himself emperor, and sent him a crown imperial with this posy:

Petra dedit Petro; Petrus diadema Rodolpho[7]."

Sigeb. anno 1085.

In the end the citizens of Rome expelled him, and chased him out of the city; not for any his great virtue or holiness, I trow; for Rome is holy. By mean of the grief and agony hereof he fell into melancholy and deadly diseases, and, "finding himself past all recovery[8], he called unto him one of his cardinals, whom he specially trusted, and confessed unto him that he had foully abused his pastoral office, and that he had troubled mankind with malice and mischief by the procurement and counsel of the devil[9]." And yet, M. Harding, must we believe you upon the credit of your word, that pope Hildebrand was so virtuous and so godly a man? Or is it a matter of such virtue and holiness to trouble the church of God with wars and murders, and to follow the counsel of the devil? Though you[10] may safely discredit others, yet may you not discredit the pope himself. This is the pope's own confession, devoutly uttered unto his ghostly father immediately before his death. Though Beno were an enemy unto him, yet was he no enemy unto himself.

Se valde peccasse... pastorali cura,...et suadente diabolo contra humanum genus odium et iram concitasse.

[1 Cavossus, 1570.]

[2 ....Canossum iter intendit.....hic imperatoriis insignibus depositis, ac nudo pede portæ appropinquans, veniam precatur... Ceterum negato ingressu ferunt æquo animo id Henricum tulisse: ac quanquam omnia gelu rigescerent (erat enim jam brumæ tempus), triduo in suburbanis est tectis commoratus.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. III. Pars III. fol. 84. 2. Conf. Blond. Hist. Basil. 1531. Decad. II. Lib. III. p. 200.]

[3 Himself a way, 1570.]

[4 Vit. et Gest. Hildebr. auth. Benon. Card. in Fascic. Rer. et Expet. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. pp. 79, &c. 85. See before, page 250, note 4. Conf. Vol. II. page 773, note 17.]

[5 ...pseudo-monachum...et præcipue sanctæ Romanæ sedis invasorem affirmantes...Quia, inquiunt, illum constat non a Deo electum, sed a seipso, in fraude ac pecunia impudentissime objectum, qui ecclesiasticum subvertit ordinem, qui Christiani imperii perturbavit regnum, &c.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 237. See before, page 129.]

[6 Primus, vel ipse omnium maxime, plumbeum Pontificis Romani gladium adeo potentem reddidit, ut ejus vi ferream imperii vim deinceps obtuderit pene totam. Quo superbiens, ab imperatore cum gravi urbis calamitate obsessus, &c. — Ans. Ryd. Catal. Annor. et Princ. Bern. 1540. fol. 44. 2. What follows is not exactly in the words of the latter part of the quotation.]

[7 Principibus Saxonum qui in deditionem imperatoris erant relaxatis, per eos quibus commissi fuerant Saxones rebellant instinctu Hildebranni papæ: ipse papa occurrens imperatori in Longobardia sub falsa eum pace absolvit. Omnes enim qui prius Hildebrannum abjuraverant perjurium perjurio cumulantes, imperatorem abjurant, et Rodulphum ducem Burgundionum super se regem statuunt: corona ei a papa missa, cui erat inscriptum, Petra dedit &c.—Sigebert. Gemblac. Chronic. Par. 1513. foll. 98, 9.]

[8 Recover, 1570.]

[9 Id. ibid. fol. 100. 2. See before, page 129.]

[10 Ye, 1570.]

But you say: "Read Lambertus Scaphnaburgensis, Nauclerus, and others, and you shall find yourself to be a liar." What say they then, M. Harding? Verily Lambertus saith thus: *Clerici clamant, Hildebrandum esse hominem plane hæreticum et vesani dogmatis*[11]: "The priests cry out against pope Hildebrand, and call him a plain heretic, and a man of wicked doctrine." You will say, Lambertus uttereth not this as his own judgment. I grant you that. Yet he uttereth it as the judgment of the clergy.

Popes Heretics.

M. Hard. 257. a. [Detect.] Lambert. Scaph.

In like sort also saith Nauclerus: "The clergy said that pope Hildebrand, for good causes, was excommunicate by all the bishops of Italy; that he had defiled the see apostolic with simony, heresy, murder, and advoutry; that he was an apostata, and had forsaken the faith of Christ[12]." And, lest you should say he uttereth these words as spoken by his enemies, and not as of himself, in the end he concludeth thus: *Quæ Hildebrandi tempore in republica christiana sunt acta hujusmodi fere sunt, ut scriptores dubitent an honestatis argumento et fidei zelo ab eo gesta sint*[13]: "The things that were done in the time of pope Hildebrandus were such for the most part, that the writers doubt whether they were done in consideration of honest order and zeal of faith, or rather otherwise."

Naucler. Gener. 36.

Naucler. Gener. 37.

You say: "He was zealously bent to correct such faults as were in the clergy at that time, specially simony." Yea, M. Harding, but Sigebertus saith thus, speaking of pope Hildebrand by name: *Notam avaritiæ honesto nomine prætexunt, dum hoc, quod se gratis dare jactant, sub caritatis nomine vendunt; ut de Montanis dicit Eusebius, Sub nomine oblationis artificiosius munera accipiunt*[14]: "They cover the shame of their covetousness with the cloke of an honest name: they sell things under the name of charity; and yet they boast they give them freely. So saith Eusebius of the heretics called Montanists, 'They take bribes cunningly and with better skill under the name of oblations'."

M. Hard. 257. a. [Detect.]

Sigeb. Gemb. anno 1074.

Now, M. Harding, I beseech you judge uprightly: he that smiteth the pope violently with his fist, and with force and villany imprisoneth his person, that is a false monk, a poisoner, a conjuror, a burner of sacraments, a simonist, an usurper of the see, a disturber of the empire, a subverter of the church, an advancer of traitors, a raiser of rebels, a person justly excommunicate, and an heretic; may he nevertheless be called a virtuous and a holy man? Is virtue and holiness so rife in Rome?

Save your charity hardly, and what worship you list. Whatsoever ye presume to find in others, it is wisdom to see aforehand what may be found worthily in yourself. ☙

That Platina calleth the popes sometimes in scorn *pontificulos*[15], "little petite popes;" sometimes *monstra et portenta*, "monsters and unnatural and ill-shapen creatures." Pope Adrian the fourth was wont to say: *Succedimus, non Petro in pascendo, sed Romulo in parricidio*[16]: "We succeed not Peter in feeding, but Romulus in killing." And, to leave dame Johane, the woman pope, with many others more of like virtue and holiness, as having no pleasure in this rehearsal; and, forasmuch as M. Harding began this matter with Sarisbury, to end it with the same, Johannes Sarisburiensis saith: *In Romana ecclesia sedent scribæ et Pharisæi*[18]: "In the church of Rome (by succession) sit the scribes and Pharisees[19]."

Platin. in Rom. I. Petr. Paris. in Specul. citat. ab Illyr. de Test.[17]

Succession of Popes.

Johan. Sarisb. in Polycrat.

This is M. Harding's holy succession. Though faith fall[20], yet succession must hold; for unto such succession God hath bound the Holy Ghost. For lack of this succession, for that in our sees in the churches of England we find not so many idolaters, necromancers, heretics, advouterers, church-robbers, per-

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[11 ...infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem &c.—Lamb. Schafn. De Reb. Germ. in Illustr. Vet. Script. Franc. 1613. p. 212.]

[12 Naucler. Memor. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. XXXVI. fol. 159. See before, page 129, note 13.]

[13 ...quæ ejus vitæ tempore &c. ab Hildebrando sint gesta.—Id. Gen. XXXVII. fol. 161. 2.]

[14 Sigebert. Gemblac. Chronic. fol. 98; where *prætexentibus*. Conf. Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. p. 149.]

[15 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Romanus I. p. 126.]

[16 There is a singular error in the reference here. It was to John of Salisbury that the confession of Adrian was made; and thus it is cited by Illyricus, Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 1435. But just above, in the same column, Petrus Parisiensis Cantor is referred to. Conf. Vol. II. page 993, note 17.]

[17 This reference is not in 1567.]

[18 Joan. Saresb. Policrat. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Lib. IV. cap. xxiv. p. 329; where *sedent in ea.*]

[19 And the Pharisees, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Fail, 1567, 1570.]

Succession of Popes.

jured persons, man-killers, runagates, monsters, scribes, and Pharisees, as we may easily find in the church of Rome; therefore, I trow, M. Harding saith we have no succession, we are no bishops, we have no church at all.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Are you not ashamed thus notoriously, and withal most slanderously, to belie that most blessed succession of the bishop of Rome?" ☜

But St Paul saith: "Faith cometh (not by succession, but) by hearing; and hearing cometh (not of legacy or inheritance from bishop to bishop, but) of the word of God." They are not always godly that succeed the godly. Manasses succeeded Ezechias; and Hieroboam succeeded David. By succession the Turk this day possesseth and holdeth the four great patriarchal sees of the church, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Hierusalem. By succession Christ saith desolation "shall sit in the holy place;" and antichrist shall press into the room of Christ.

Matt. xxiv.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 266. b. 267. a. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Doth Christ say it shall be so by succession? You falsify the words of God and man, and that verily by succession: for so have all heretics your forefathers done before you. Succession is the chief way for any christian man to avoid antichrist, &c. For antichrist cometh not, except defection and apostasy go before." *The answer.* I would be loth, M. Harding, to falsify the words either of God or of man. Touching the succession of place, whereof only we speak, Christ saith desolation "shall stand in the holy place." And St Paul saith, "Antichrist shall sit in the place of Christ." The same place that received the one shall receive the other. Otherwise tell us, I pray you, M. Harding, in what other place shall he sit? Or why doth St Paul say, "Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God?" Or why doth St Augustine[1] and St Chrysostom[2] say, "Antichrist shall sit in the church of Christ?"

2 Thess. ii.

August. de Antichrist. Tom. IX. Chrysost. in 2 Epist. ad Thess. Hom. 3.

"Succession," you say, "is the chief way for any christian man to avoid antichrist." I grant you, if you mean the succession of doctrine. Therefore St Paul saith: "In the latter[3] days some shall depart from the faith." He saith not, They shall depart from their place, but "from their faith." And St John saith: "If any man come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, salute him not." He saith not, If he keep not his place, but, "If he bring not this doctrine." It is the doctrine whereby antichrist shall be known, and not his place: for, as I have said, "he shall sit in the place of Christ."

1 Tim. iv.

2 John.

M. Hard. 267. a. [Detect.]

You say: "Antichrist shall not come, except a defection or departing go before." What defection or what departing, M. Harding? Mean you a departing from the pope? Whatsoever you mean, verily St Paul meaneth a departing from Christ. And so the old learned fathers have expounded it. In like sense St Paul saith: "The time shall come, when they shall not bear wholesome doctrine.... They shall stop their ears against the truth. They shall turn themselves to hear fables." And what if the pope himself be departed from Christ? Yet must we needs keep him company, and depart together? Verily, as I have otherwhere[4] reported, the bishop of Bitonto doubted not openly to say in the late council of Trident: *Utinam... non a Christo ad antichristum,... velut prorsus unanimes, declinassent*[5]*!* "Would God they were not gone from Christ to antichrist, as it were with one consent!" And thus he pronounceth of the pope and of his clergy of the church of Rome. Nicolaus Lyra, above two hundred and fifty years ago, said thus: *Ab ecclesia Romana jam diu est quod recessit gratia*[6]*:* "It is long sithence the grace of God is departed from the church of Rome." This, this, M. Harding, is the departing that St

2 Tim. iv.

Concil. Trid.

Nicol. Lyr. in 2 ad Thess. ii.

[1 ...suam sedem in templo sancto ponet.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Antichrist. Tom. VI. Append. col. 243. This tract is not by Augustine.]

[2 ...καὶ καθεσθήσεται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίας.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Thess. cap. ii. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 525.]

[3 Later, 1570.]

[4 Otherwheres, 1570.]

[5 Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 993. See Vol. II. page 900, note 5.]

[6 Propter quod alii exponunt de recessu ab obedientia ecclesiæ Romanæ, a qua jam diu est quod recessit Græcia.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Thess. II. cap. ii. Pars VI. fol. 114. 2. Jewel perhaps quoted from memory.]

Paul speaketh of: not our departing from the pope, but the pope's departing from the grace of God; from which grace whosoever is departed is departed from Christ.

Succession of Popes.

Now, M. Harding, if the pope and his Roman clergy, by his own friends' confession, be fallen from God's grace, and departed from Christ to antichrist, what a miserable claim is it for them to hold only by bare succession! ☞

It is not sufficient to claim succession of place: it behoveth us rather to have regard to the succession of doctrine. St Bernard saith: *Quid prodest, si canonice eligantur,... et non canonice vivant*[7]? "What availeth it, if they be chosen in order, and live out of order?" So saith St Augustine: *Ipsum characterem multi et lupi et lupis imprimunt*[8]: "The outward mark or right of a bishop many give to wolves, and be wolves themselves." Therefore the ancient father Irenæus giveth us this good counsel: *Eis qui sunt in ecclesia presbyteris obaudire oportet,... qui successionem habent ab apostolis,... qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum [bene]placitum Patris acceperunt*[9]: "It becometh us to obey those priests in the church which have their succession from the apostles; and, together with the succession of their bishopricks according to the good-will of God the Father, have received the undoubted gift of the truth." St Cyprian, being likewise charged for dissenting from his predecessors, answereth thus: *Si quis de antecessoribus meis... non hoc observavit et tenuit, quod nos Dominus... exemplo et magisterio suo docuit, potest simplicitati ejus... venia concedi; nobis vero ignosci non potest, qui nunc a Domino admoniti et instructi sumus*[10]: "If any of my predecessors have not observed and kept the same that our Lord hath taught us both by his example and also by his commandment, his simplicity may be pardoned; but we (if we do the like) can hope for no pardon, being now admonished and instructed of our Lord."

Bernard. in Concil. Remen.

August. contr. Donat. Lib. vi. i. Quæst. 3. Vocantur canes.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xliii.

Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Cough up, man. It will choke you if you let it tarry within your throat. Here is but half the bone. There is yet in Cyprian no full point: it followeth in the same sentence, *ut calicem dominicum vino mixtum, secundum quod Dominus obtulit, offeramus*[11], 'that we should offer our Lord's cup mixed with wine accordingly as our Lord offered the same,' &c. Do they offer our Lord's chalice at all? Or do they grant that our Lord in his supper offered it? Do they mingle water with wine at the time of consecrating the mysteries? What folly, what madness," &c. *The answer.* There is no such danger of bones, M. Harding. The child shall do well enough by God's grace. I make no mention, you say, of offering our Lord's cup. I grant you. No more do I of many other things in the same epistle contained. What then? Should I for your pleasure have alleged and translated the whole epistle? Or have you decreed it to be an heresy, if a man allege no more than is needful? Or have I reported any manner untruth? Or stand the words otherwise than I have reported them? In this place I had cause only to speak of succession; but to speak of sacrifice I had no cause. Howbeit, as you know, in five hundred other places, as time required, I have spoken also fully and largely of the sacrifice; and yet, ye wis, without any great danger of choking. Such childish toys are meet for children.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 269. a. [Detect.] M. Hard. 269. b. [Detect.]

St Cyprian saith, "We offer our Lord's cup mixed with wine." But he saith not as you say, "We offer up the Son of God substantially and really unto his Father." Take away only that blasphemy wherewith you have deceived the world, and then talk of mingling the cup, and of the sacrifice, while ye list. St Cyprian saith: "We offer the Lord's cup," meaning thereby the wine contained in the cup. So likewise St Augustine saith: *Ecclesia offert sacrificium*

August. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix.

[7 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Ad Cler. in Concil. Remens. Serm. 3. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 735.]

[8 August. Op. De Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. vi. cap. i. 1. Tom. IX. col. 161; where *infigunt.* The same reference to Gratian is added here as when this passage was quoted before, page 281. But no such canon has been found. See, however, before, page 309, note 21, for one nearly similar.]

[9 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xxvi. 2. p. 262; where *qui in ecclesia sunt.*]

[10 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. pp. 156, 7; where *antecessoribus nostris,* and *non poterit ignosci.*]

[11 Id. ibid. p. 157.]

Succession of Popes.

panis et vini[1]: "The church offereth up the sacrifice of bread and wine." If there be any darkness in this manner of speech, both St Cyprian and St Augustine have plainly expounded their meaning[2]. St Cyprian, in the same epistle before alleged, saith thus: *Calix in commemorationem Christi offertur: vino Christi sanguis ostenditur: ideo vinum ponitur, ut Domini sanguis [vino] intelligatur: aqua sola (sine vino) non potest exprimere sanguinem Christi: in aqua populus intelligitur; in vino ostenditur sanguis Christi: passionis Christi memoriam in omnibus sacrificiis facimus: passio Domini est sacrificium quod offerimus*[3]: "The cup is offered in remembrance of Christ: by the wine Christ's blood is shewed (or signified): therefore wine is used, that by wine we may understand the Lord's blood: water only without wine cannot express the blood of Christ: in the water we understand the people; in the wine Christ's blood is represented: in all our sacrifices we work the memory of Christ's passion: the sacrifice that we offer is the passion of our Lord." Thus much St Cyprian in the same epistle. St Augustine saith: *In hoc sacrificio est gratiarum actio, et commemoratio... carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis [ejus], quem pro nobis... effudit*[4]: "In this sacrifice is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ that he hath offered for us, and of the blood of Christ that he shed for us." Thus saith St Cyprian: thus saith St Augustine: thus say the old godly-learned fathers of the church of Christ. These are no bones, M. Harding: they are the food of everlasting life.

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

August. de Fide ad Petr. cap. xix.

Compare the use and order of our churches, M. Harding, with the primitive church of God, and ye shall easily see the right of our succession. St Cyprian saith: *Si canalis aquæ, quæ copiose prius et largiter profluebat, subito deficiat, nonne ad fontem pergitur? &c. Hoc et nunc facere oportet Dei sacerdotes præcepta divina servantes, ut, in aliquo si nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas, ad originem dominicam et evangelicam atque apostolicam traditionem revertamur; et inde surgat actus nostri ratio, unde et ordo et origo surrexit*[5]: "If the pipes of the conduit, which before ran with abundance, happen to fail, do we not use to search the[6] head? &c. The priests of God, keeping God's commandments, must do the same; that, if the truth have fainted or failed in any point, we return to the very original of our Lord, and to the tradition of the gospel, and of the apostles; that therehence we may take the discretion of our doings, from whence the order itself and original first began."

Cypr. ad Pomp. contr. Epist. Steph.

Addition.

Addition. M. Harding: "It is to be known, M. Jewel, that St Cyprian used that saying in an evil case. And therefore he, defending a falsehood, was driven to the very same shifts whereunto all heretics are driven." *The answer.* Whatsoever were St Cyprian's case, verily M. Harding hath devised but a poor defence for himself. For, alas, what a simple shift is this, to say that so holy a father and martyr of Christ was driven to use the shifts of all heretics! Grant we that St Cyprian stood in some error. Yet let us see what were his heretical shifts. Thus he saith: "If the truth faint or fail in any point, we ought to return to the original of our Lord, and to the tradition of the gospel," &c. And is this the shift of all heretics, to submit themselves and their causes to the trial of God's truth? Or doth no man use this kind of shift, but only heretics? Wherefore then doth Christ so often use the same? Wherefore doth Christ say, "From the beginning it was not thus:" "It is written in the scriptures:" "Search the scriptures?" Wherefore doth the prophet Esay say, "Resort to the law and to the testimony of our Lord?" Wherefore doth Tertullian say, *Peræque ad uni-*

M. Hard. 271. [Detect.]

Matt. xix. John v. & vii.

Tertull. adv. Prax. p. 316.

[1 ...sacrificium panis et vini...ecclesia...offerre non cessat.—Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. De Fid. ad Petr. col. 356. Conf. August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30.]

[2 Their own meaning, 1570.]

[3 ...calix qui in commemoratione ejus offertur... vinum...quo Christi &c....vini...utique mentio ideo ponitur &c....aqua...quæ sola Christi sanguinem non possit exprimere...videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi...passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus; passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus. —Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. pp. 148, 50, 2, 3, 4, 6.]

[4 In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio &c.—Fulgent. Op. De Fid. ad Petr. col. 356.]

[5 Si canalis aquam ducens qui copiose &c. Quod et nunc &c. ut si in aliquo nutaverit &c. et apostolicam &c.—Cypr. Op. Ad Pompei. Epist. lxxiv. pp. 215, 6.]

[6 Search *to* the, 1567, 1570.]

versas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum est, id esse verum, quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius[7] "By this rule we may equally prescribe against all heretics: that is true that was first appointed; that is false that was afterward devised?" It were hard to say that Christ, his apostles, the prophets and holy fathers were shifters and heretics.

Yet notwithstanding M. Harding saith: "We may not be led by St Cyprian's rule: it is a shift and a practice of heretics." This therefore must be his rule: "Although the truth faint or fail in any point, yet may we not return to the original of our Lord, nor to the tradition of the gospel." St Cyprian saith: *Non debemus hominis consuetudinem sequi, sed veritatem Dei*[8]: "We may not follow the custom of man, but the truth of God." Nay, saith M. Harding, "this is the shift of all heretics." We may not follow the truth of God, but the custom of man. St Cyprian saith: *Relicto errore, sequamur veritatem*[9]: "Forsaking error, let us follow the truth." Nay, saith M. Harding, "so do heretics: this is but a shift. We must leave the truth, and follow error." If you will needs shift off, and so miserably gloss St Cyprian's sayings, M. Harding, thus verily must you say: and indeed this rule hath of long time been canonized in the church of Rome, and accounted catholic. But such are they of whom Christ saith: "Ye have broken the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions." ☙

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Cypr. ad Pomp. contr. Epist. Steph.

Matt. xv.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 1.

Moreover, we say that Christ hath given to his ministers power to bind, to loose, to open, to shut.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The difference that is between us and our adversaries in this whole matter is not great, saving that it liketh well M. Harding to busy himself with needless quarrels without cause. Three kinds of confession are expressed unto us in the scriptures: the first made secretly unto God alone; the second openly before the whole congregation; the third privately unto our brother. Of the two former kinds there is no question. Touching the third, if it be discreetly used, to the greater comfort and better satisfaction[10] of the penitent, without superstition or other ill, it is not in any wise by us reproved. The abuses and errors set apart, we do no more mislike a private confession than a private sermon.

Thus much only we say, that private confession to be made unto the minister is neither commanded by Christ nor necessary to salvation. And therefore Chrysostom saith: *Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te accuses apud alios. Sed obedire te volo prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam*[11]: "I will thee not to bewray thyself[12] openly, nor to accuse thyself[12] before others; but I counsel thee to obey the prophet, saying, 'Open thy way unto the Lord'."

Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 31.

Addition. ☙ M. Harding: "St Chrysostom in this place speaketh not indeed of sacramental confession, but of that which is daily to be made to God alone, &c. But in other places he hath taught us, that unto our priests it is given utterly to cleanse, not the leper of the body, but the filth of the soul," &c. *The answer.* "St Chrysostom," you say, "in these words speaketh not of sacramental confession." No great marvel, M. Harding: for, I believe, you cannot find that any confession was known by that name in Chrysostom's time. But in these words he speaketh of confession to be made unto others. Call it sacramental, or private, or auricular, or what you list. Of this kind of confession Chrysostom[13] saith: "I will thee not to betray thyself[12] openly, nor to accuse

Addition. ☙ M. Hard. fol. 274. b. [Detect.] M. Hard. fol. 275. a. [Detect.]

[7 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 2. p. 635; where *adversus universas*, and *præjudicatum sit*.]

[8 Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem.—Cypr. Op. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 155.]

[9 Id. ad Pompei. Epist. lxxiv. p. 215.]

[10 And satisfaction, 1567.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xii. Hom. xxxi. Tom. XII. p. 289.]

[12 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[13 St Chrysostom, 1570.]

Confession not necessary.

thyself[1] before other." Thus, I trow, he would not have said, had he thought this kind of confession to be necessary.

But you say: "St Chrysostom saith, 'Our priests have power utterly to cleanse the filth of the soul'." And who saith otherwise? When we consecrate priests, we pronounce Christ's words over them: "Whose sins you do forgive, they are forgiven." But are sins forgiven only by private confession? If so, how happened it then that there was no private confession used in the church of Constantinople during the whole time that St Chrysostom was bishop there[2]?

Sozom. Lib. v. cap. xix.

Notwithstanding, good christian reader, that thou mayest understand the truth of M. Harding's dealing, in that whole place of Chrysostom there is no mention at all of any confession, either private, or public, or sacramental, or auricular, or any other. Read the place. If thou find it otherwise, I will yield. You will say: He speaketh of forgiveness of sins. I know it well; yet not of confession. He speaketh of the sacrament of baptism, of preaching and of prayer. By these means St Chrysostom saith the priest remitteth sins, and reconcileth God unto the people[3]. Who would think that Doctor Harding[4] would allege those places for private confession, where as is not so much as one word once spoken of confession?

Chrysost. de Sacerd. Lib. iii.

M. Hard. fol. 275. b. [Detect.]

M. Harding: "Against your heretical proposition I will set St Basil's catholic judgment. Thus he saith: 'It is necessary to confess sins unto them to whom the dispensation of the mysteries is committed. For so they that in old time did penance are found to have done before the saints. For it is written in the gospel, that they confessed their sins to John Baptist; in the Acts, that they confessed them to the apostles[5].' By St Basil it is necessary to confess sins unto the priests. By M. Jewel it is not necessary at all. Who is the likelier of these two to be a liar?" *The answer.* O M. Harding, why do you thus abuse your simple reader? My words are these, as they lie plainly before you: "That private confession be made unto the minister, it is neither commanded by Christ nor necessary to salvation." To reprove[6] this heretical proposition, (for so it pleaseth you to call it,) you have brought in the catholic judgment of St Basil. But, I beseech you, among all these words of St Basil, is there any one word of private confession? If there be any, let it appear. If there be none, why do you allege it? Mark the words and examples that St Basil useth. "Thus," saith he, "the people confessed their sins to John Baptist: thus they confessed their sins to the apostles." Thus saith St Basil. But did either the apostles or John Baptist hear private confessions? Did they sit down upon a stool in a corner, and hearken what each man should severally say unto them? No, no, M. Harding, St Basil spake only of public offences that were known to many. Such offences it was necessary for the satisfaction of the church to be confessed unto the priest, as unto the common minister of the whole; not secretly or in a corner, but openly and in the hearing of all the people. This confession, M. Jewel saith, is still necessary in the church of God. Now therefore yourself may judge, to use your own courteous words, "whether of us is likelier to be the liar?"

De Pœnit. Dist. I. Quamvis plenitudo.

And Gratian, having thoroughly disputed and debated the whole matter of both sides, in the end leaveth it thus at large: *Cui....harum* [*sententiarum*] *potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur; utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros*[7]: "Whether of these two opinions it were better to follow, it is left to the discretion of the reader; for either side is favoured both by wise and also by godly men." Therefore the gloss there concludeth thus: *Melius dicitur confessionem institutam fuisse a quadam universalis ecclesiæ tradi-*

De Pœnit. Dist. 5. In Pœnit. in Gloss.

[1 Theeself, 1570.]

[2 Perhaps Sozomen is a mistake for Socrates. See Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xix. pp. 228, 9. Conf. Soz. in eod. Lib. VII. cap. xvi. pp. 589, 90.]

[3 Οὗτοι δὲ οὐ λέπραν σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀκαθαρσίαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν δοκιμάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάττειν παντελῶς ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 384.]

[4 M. Harding, 1570; D. Harding, 1609.]

[5 ...ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα...γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὅτι τῷ βαπτιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ ἐξωμολογοῦντο τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Reg. brev. tract. Interr. cclxxxviii. Tom. II. p. 516.]

[6 Prove, 1609, 1611.]

[7 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec., Pars, De Pœnit. Dist. i. can. 89. col. 1717.]

tione potius, quam ex novi vel veteris testamenti auctoritate[8]: "It is better to say that confession was ordained by some tradition of the universal church than by the authority of the new or old testament." Likewise saith Theodorus, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, a Greek born: *Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci*[9]: "Some say we are bound to confess our sins only to God, as do the Grecians." Whereupon the gloss noteth thus: *Apud Græcos [confessio] non [est necessaria]; quia non emanavit ad illos traditio talis*[10]: "Among the Grecians confession is not necessary; for that no such tradition ever came amongst them."

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Quidam.

De Pœnit. Dist. 5. In Pœnit.

But what need many words? M. Harding himself in the discourse hereof is forced to confess, that "the express term of auricular or secret confession is seldom mentioned in the ancient fathers." His tale had been truer if he had said thus: The express term of auricular or secret confession is never mentioned in the ancient fathers. Now, to pass over certain other M. Harding's unnecessary talks, he groweth to the matter in this sort:

M. Hard. fol. 71. a. [Conf.]

M. HARDING.

*... Concerning the ministers of the church, we say that they open and shut by dispensing the sacraments, who have their virtue of the merits of Christ. For whereas the sacraments have issued and flowed out of the side of our Saviour Christ sleeping on the cross (as by allusion we may use the words of the old figure) wherewith the church is builded, therefore in the sacraments of the church the efficacy of the passion remaineth. And for that cause to the ministers also of the church, who be dispensers of the sacraments, a certain power is given to remove the bar that excludeth us from God's favour, not through their own, but through God's virtue and power, and merit of Christ's passion. And this power is called by a metaphor the key of the church, which is the key of ministry; whereof we shall speak hereafter. This power, so much as concerneth release of sins, is exercised in the sacrament of penance to the benefit of them that after baptism be relapsed and fallen into sin again. Of which power no christian man doubteth, unless he hold the heresy of the Novatians, who were condemned for heretics by the church because they denied that priests in the church had authority to remit sins, *and so denied the sacrament of penance.....*

The key of the church.

For whom serveth the sacrament of penance.

Novatians[11] *denied penance.*

* This savoureth of untruth. For Novatus denied not private, but open penance.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

That duly receiving the holy sacraments ordained by Christ we receive also the remission of sins, it is not any way denied. For the substance of all sacraments is the word of God, which St Paul calleth *verbum reconciliationis*, "the word of atonement." This word is the instrument of remission of sin. The sacraments are the seals affixed to[12] the same: the priest is the mean. St Augustine saith: *In aqua verbum mundat. Detrahe verbum,.... quid est aqua, nisi aqua*[13]? "In the water is[14] the word of God, that maketh clean. Take the word away; and what is water else but water?" Hereof we shall have cause to say more hereafter.

2 Cor. v.

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

All that is here brought in touching Novatus, it is utterly from the purpose. For Novatus never denied but a sinner might confess his sins, either secretly to God alone, or publicly and openly before the whole congregation. As for auricular confession to the priest, for ought that may appear, he never heard of it. But herein stood his whole error, that he thought whosoever had committed any great notorious sin after baptism, notwithstanding any submission or satisfaction he was able to make, yet might he never be reconciled unto his brethren, or be

[8] Ibid. Dist. v. in Gloss. col. 1801; where *eam institutam.*]

[9] Ibid. Dist. i. can. 90. col. 1718.]

[10] Ibid. Dist. v. in Gloss. col. 1801; where *apud illos.*]

[11] Novatianus, 1570.]

[12] Unto, 1567.]

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[14] It is, 1567.]

received again into the church: not that he would hereby drive the penitent sorrowful sinner to despair of God's mercy, but (as some learned men have thought) only for example and terror unto others. And therefore Beatus Rhenanus saith: *In hac sententia veterum permulti fuerunt, et in iis etiam... Augustinus*[1].

Beat. Rhenan. in Arg. Libel. Tert. De Pœnit. August. Epist. 54.

St Augustine saith: *Caute salubriterque provisum est, ut locus illius humillimæ pœnitentiæ semel in ecclesia concedatur; ne medicina vilis minus utilis esset ægrotis*[2]: "It hath been discreetly and wholesomely provided, that it should not be granted to any man to do that most humble open penance but only once in the church, and never more afterward; lest the medicine, being made over common, should not be profitable to the sick."

Thus much difference therefore we see there was between the church and Novatus: the church granteth the open sinner one only time of open reconciliation, and never more; but Novatus granteth none at all. Therefore the whole matter of Novatus might have served M. Harding to some other purpose. For confession, whether it were private or public, was no part of his error.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 2[3].

And we say that the office of loosing consisteth in this point, that the minister either by the preaching of the gospel offereth the merits[4] of Christ and full pardon to such as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent themselves[5], pronouncing unto the same a sure and undoubted forgiveness of their sins, and hope of everlasting salvation; or else that the same minister[6], when any have offended their brothers' minds with some[7] great offence, or notable[8] and open crime, whereby[9] they have as it were banished and made themselves strangers[10] from the common fellowship and from the body of Christ, then, after perfect[11] amendment of such persons, doth reconcile them, and bring them home again, and restore them to the company and unity of the faithful.

M. HARDING.

The sum of all these gay words abridged doth attribute loosing or absolution first to preaching, next to assoiling such as be excommunicate. As touching the first, these defenders confound the offices of preaching and absolution[12]. *The preacher teacheth the hearers, and reporteth the words of Christ as out of the mouth of Christ, saying: Thus saith Christ, &c. The priest, which is the minister of absolution, according to the authority given to him by Christ, in his own person assoileth the penitent, saying: *I assoil thee, in the name of the Father, &c. *The preacher, in that he preacheth only, doth not assoil sinners, neither giveth he the merits of Christ, nor full pardon by pronouncing unto them the gospel. *For, if that great benefit consist*[13] *in pronouncing or denouncing of the gospel, then why might not every layman, yea, women, yea, young boys and girls, assoil sinners? Yea, why might not every man assoil himself? And would ye, sirs, appoint unto us such for judges constituted by Christ?....*

* Untruth. For Christ never gave the priest any such commission.
* Untruth. For St Hierome saith: "Solvunt sermone Dei, et testimoniis scripturarum[14]."
* Untruth, by M. Harding's own doctrine. Read the answer.

For the words of Christ be so plain as they cannot be so violently wrested. For Christ said not, To whom ye offer by preaching of the gospel my merits and pardon,

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[1 Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Arg. Lib. de Pœn. p. 10; where *in qua*, and *fuere*.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Ad Maced. Epist. cliii. cap. iii. 7. Tom. II. col. 526; where *provisum sit*.]

[3 This portion of the Apology is twice printed by Harding. It begins the first time: And that office.]

[4 Minister should either offer by the preaching of the gospel the merits, Conf.]

[5 Them, Conf.]

[6 The minister, Conf.]

[7 A, Conf.]

[8 And with a notable, Conf.]

[9 Fault as whereby, Conf. 1; fault whereby, Conf. 2.]

[10 Themselves as strangers, Conf. 1.]

[11 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[12 And of absolution, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Consisted, Conf.]

[14 See below, page 357, note 17.]

John xx. *or, Whose sins ye pronounce by the gospel to be remitted; but,* Quorumcunque remiseritis, "*Whosesoever*[15] *sins ye remit, they are remitted to them.*" *For, as the Son of man remitted sins to him that was sick of the palsy, and to Mary Maudelene, "that ye may know," saith he, "that the Son of man hath power to remit sins," &c.; even so he hath transferred *the same power unto priests, saith Chrysostom: which priests he hath sent, as the Father sent him*[16]. *And, if absolution consist in pronouncing of the gospel, which profiteth so much as it is believed, *then the power of the keys, which Christ hath given to the church, consisteth not so much in the minister as in the sinner that heareth and believeth, and so is forgiven, by Luther's opinion. And by this means the priest hath no special power. But we say with the church, that a sacrament hath his efficacy of the institution of Christ in him to whom it is adhibited.....In this sense the catholic church of Christ hath ever taught that God worketh our salvation by sacraments, and in this faith it hath always baptized infants, that, their sins being remitted, they might be made the children of God. *Likewise by the keys of the church it hath assoiled persons bereft of the use of speech and reason, as the learned and ancient holy father Leo teacheth in his epistle* ad Theodorum episcopum Forojuliensem[17], *and St Augustine,* de Adulterinis Conjugiis, *Lib.* I. *cap. xxvi, et ultimo*[18].

Lib. iii. de Dignitat. Sacerdot.

* The same power, because they have the same word, and not otherwise.

* Untruth joined with vain folly.

* Untruth. For the church assoiled not madmen, but only pronounced them to be assoiled before, when they were sober.

Finally, if the office of loosing, that is, absolution, consisteth[19] *in preaching the gospel and offering the merits of Christ by pronouncing the words in which the remission of our sins is expressed, as this defender teacheth; then had not the catechumens of old time, neither now should they be in any danger, if they should die without baptism and the grace of reconciliation, that is, not being assoiled. For they lacked no preaching, as now they lack not, where any such be. The contrary whereof the church hath ever taught; and for witness of the same, besides other fathers, we have the plain doctrine of St Augustine, who saith that "a catechumen, how much soever he profiteth, beareth still the burden of his iniquity, so long as he is not baptized*[20]*."...*

Tract. in Johan. xiii.

I deny not but cases of just necessity be excepted in the one and the other, having right and firm wills and desire in each case; "when not the contempt of religion, but the point of necessity, excludeth the mystery of baptism[21]*," as St Augustine saith. Then how dangerous and pernicious is the doctrine of these defenders, our new ministering prelates, who, more with sweet and holy words than with truth, teach christian people that the office of loosing consisteth in offering, by preaching of the gospel (as they call it), the merits of Christ and full pardon, and by pronouncing (I know not how) a sure and undoubted forgiveness of sins, and hope of everlasting salvation to such forsooth as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent them! The contrition of heart they seem to speak of sufficeth not for loosing of sins, unless it be contrition formed with charity, as the divines teach: which charity seeketh and requireth the sacrament of penance and the grace of reconciliation, which cannot be ministered but by a priest. *Neither is it possible the priest to judge truly who are lowly and contrite of heart, and repent them unfeignedly, forasmuch as he cannot search the heart, unless the penitents humble themselves unto him, and declare their repentance by simple and lowly confession of their sins; which confession these new gospellers have abandoned out of their congregations. How much is more the catholic and wholesome doctrine of St *Augustine to be embraced and followed, which he uttereth in these words: "Do ye penance such as is*

O dangerous doctrine!

* Untruth. Read the answer.

Lib. I. Homil. Hom. 49.

* Manifest untruth. For St Augustine these words of open confession before the people.

[15 Whosoever's, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[16 Πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκεν ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Υἱῷ. ὁρῶ δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν τούτοις ἐγχειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 383.]

[17 Quod si aliqua vi ægritudinis ita fuerint aggravati, ut quod paulo ante poscebant, sub præsentia sacerdotis significare non valeant; testimonia eis fidelium circumstantium prodesse debebunt, ut simul et pœnitentiæ et reconciliationis beneficium consequantur.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Theodor. Foroj. Episc. Epist. xci. col. 472.]

[18 Catechumenis...si morbo...sic oppressi sint, ut ...petere sibi...baptismum...non possint, prosit eis quod eorum in fide Christiana jam nota voluntas est, &c. Quæ autem baptismatis, eadem reconciliationis est caussa, &c.—August. Op. De Conjug. Adult. Lib. I. capp. xxvi. xxviii. 33, 5. Tom. VI. cols. 403, 4.]

[19 Consisted, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[20 Quantumcumque enim catechumenus proficiat, adhuc sarcinam iniquitatis suæ portat: non illi dimittitur, nisi cum venerit ad baptismum.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xiii. 7. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 394.]

[21 ...cum ministerium baptismi non contemtus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit.—Id. de Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. 29. Tom. IX. col. 139.]

done in the church, that the church may pray for you. Let no man say to himself, I do penance secretly, before God I do it: God who forgiveth me knoweth that I do it in my heart." But what saith St Augustine hereunto? "Why then (saith he) it was said in vain, 'What things ye loose in earth they shall be loosed in heaven.' Then without cause the keys be given to the church. We make void the gospel of God; we make frustrate the words of Christ[1]*."....* Matt. xviii.

St Augustine saith: Do ye penance, not such as liketh yourselves, not such as new-fangled self-pleasing preachers teach you, but such as is done in the church, which consisteth in contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction of work, that so ye may be assoiled, and perfectly[2] *reconciled.....*

Touching the second point,... we do not attribute the loosing of such as be excommunicate to the offering of Christ's merits, and pronouncing of the gospel unto them, as you do, but to the power of jurisdiction by Christ given to the church....

By the fathers excommunication, in consideration of the necessity of it, is called nervus ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, "*the sinew of churchly discipline;*" *by the canons,* mucro episcopi[3], "*the sword of a bishop;*" *by St Augustine,* episcopalis judicii damnatio, qua pœna nulla in ecclesia major est[4], "*the condemnation of a man by bishoply judgment, than the which there is no greater punishment in the church.*"....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We commit the keys of the kingdom of heaven only unto the priest, and to none other; and to him only we say, "Whatsoever thou bindest in earth shall be bound in heaven." Yet nevertheless hath not every priest the use of these keys. Peter Lombard himself saith: *Sane dici potest, quod alteram istarum clavium, id est, scientiam discernendi, non habent omnes sacerdotes*[5]: "We may safely say that all priests have not the one of these two keys; I mean the knowledge to discern." If they have not the keys, then can they neither open nor shut. Sent. iv. Dist. 19.

A Layman remitteth sin.

Neither doth it follow of our doctrine, that either children or laymen do or may forgive sins. And yet God's word may be mighty, be the pronouncer of it never so simple. St Augustine saith: *Cum Christus Petro diceret, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, ... universam significabat ecclesiam*[6]: "When Christ said unto Peter, 'Unto thee will I[7] give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' he signified thereby the whole church." And again: *Quæcunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata ... in cœlo.... Cœpisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum: ligas illum in terra.... Cum autem correxeris, et concordaveris cum fratre tuo, solvisti illum in terra. Cum solveris in terra, solutus erit ... in cœlo*[8]: "Whatsoever things thou shalt bind in earth, they shall be bound in heaven. Thou (being a layman) hast begun to have thy brother as a publican: thou bindest him in earth. But when thou hast corrected him, and hast agreed with thy brother, thou hast loosed him in earth. And when thou hast loosed him in earth, he shall be loosed in heaven." August. in Johan. Tract. 124. August. de Verb. Dom. secund. Matt. Serm. 16.

Likewise Theophylact saith: *Si tu offensus habes eum qui te affecit injuria sicut publicanum et gentilem, erit ille et in cœlo talis; si autem solveris eum,* Theoph. in Matt. cap. xviii.

[1 ... agite pœnitentiam, qualis agitur in ecclesia, ut oret pro vobis ecclesia. Nemo sibi dicat, Occulte ago, apud Deum ago: novit Deus qui mihi ignoscat, quia in corde meo ago. Ergo sine caussa [di]ctum est, Quæ solveritis in terra, soluta erunt in cœlo? Ergo sine caussa sunt claves datæ ecclesiæ Dei? Frustramus evangelium, frustramus verba Christi?—Id. ad Conjug. Serm. cccxcii. 3. Tom. V. col. 1504.]

[2 And be perfitely, Conf.; and perfitely, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3 ...felici mucrone episcopi sacerdotum piacula resecentur.—Joan. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XVI. Quæst. ii. can. 1. col. 1130.]

[4 ...damnatio...quam facit episcopale judicium (qua pœna in ecclesia nulla major est), &c.—August. in eod. Caus. XXIV. Quæst. iii. can. 17. col. 1425. Conf. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Corrept. et Grat. cap. xv. 46. Tom. X. col. 775.]

[5 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xix. A. fol. 380. 2; where *alterum clavium istarum.*]

[6 ...quando ei dictum est, &c.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xxi. Tractat. cxxiv. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 822.]

[7 I will, 1567.]

[8 Id. de Verb. Evang. Matt. xviii. Serm. lxxxii. 7. Tom. V. col. 442; where *quæcumque ligaveritis,* and *ligata erunt.*]

hoc est, si illi condonaveris, erit illi et in cœlo condonatum. Non enim solum quæ solvunt sacerdotes sunt soluta; sed quæcunque et nos, injuria affecti, vel ligamus vel solvimus, et ipsa erunt ligata vel soluta[9]: "If thou, being offended, have him that hath done thee wrong as a publican and as an heathen, such shall he be also in heaven. But if thou loose him, that is to say, if thou pardon him, he shall be pardoned also in heaven. For not only the things that priests loose are loosed, but also whatsoever we (being laymen), having taken wrong, do bind or loose, the same things shall also be bound or loosed."

This doctrine may not seem so strange to M. Harding, unless he be a stranger amongst his own. For, by the order of his own church of Rome, an old wife or a young girl may minister the sacrament of baptism. And, I trow, he will not say they may minister baptism without remission of sins.

In this[10] church of Rome the power of the keys is lapped up oftentimes in a bull of lead, and sent abroad into the world by a lay-pardoner; and is thought nevertheless good and sufficient unto the receiver for remission of sins, notwithstanding the messenger be no priest.

Some of the late doctors of his said church have taught us, that a man may make his confession by a bill of his hand, and receive absolution by a trushman[11] or by a broker[12]. Peter Lombard, the grand master of their whole school, saith: *Si tamen defuerit sacerdos, proximo vel socio est facienda confessio*[13]: "If thou want a priest, thou must make thy confession unto thy neighbour or unto thy fellow." And Beda saith, as he is alleged by the said Peter Lombard: *Coæqualibus quotidiana et levia, graviora vero sacerdoti pandamus*[14]: "Let us open our small and daily sins unto our fellows, and the greater unto the priest."

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Quem pœnitet. Scot. iv. Sent. Dist. 17. Art. 3. Sent. iv. Dist. 17. Nunc priusquam. Sent. iv. eadem Dist.

And, to be short, upon the decretals it is noted thus: *In necessitate laicus potest et audire confessiones et absolvere*[15]: "In case of necessity a layman may both hear confessions and absolve."

Extr. De Off. Jud. Ordin. Pastoralis, in Gloss.

This is the order and doctrine of M. Harding's own church. His own doctors tell him, that laymen and women may absolve the penitent and forgive sins. Therefore he hath the less cause to mislike it.

M. Harding saith further: "Christ saith not, To whom ye offer by preaching of the gospel my merits and pardon, or, Whose sins ye pronounce by the gospel to be remitted; but, *Quorumcunque remiseritis*, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted'." If M. Harding will conclude of this negative, *Ergo*, sins be not forgiven by the preaching of the gospel, I trow it will be but a simple argument. For Chrysostom saith: *Clavicularii . . . sunt sacerdotes, quibus creditum est verbum docendi et interpretandi scripturas*[16]: "The key-bearers be the priests, to whom is committed the word of teaching and expounding the scriptures." And St Hierome saith: *Quæcunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlo. Solvunt autem eos apostoli sermone Dei, et testimoniis scripturarum, et exhortatione virtutum*[17]: "Whatsoever things ye loose upon earth, they shall be loosed also in heaven. But the apostles loose them by the word of God, and by the testimonies of the scriptures, and by exhortation unto virtue."

Chrysost. in Matt. in Op. Imperf. cap. xliv.

Hieron. in Esai. Lib. vi. cap. xiv.

Likewise St Augustine saith: *Jam vos mundi estis propter verbum quod loquutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis; . . . nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat*[18]? "'Now are you clean because of the word that I have spoken to you.' Why saith he not, You are clean because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; saving that even in the water it is the

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

[9 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Matt. Comm. cap. xviii. Tom. I. p. 96.]

[10 His, 1567.]

[11 Trushman: a substitute.]

[12 J. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xvii. Quæst. Unic. Tom. IX. p. 339.

Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 88. et Gloss. col. 1715.]

[13 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. xvii. E. fol. 374. 2.]

[14 Bed. in eod. ibid. fol. 375. Conf. Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. Jacob. cap. v. Tom. V. col. 693; where the words differ.]

[15 *Præterquam in mortis articulo.* Quo casu de quolibet genere excommunicationis, et a quolibet etiam laico potest absolvi.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxi. Gloss. in cap. 11. fol. 408.]

[16 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[17 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. VI. in Isai. cap. xiv. Tom. III. col. 160.]

[18 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

Ambros. De Cain et Abel, cap. iv.

word that maketh clean?" Likewise St Ambrose: *Remittuntur peccata per verbum Dei, cujus Levites est interpres*[1]: "Sins be forgiven by the word of God, the expounder whereof is the Levite or priest."

Rom. i. 2 Cor. v.

All the power is in the word of God, which St Paul calleth "the power of God unto salvation," and *verbum reconciliationis*, "the word whereby we be reconciled unto God."

Chrysost. De Sacerd. Lib. iii. John vi. [xx.]

And for this cause Chrysostom saith, as it is alleged by M. Harding, that the priest hath the same power that Christ had[2], for that he preacheth[3] the same word of God that Christ preacheth[4]. And in this sense Christ saith unto his disciples: "As my living Father sent me, even so (and with like commission) do I send you."

Matt. xi. Isai. xxii.

Otherwise the power of Christ far surmounteth and passeth all creatures, not only in earth, but also in heaven. Christ himself thereof saith thus: "All things are delivered to me of my Father." And the prophet Esay saith: *Ponam clavem domus David super humerum ejus. Aperiet, et nemo claudet: claudet, et nemo aperiet:* "I will set the key of the house of David upon his shoulder. He shall open; and no man shall shut: he shall shut; and no man shall open."

Of this doctrine, saith M. Harding, followeth a great inconvenience. "For then," saith he, "the power of the keys consisteth not so much in the minister as in the sinner that heareth and believeth." This inconvenience is nothing so great as it is pretended. The error hereof standeth in the equivocation or doubtful taking of one word. For one thing may be in another sundry ways; as remission of sins may be in the priest as in the messenger, in the word of God as in the instrument, in the penitent party as in the receiver. The offering hereof is in the minister; but the effect and force is in the sinner. Therefore St Luke saith: "God opened the heart of the silk-woman, that she should give ear unto the words that were spoken by St Paul." And Christ saith: "Whosoever shall believe and be baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." Likewise Peter Lombard himself saith: *Ex his aperte ostenditur, quod Deus ipse pœnitentem solvit, . . . quando intus illuminat inspirando veram cordis contritionem*[5]: "Hereby it plainly appeareth, that God himself looseth the penitent when, by giving him inward light, he inspireth into him the true contrition of the heart." And therefore Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Fides nostra est clavis regni cœlorum*[6]: "Our faith is the key of the kingdom of heaven." And St Augustine likewise saith: *Cor clausum habent, quia clavem fidei non habent*[7]: "They have their hearts shut, because they lack the key of faith." Again he saith: *Suscitari . . . mortuus, . . . nisi intus clamante Domino, non potest*[8]: "The dead man cannot be raised again, unless the Lord cry within him."

Acts xvi. Mark xvi. iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Sed quæritur. Clem. in Paræn. August. in Johan. Tract. 39. August. in Psal. ci.

i. Quæst. 1. Dictum est.

And, to come near to the purpose, Gratian himself saith: *Voluntas sacerdotis nec prodesse nec obesse potest, sed meritum benedictionem poscentis*[9]: "The will of the priest can neither further nor hinder, but the merit of him that desireth absolution."

Extr. de Bapt. et ejus Effect. Major. Eccles. §. Item quæritur. August. contr. Julian. Lib. vi. cap. v.

Touching the objection of frantic persons and madmen, in what sort and how far absolution taketh place in them, forasmuch as it is an extraordinary case, I think it neither needful nor easy to define. Indeed, a question is moved by pope Innocentius the third, whether and in what sort a man, either in his madness or in his sleep, may be baptized[10]. And St Augustine seemeth to witness that children sometime were baptized in their mother's womb[11]. Likewise he

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[1 Remittuntur pĕccata per Dei verbum, cujus Levites interpres...est.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Cain et Abel. Lib. II. cap. iv. 15. Tom. I. col. 212.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 383. See before, page 355, note 16.]

[3 Preached, 1570.]

[4 Preached, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xviii. D. fol. 377. 2.]

[6 ...λογικαὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ λόγου πύλαι, πίστεως ἀνοιγνύμεναι κλειδί.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 1. Tom. I. pp. 9, 10.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. viii. Tractat. xxxix. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 561.]

[8 Id. in Psalm. ci. Enarr. Serm. ii. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1103; where *non* comes before *nisi*.]

[9 ... nec voluntas sacerdotis obesse, aut prodesse possit, sed &c.—Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. I. Quæst. i. can. 96. col. 541.]

[10 Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xlii. cap. 3. cols. 1386, &c.]

[11 August. Op. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. VI. cap. xiv. 43. Tom. X. col. 685. Augustine's judg-

writeth of a friend of his own: *Cum . . . jaceret . . . sine sensu in dolore letali, et . . . desperaretur, baptizatus est nesciens*[12]: "Whereas he lay in a trance, without sense, in deadly pain, and was despaired of, he was baptized, and knew not of it."

Absolution of Madmen.

Bonaventura addeth some force unto the matter, and demandeth this question: *An aliquis possit absolvi invitus*[13]? "Whether a man may be absolved against his will, or no?"

August. Conf. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Bonavent. in iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Quæst. 6.

But, concerning the absolution of madmen in the time of their frenzy, it seemeth this was both the meaning of Leo and the godly discretion of the church at that time, that, if a man, standing excommunicate, had happened to be bereft of his senses, and being in that case had been likely to depart this life, upon proof of his former repentance he should be restored, that he might depart in peace as a member of the church of God. The practice hereof we may find in the council of Carthage by these words: *Si is qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, . . . in phrenesim versus fuerit, dent testimonium qui eum audiverunt, et accipiat pœnitentiam*[14]: "If he that desired reconciliation by penance in his sickness afterward fall mad, let them that heard him bear witness with him, and so let him receive penance."

Concil. Carth. iv. cap. 76.

This was only a public testimony unto the church, that the party excommunicate was repentant before, when his mind was quiet: and what thing else M. Harding can gather hereof, I cannot tell. Certainly in this order and manner they restored not only madmen, but also dead men unto the church. For it[15] is noted upon the decrees: *Ex quo, [cum] per eum non stabat, ei communicare debemus. Et ita est absolvendus post mortem*[16]: "Wherefore, seeing there was no lack in his part, we ought to communicate with him. And so he must be absolved after his death."

xxiv. Quæst. 2. De Commun. in Gloss.

The words that St Augustine often useth unto beginners or enterers of the faith, called *catechumeni*, are uttered rather for terror of others than for rigour of truth, as shall appear. For otherwheres he writeth thus: *Catechumeni secundum quendam modum . . . per signum Christi . . . sanctificantur*[17]: "The *catechumeni*, or beginners, after their sort are sanctified by the sign of Christ." Again he saith to them: *Nondum . . . renati estis, sed per crucis signum in utero sanctæ matris ecclesiæ jam concepti estis*[18]: "Ye are not yet born anew; but by the sign of the cross ye are already conceived in the womb of the holy church your mother."

August. de Pec. Mer. et Remis. Lib. ii. cap. xxvi. August. ad Catech. Lib. ii. cap. i.

Therefore, having thus once entered into the faith of Christ, although they happened afterward to depart this life without baptism, yet the church oftentimes thought it good to judge well of them. St Ambrose doubted not but the emperor Valentinian departed hence in God's favour[19]; and yet was the same emperor but a beginner and a novice in the faith, and departed hence without baptism.

Ambros. de Obit. Valent.

M. Harding saith further: "Unless the penitent make particular rehearsal of all his sins, the priest or minister can be no judge." Whereunto I add also further, Notwithstanding any rehearsal that may be made, yet can the priest never be but a doubtful judge. St Augustine saith: *Quid ergo mihi est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi . . . sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? . . . Unde sciunt, cum a meipso de meipso audiunt, an verum dicam? Quandoquidem nemo scit hominum quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in homine*[20]: "What have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they were able to heal all my griefs? When they hear me speak of myself[21],

August. Conf. Lib. x. cap. iii.

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ment was that infants could not be baptized in their mother's womb.]

[12 Id. Confess. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 7. Tom. I. col. 99; where *jacuit*, and *in sudore*.]

[13 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. xviii. Pars ii. Art. i. Quæst. 6. Tom. V. pp. 253, 4.]

[14 Concil. Carthag. iv. cap. 76. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. cols. 1205, 6; where *si* follows *petit*, and *audierunt*.]

[15 For so it, 1567.]

[16 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xxiv. Quæst. ii. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 1410.]

[17 August. Op. De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. Lib. ii. cap. xxvi. 42. Tom. X. col. 62; where *catechumenos*, and *sanctificari*.]

[18 Id. de Symb. Serm. ad Catech. cap. i. 1. Tom. VI. col. 555. The Benedictine editors suspect the genuineness of this work.]

[19 Ambros. Op. De Ob. Valent. Cons. 51, 2, 3. Tom. II. col. 1188.]

[20 August. Op. Confess. Lib. x. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. col. 171; where *quid mihi ergo est*, and *qui in ipso est*.]

[21 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

Open Confession.

how can they tell whether I do say the truth or no? For no man knoweth what is done in man, but the spirit of man that is in man."

Howbeit, hereof have grown many unnecessary and curious questions; what years, what months, what days, what hours, what manner, what order of penance should serve for every several sin: in resolution of which doubts stood the judgment of the priest. And therefore Carolus Magnus in his laws straitly commandeth that the priests should be skilful in the book of penance[1].

Beat. Rhenan. in Tertull. de Pœnit. Ut sacerdotes pœnit. librum bene calleant.

But, as touching the judge of sins, St Chrysostom saith: *Ante Deum confitere*[2] *peccata tua. Apud verum Judicem cum oratione delicta tua pronuntia*[3]: "Confess thy sins before God. Before the true Judge with prayer pronounce thine offences." And again: *Cogitatione fiat delictorum exquisitio: sine teste sit hoc judicium: solus te Deus confitentem videat*[4]: "Let the examination of thy sins be wrought in thy heart: let this judgment be without witness: let God only hear thee when thou makest thy confession." And again he saith: *Medicinæ locus hic est, non judicii; non pœnas, sed peccatorum remissionem tribuens: Deo soli dic peccatum tuum*[5]: "Here is place of medicine, and not of judgment; giving not punishment, but remission of sins. Open thy sin to God alone."

Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 31. Chrysost. in Serm. de Confess. et Pœnit. Chrysost. Hom. 9. De Pœnit.

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Omnis qui.

And therefore in M. Harding's own canons it is noted thus: *Confessio fit ad ostensionem pœnitentiæ, non ad*[6] *impetrationem veniæ*[7]: "Confession is made" unto the priest, "not thereby to obtain forgiveness, but to declare our repentance." And again: *Confessio sacerdoti offertur in signum veniæ acceptæ, non in causam remissionis accipiendæ*[8]: "Confession is made unto the priest in token of remission already obtained, and not as a cause whereby to procure remission."

In eodem cap.

And yet is the priest a judge, all this notwithstanding, and pronounceth sentence as a judge, of doctrine, of open sin, of the offence of the church, and of the humility and heaviness of the penitent; and as a judge, together with the elders of the congregation, he[9] hath authority both to condemn and to absolve. Peter Lombard himself saith: *Etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per judicium sacerdotis*[10]: "Albeit a man be absolved before God, yet is he not accounted absolved in the face of the church but by the judgment of the priest."

iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Non autem.

Likewise saith St Augustine: *Hortor prius publica pœnitentia satisfacere, et . . . sacerdotis judicio reconciliatum communioni sociari*[11]: "I exhort you first to make satisfaction" unto the church, "by open penance, and so to be restored to the communion by the discretion of the priest."

August. De Eccles. Dogmat. Lib. i. cap. liii.

The order hereof, as it is set forth by St Cyprian, was this: first, the sinner by many outward gestures and tokens shewed himself to be penitent and sorrowful for his sin: after that, he made humble confession thereof before the whole congregation, and desired his brethren to pray for him: lastly, the bishop and the clergy laid their hands over him, and so reconciled him[12]. So saith Origen: *Qui lapsus est procedit in medium et exomologesin facit*[13]: "He that hath offended cometh forth into the midst" of the people, "and maketh his confession." Sozomenus likewise, describing the same order, saith thus: *Rei ad terram sese pronos abjiciunt cum planctu et lamentatione: episcopus ex adverso occurrit cum lacrymis, et ipse ad pavimentum lamentando provolvitur; et universa ecclesiæ multitudo lacrymis suffunditur*[14]: "They that have offended fall down flat with weeping and

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist. 15.

Orig. in Psal. xxxvii.

Sozom. Lib. vii. cap. xvi.

[1 Unde Pipinus, Carolus Magnus, Ludovicus, et Lotharius, severe jubent in legibus suis, ut sacerdotes pœnitentialem librum bene calleant.—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Arg. Lib. de Pœn. p. 10.]

[2 Confiteri, 1570.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xii. Hom. xxxi. Tom. XII. pp. 289, 90.]

[4 Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Pœn. et Confess. Serm. Tom. V. col. 905; where *absque teste.*]

[5 Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœn. Hom. iii. Tom. II. p. 300.] [6 An, 1611.]

[7 Fit itaque confessio ad &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 37. col. 1680.]

[8 Ibid.] [9 1567 omits *he.*]

[10 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xviii. F. fol. 378. 2.]

[11 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xxiii. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 78. This treatise, it would seem, is by Gennadius.]

[12 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Mart. et Confess. Epist. xv. p. 34.]

[13 Si ergo sit aliquis ita fidelis ut si quid conscius sit sibi, procedat in medium...super his ergo consequenter dicit qui exomologesin, id est, confessionem, facit: Amici mei &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Explan. sup. Psalm. xxxvii. Hom. ii. 1. Tom. II. p. 686.]

[14 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. xvi. p. 590.]

lamentation to the ground: the bishop cometh to him with tears, and himself likewise falleth down; and the whole multitude of the church is poured over and over with tears."

Open Confession.

I use the more words herein for that the whole matter is long sithence grown utterly out of use. Notwithstanding, this is the confession and penance that St Augustine speaketh of. Of open confession, M. Harding, he saith: "The keys were not given to the church in vain." Of open confession he saith: "Whatsoever ye loose in earth shall be loosed in heaven." Of open confession he speaketh all these words, and not of any auricular or private dealing. If M. Harding happen to doubt hereof, let him look better upon his books. There shall he find, even in the very same place he hath alleged, these words, partly going before, partly following: *Agite pœnitentiam, qualis agitur in ecclesia, ut oret pro vobis ecclesia:... Job dicit, Si erubui in conspectu populi confiteri peccata mea:...propterea Deus voluit ut Theodosius...ageret pœnitentiam publicam in conspectu populi:...nolite permittere viros vestros fornicari: interpellate contra eos ecclesiam*[15]: "Do penance, such as is done in the church, that the church may pray for you: Job saith, 'I was not ashamed in the sight of all the people to confess my sins': therefore God would that Theodosius (being the emperor of the world) should do open penance even in the presence of all the people. Ye wives, suffer not your husbands to live in fornication: come before the congregation, and cry against them."

August. in Lib. I. Hom. Hom. 49.

This is the confession that St Augustine speaketh of; not secret, or private, or in the ear[16]; but public, and open, and in the sight and hearing of all the people. In like manner saith St Ambrose: *Multos necesse est [ut] ambias, [et] obsecres ut dignentur intervenire....Fleat pro te mater ecclesia, et culpam tuam lacrymis lavet*[17]: "Thou must needs humble thyself[18], and desire many to entreat for thee. Let the church thy mother weep for thee, and let her wash thy offence with her tears."

Ambros. De Pœnit. Lib. ii. cap. x.

This therefore, M. Harding, was no plain dealing, with such sleight to turn public into private, and the open audience of the whole people into one only man's secret ear; and so much to abuse the simplicity of your reader. Certainly these words of St Augustine, "open penance:" "confess openly:" "in the sight of all the people:" "that the whole church may pray for thee[19]:" these words, I say, will not easily serve to prove your purpose for private confession.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 3.

We say also, that the minister doth execute the authority of binding and shutting as often as he shutteth up the gate of the kingdom of heaven against unbelieving[20] and stubborn persons, denouncing unto them God's vengeance and everlasting punishment; or else, when he doth quite shut them out from the bosom of the church by open excommunication. Out of doubt, what sentence soever the minister of God shall give in this sort, God himself doth so well allow it, that, whatsoever here in earth by their means is loosed and bound, God himself will loose and bind and confirm the same in heaven.

Binding and loosing. Sin forgiven without Confession.

M. HARDING.

**Here again you confound the power of binding and the office of preaching, as you did before speaking of the power of loosing. Whereto we say, as we said before of that other, that binding and shutting consisteth not in denouncing of God's vengeance, but in the exercise of the key of jurisdiction committed to the church; the ministers whereof bind sinners, whom for just cause they loose not, but know that they*

* Untruth. For we confound them not.

[15 August. Op. Ad Conjug. Serm. cccxcii. 3, 4. Tom. V. cols. 1504, 5; where *nolite viros vestros permittere*, and *contra eos*.]

[16 Earth, 1570.]

[17 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Pœnit. Lib. II. cap. x. 91, 2. Tom. II. cols. 435, 6.]

[18 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[19 1567 omits *for thee*.]

[20 Against the unbelieving, Conf.]

Binding and loosing. Sin forgiven without Confession.

are not to be loosed. And to that key pertaineth excommunication, and by the same it is exercised....

Whatsoever by them is thus loosed or bound in earth, God himself alloweth for loosed and bound in heaven. Such priests because ye 1. *have not in your new church, at least after this wise* 2. *using priestly authority,* 3. *and none will suffer to be made,* 4. *nor such authority to be exercised; ye* 5. *defraud the faithful people of the great benefit of the sacrament of penance, keeping them fast bound to their sins after baptism committed. And so ye cause their everlasting damnation, for whom Christ hath shed his blood, the price of their redemption.*

Untruths. Five together, as may further appear by the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We confound not these keys, M. Harding, but speak plainly and distinctly of either other. We say that the power, as well of loosing as also of binding, standeth in God's word; and the exercise or execution of the same standeth either in preaching, or else in sentence of correction and ecclesiastical discipline.

Of the latter[1] hereof there is no question; of the former M. Harding pronounceth precisely, although, as it appeareth, not most advisedly: "Binding," saith he, "and shutting standeth not in denouncing of God's vengeance." And hereof he certainly assureth us, as of a most undoubted verity. Howbeit, in so saying he seemeth not to consider the power and weight of the word of God.

John xii. Christ himself saith: "If any man shall hear my words, and shall not believe, I condemn him not.... He that refuseth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that condemneth him. The word that I have spoken is it that shall judge
2 Cor. ii. him at the last day." Likewise saith St Paul: "We are the good savour of Christ in them that be saved and in them that perish. Unto them that perish we are the savour of death unto death: in them that be saved we are[2] the savour
2 Cor. iv. of life unto life." And again: "If the gospel be hidden, it is hidden from them
Ezek. iii. that perish." So saith God unto the prophet Ezekiel: "If thou give warning to the wicked, and he will not be turned from his wickedness, he shall perish in the same; yet hast thou discharged thine own soul."

To be short, the whole scriptures are full hereof; and therefore St Augustine
August. Epist. 49. ad Deograt. saith: *Prædicatur evangelium quibusdam ad præmium, quibusdam ad judicium*[3]: "The gospel is preached to some unto reward, to some unto judgment."

For the rest M. Harding saith: "Such priests because ye have not in your new church, at least after this wise using priestly authority, and none will suffer to be made, and such authority to be exercised; ye defraud the faithful people of the great benefit of the sacrament of penance, keeping them fast bound to their sins after baptism committed; and so ye cause their everlasting damnation, for whom Christ hath shed his blood, the price of their redemption."

These great words are not very well seasoned: they are big in sound, and small in weight: they are full of terror, and void of wit. For the church of England hath authority this day by God's word to bind and loose, as much as ever Christ gave any to his apostles; and by the same authority the same church of England[4] is able to bind, not only M. Harding and his fellows, as Peter bound Simon Magus, or as Paul bound Elymas the false prophet, but also the pope himself, if he be an open offender; and, as St Paul saith, is able[5] to deliver him over unto Satan; and[6] undoubtedly, being so bound in earth, he shall also stand bound in heaven.

Our people remain not bound, nor perish in their sins, as these men so uncharitably and fondly have imagined. They be so certain of the remission of their sins in the blood of Christ, as if Christ himself were present and spake it to
1 John i. them. They are taught and know that "the blood of Christ the Son of God
Acts iv. hath made us clean from all our sins;" and that "there is no name under heaven whereby we shall be saved, but only the name of Jesus Christ."

[1 Later, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Be, 1567.]

[3 ...quibusdam ad præmium, quibusdam ad judicium prædicatur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Deograt. Lib. seu Epist. cii. Quæst. ii. 15. Tom. II. col. 279.]

[4 1567 omits *the same church of England.*]

[5 1567 omits *is able.*]

[6 Add, 1611.]

As for private confession, abuses and errors set apart, as it is said before, we condemn it not, but leave it at liberty. And therein we may seem to follow the advice of Charles the emperor in his late Interim; for thus he writeth: *Confessio et peccatorum enumeratio, ... ut non nimis laxanda est, ita vicissim non nimis* [*est*] *astringenda*[7]. Inter. Carol. V. anno 1548.

Touching the priests of your making, M. Harding, of whom ye seem to make so great account, your own Peter Lombard saith of them, as it is said before: *Sane dici potest quod alteram clavem, id est, scientiam discernendi, multi sacerdotes non habent*[8]. And in like manner saith your own Bonaventura: *Omnes fere ita sunt simplices et idiotæ post susceptionem sacerdotii,* [*sic*]*ut ante*[9]: "All priests for the most part are as simple and unlearned after the receiving of order[10] as they were before." iv. Sent. Dist. 19. Post. Bonavent. iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Quæst. 1. E.

But be it granted that your priest be fully furnished with all his keys, yet is it not he that by any his authority forgiveth sins. Your own Gratian saith: *Evidentissime datur intelligi, quod sine confessione oris peccata possunt deleri*[11]: "It is evidently given us to understand, that without confession of mouth sins may be forgiven." And again: *Ore tacente, veniam consequi possumus*[12]: "Though we say nothing, yet we may have pardon." Again: *Luce clarius constat, cordis contritione, non oris confessione peccata dimitti*[13]: "It is apparent, and more clear than the light, that sins be forgiven by contrition of the heart, and not by confession of the mouth." And again: *Dominus ostendit, quod non sacerdotali judicio sed largitate divina peccator mundatur*[14]: "Our Lord hath taught us that the sinner is made clean, not by the judgment of the priest, but by the mercy of God." De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Quis aliquando. De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Convertimini.

Thus, M. Harding, it is plain by the judgment of your own doctors that, were your auricular confession quite abolished, yet might the people notwithstanding have full remission of their sins. But of you it may be verified that Christ said unto the Pharisees: "Ye have taken away the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and neither do ye enter yourselves, nor will you[15] suffer others that would enter." Luke xi. Of your keys Veselus said long sithence: *Claves papæ et prælatorum non aperiunt regnum Dei, sed claudunt potius*[16]: "The pope's and the prelates' keys do not open the kingdom of God, but rather shut it." Vesel. de Subdit. et Super.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 1.

And touching the keys, wherewith they may either shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we with Chrysostom say, "They be the knowledge of the scriptures;" with Tertullian we say, "They be the interpretation of the law;" and with Eusebius we call them "the word of God." The Word is the Key.

M. HARDING.

... The let whereby the whole nature of man is shut out of heaven by the sin of our first parent is taken away by the passion of Christ. But because, before that benefit be received, heaven yet remaineth shut, both for sin original contracted and sin actual committed, we have need of the sacraments and keys of the church.

The holy fathers, for good considerations grounded upon scripture, have divided the keys into the key of order and the key of jurisdiction; and either of them into the key of knowledge, which they call also the key of discretion, and into the key of power. . . .

[7 Interim, hoc est, Const., &c. Col. 1548. fol. C. 2.]

[8 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. xix. A. fol. 380. 2. See before, page 356, note 5.]

[9 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. xviii. Pars i. Art. iii. Quæst. 1. Tom. V. p. 244.]

[10 Orders, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 87. col. 1712. But a note says: Loquitur ex persona adversam partem sustinentis. col. 1714.]

[12 Ibid. can. 34. col. 1677.]

[13 Ostendens in contritione cordis...non in confessione oris...peccata dimitti.—Ibid. can. 33. ibid.]

[14 Ibid. can. 34. ibid.; where *ostenderet*, and *divinæ gratiæ peccator emundatur*.]

[15 Your, 1567.]

[16 M. Wessel. Farrag. Rer. Theolog. Basil. 1522. fol. 42. 2. There are not exactly the words here. Conf. fol. 44, &c.]

The Word is the Key.

To these defenders we say, that they confound the keys, and seem not to know what the keys are. Verily these be not only the knowledge of the scriptures, nor the interpretation of the law, nor the word of God; although these also do open or shut the kingdom of heaven in their kind, as Chrysostom, Tertullian, and Eusebius may well say; and not only these, but also miracles, and plagues, and all other things which prepare the will or understanding of man, whereby he may receive the benefit of those most principal keys that now we speak of.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Gentle reader, for the better understanding hereof, it may please thee to consider that the word of God, according to the sundry effects and properties thereof, hath sundry names. For example, for that it increaseth and multiplieth, it is called "seed:" for that it cutteth the heart, and divideth the flesh from the spirit, it is called a "sword:" for that it taketh and incloseth us, and bringeth us together, it is called a "net:" for that it washeth us clean, it is called "water:" for that it inflameth us, it is called "fire:" for that it feedeth us, it is called "bread." And even so, for that it openeth and giveth us an entry into the house, it is called the "key." This house is the kingdom of heaven: Christ is the door: the word of God is the key.

For thus saying M. Harding telleth us we "confound matters, and seem not to know what we say." Notwithstanding, herein we imagine nothing of our own, but only report the very words and sentences of the ancient learned catholic fathers.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

Tertullian saith: *Quam . . .clavem habebant legis doctores, nisi interpretationem legis*[1]? "What key had the doctors of the law, saving the exposition of the law?"

Hieron. in Esai. Lib. vi. cap. xxiv.

St Hierome saith: *Duces ecclesiæ . . . habent claves scientiæ, ut aperiant scripturas creditis sibi populis. Unde præcipitur, ut magistri aperiant, et discipuli ingrediantur*[2]: "The captains of the church have the keys of knowledge, to open the scriptures unto the people to them committed. Therefore commandment is given that the masters should open, and the scholars should enter."

Ambros. de Cain et Abel, Lib. ii.

St Ambrose saith: *Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cujus Levites est interpres*[3]: "Sins be forgiven by the word of God, the expounder whereof is the priest."

Thus these and other like ancient fathers have opened the meaning of these keys; and yet were they never therefore condemned of ignorance, as men that wist not what they said.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 44.

Certainly Chrysostom saith: *Clavis . . . est scientia scripturarum, per quam aperitur janua veritatis*[4]: "The key is the knowledge of the scriptures, whereby is opened the gate of the truth."

August. de Sanct. Hom. 27.

And St Augustine saith: *Clavis . . . est dicenda, qua ad fidem pectorum dura . . . reserantur*[5]: "That ought to be called the key, wherewith the hardness of men's hearts is opened unto faith."

Multiplication of Keys.

Here hath M. Harding well multiplied and increased his keys, and hath brought us forth a whole bunch of them altogether; the keys of orders; the keys of jurisdiction; the keys of discretion; the keys of power; the keys most principal, and the keys not so principal. And thus hath he keys of order without jurisdiction, and keys of jurisdiction without order; keys of discretion without power, and keys of power without discretion. And all these pretty shifts of keys hath he devised to avoid confusion; and, to make up his tale, as if the pope's cross keys were not sufficient, plagues and miracles, and I know not what things else, are brought forth unto us in the likeness of keys. "And this distinction and limitation of keys," saith he, "hath upon good considerations been devised by the holy fathers." And yet of all these holy fathers, for modesty's sake, he nameth not one[6].

[1 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 27. p. 549.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. VI. in Isai. Proph. cap. xiii. Tom. III. col. 148; where *habentes clavem*, and *eas* for *scripturas*.]

[3 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Cain et Abel. Lib. II. cap. iv. 15. Tom. I. col. 212. See before, page 358, note 1.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.; where *est verbum scientiæ*.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccii. in Nat. Apost. Petr. et Paul. ii. 1. Tom. V. Append. col. 336; where *dicenda est*. This sermon is attributed with much probability to Maximus.]

[6 Nameth none, 1567.]

What answer were it best to make to such vanities? Indeed, when the right key of knowledge was lost and gone, it was time to devise some other pretty picklocks to work the feat. Bonaventura hereof writeth thus, as it is partly alleged before: *Omnes fere [sacerdotes] ita sunt simplices et idiotæ post susceptionem sacerdotii, [sic]ut ante. Dicendum [ergo], quod . . . scientia . . . non est clavis principalis, nec per se, sed prout juncta est auctoritati ligandi vel solvendi. Et hæc clavis non est de esse ordinis, sed de bene esse*[7]: "All priests for the most part are as simple and as rude after the receiving of the priesthood[8] as they were before. Therefore we must say that knowledge is not the principal key, nor any key at all of itself, but as it is joined with the authority of binding or loosing. And this key (of knowledge) is not of the substance of the order of priesthood, but of the better being of the same." And therefore, to increase M. Harding's number of keys, he saith: *Quidam habent scientiam clavium: . . . quidam claviculam*[9]: . . . *quidam . . . nullam*[10]: "Some have the knowledge of the keys; some a pretty little key; some no key at all." In this case it were good for M. Harding to resolve his reader, when the priest hath nothing else but a pretty little key, or no key at all, what authority he hath either to open or to shut.

Bonavent. iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Quæst. 1. E.

Eodem loco.

M. Harding replieth farther: "We have remission of sins in the ministration of the sacraments; therefore we have it not only by the hearing of the word of God." This objection is touched and partly answered a little before. St Augustine calleth the sacraments *verba visibilia*[11], "words visible," for that in them, as in lively images, the death of Christ is sensibly set before our eyes. For the word of God is the substance and life of all sacraments; and without the same sacraments whatsoever are no sacraments. And therefore St Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: *Quare non ait, [Vos] mundi estis propter baptismum, quo loti estis; sed ait, Propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis; nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua, nisi aqua*[12]? "Why saith not Christ, You are clean because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; but, 'Because of the word that I have spoken to you;' saving for that it is the word that cleanseth in the water? Take the word away, and what is water else but water?"

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xix. cap. xvi.

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 2.

Moreover, that Christ's disciples did receive this authority, not that they should hear the private[13] confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings, as the common massing priests do every where now-a-days, and do it so as though in that one point lay all the virtue and use of the keys; but to the end they should go, they should teach, they should publish abroad the gospel, and be unto the believing a sweet savour of life unto life, and unto the unbelieving and unfaithful a savour of death unto death; and that the minds of godly persons, being brought low by the remorse of their former life and errors, after they once began[14] to look up unto the light of the gospel, and believe in Christ, might be opened with the word of God, even as a door is opened with a key: contrariwise, that the wicked and wilful[15], and such as would not believe, nor return into the right way, should be left still as fast locked and shut up, and, as St Paul saith, "wax worse and worse." This take we to be the meaning of the keys, and that after this sort men's consciences be either opened[16] or shut.

2 Tim. iii.

[7 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. xviii. Pars I. Art. iii. Quæst. 1. Tom. V. pp. 244, 5; where *et solvendi.*]

[8 Of priesthood, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Claviculum, 1570.]

[10 Id. ibid. p. 245; where *habebant.*]

[11 August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. XIX cap. xvi. Tom. VIII. col. 321.]

[12 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[13 Hear private, Conf.]

[14 Begonne, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15 Wilful folk, Conf.]

[16 Fashion men's consciences either to be, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

Here ye harp much upon one string, which so jarreth in the ears of the hearers, as your confuse harmony can like no man, unless he be a minstrel of your own sect. The authority and power of the keys consisteth not altogether nor principally in preaching or pronouncing of the gospel, as already we have proved. What may we judge of you? Proceedeth this of malice or of ignorance, that thus ye confound the keys, the powers, and the ministries?...

Preaching is one thing, to govern the church is another, to remit and retain sins is another, to distribute the sacraments is another. Doth not St Paul in clear words speak severally and distinctly of ministries, where he saith that he was not sent of Christ "to baptize, but to preach the gospel?" This doctrine of yours, whereby ye confound the keys, powers, and ministries, doth not only obscure the scriptures, and bring the people to great errors; but also, under pretence of a love toward preaching of the gospel, leadeth them into contempt of the sacraments, and specially of the sacrament of penance, without which, if after baptism we have sinned (not being letted by case of necessity, wherein will, desire, and vow is accepted), [a]we cannot attain to salvation. As you follow Calvin your master in this and sundry other false and perilous doctrines, so it is to be feared, if your wicked temerity be suffered to proceed, that at length, having brought all religion to bare preaching, ye will abandon all the sacraments of the church, as things not necessary. For so that wicked master of yours teacheth, that where Christ's death may be remembered otherwise, there [b]all the sacraments be superfluous. And, that I seem not to slander him, I remit you to his commentaries upon the first epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians, where expounding these words, "Do this in my remembrance," he saith thus: "The supper is a token of remembrance, ordained to lift up or help our infirmity; for, if otherwise we were mindful enough of Christ's death, this help (he meaneth the blessed sacrament of the altar) were superfluous; which is common to all the sacraments, for they be helps of our infirmity[1]." Lo, by Calvin's doctrine, if we remember the death of Christ, both the eucharist and all other holy sacraments be void and superfluous...And then, because no other thing bringeth to our remembrance the death of Christ more than preaching, to what purpose serve all the sacraments?

1 Cor. i.

[a] Untruth, as by the answer may further appear.

Calvin's wicked doctrine against the sacraments.

[b] A great untruth joined with a slander. Read the answer.

Thus these defenders, with their master Calvin, have found a shorter way to heaven than was known before....

In another place he seemeth to derogate much of the necessity of baptism of christian men's children; where he saith, that by reason of God's promise "the issue which cometh of faithful parents [c]is born holy, and is a holy progeny, and that the children of such, being yet inclosed in the womb, before they draw breath of life, be nevertheless chosen into the covenant of life everlasting[2]." This doctrine, when it shall take place, as by you defenders[3] it is set in a good furtherance, what shall we look for but that the necessary sacrament of baptism, (without which who is to be counted a christian man?) and the most blessed and comfortable sacrament of the altar, and the wholesome sacrament of penance and absolution, and the rest of the sacraments, shall be no more esteemed and used than now ye esteem and use the mass, holy bread, and holy water? This being once brought to pass, shall not the people easily be induced either to receive Mahomet's religion, or some other, as far from God as that is, or to allow the pleasant trade of life of the [d]Epicureans, the most part being already thereto inclined, and no small number well entered?

Contra Interim.

[c] These be not M. Calvin's words, but St Paul's: "Filii vestri sancti sunt," 1 Cor. vii.

Quid si cœlum ruat?

[d] Otherwise called the Romans.

But to return again[4] to the keys, which seem to you to have no force ne use but in preaching: first, as touching the scornful scoffs uttered by you, sir defender, in Latin, and by your interpreter in English against private confessions, and against the ministers of the church appointed by God for grace of reconciliation to be imparted to penitents; your light mocking spirit delighteth yourselves not so much as it

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[1 Ergo cœna μνημόσυνον est sublevandæ nostræ infirmitati institutum: nam si mortis Christi satis alioqui memores essemus, supervacuum esset hoc adminiculum: quod omnium sacramentorum est commune; sunt enim infirmitatis nostræ adjumenta.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. In Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. VII. p. 183.]

[2 Sancta ideo nascitur ex fidelibus progenies, quod adhuc utero inclusi, ipsorum liberi, antequam vitalem spiritum hauriant, cooptati tamen sunt in fœdus vitæ æternæ.—Id. Ver. Eccles. Reform. Tom. VIII. pp. 281, 2.]

[3 Defender, 1611.]

[4 Conf. omits *again*.]

pitieth us to see you both so fast bound in Satan's fetters. Next, concerning confession [e] *necessarily required to the use and power of the keys, which you speak of at your pleasure, thus we say, according to the scriptures: Among sundry effects, for which Christ gave the keys to the apostles and their successors, this is one, that by power of them they should remit and retain sins, as himself said: "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained."* [f] *But sins cannot duly be remitted or retained, unless they be known to him that hath authority thereto; and knowledge of sins (specially such as are privy) cannot be had of man, who cannot see into the heart of man,* [f] *but by confession of the sinner: wherefore consequently it followeth, that they received this authority to hear the confession of christian people desirous to be assoiled and reconciled....*

Matt. xvi. & xviii. John xx.

[e] Untruth. For it is not required of necessity, as shall appear.

[f] Untruths, two together. See the answer.

Wherefore the confession, yea, of secret sins, is necessary to salvation by [g] *the institution of Christ. For in that he instituted the end, he instituted also the means which should be necessary to the obtaining of the end; unless we would make Christ our Law-maker to have failed his church in things necessary. That sins cannot either be remitted or retained, except the priest know them, we are bold to say*[5] *with the fathers, and specially with St Hierome, who so* [h] *understood the words of Christ, where he promised the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter:* Sacerdos...pro officio suo cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui...solvendus[6]: *"The priest," saith he, "when as according to his office he hath heard the diversity*[7] *of sins, knoweth who is to be bound, who is to be loosed." Right so as in the time of Moses' law he pronounced not who was clean of leper, who was not, before that he had viewed the colour, the bunches, and all other tokens of that disease. And thus it followeth of the words of Christ, that confession of all sins, at least deadly, must be made to the priest, before they can be remitted: which priest is the minister of this sacrament, and hath authority to absolve, either ordinary, or by commission of the superior.*

Matt. xvi. Comment. in Matt. xvi.

[g] Untruth. For M. Harding's own doctors say it was ordained by tradition, and not by Christ.

[h] Untruth. In mistaking and abridging St Hierome's words.

Again, for proof that confession is necessary, we say that to remit and retain sins committed against God, as to bind and to loose, be judicial acts. And therefore by these words Christ ordained a court, a consistory, a seat of judgment in the church, and appointed the apostles and their successors to be judges. And that this may appear not to be a fantasy of our own heads, St Austine expoundeth these[8] *words of St John in his Revelation:* Et vidi sedes, &c.[9]: *"And I saw seats, and some sitting on them, and judgment was given." "We must not think," saith he, "this to be spoken of the last judgment, but we must understand the seats of the rulers, and the rulers themselves, by whom now the church is governed. And as for the judgment given, it seemeth not to be taken for any other than for that whereof it is*[10] *said: "What things ye bind in earth, they shall be bound also in heaven; and what things ye loose in*[11] *earth, they shall be loosed also in heaven." Sundry other fathers have uttered in their writings the same doctrine. Hilarius, upon the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, saith:* Beatus cœli janitor, &c.[12]: *"Blessed is the porter of heaven, whose earthly judgment (that is to say, which is given here on earth) is a fore-judged authority in heaven, that what things be bound or loosed in earth, they have the condition of the same statute also in heaven." St Cyprian hath the like saying in an epistle to Cornelius*[13]. *Chrysostom saith that "Christ hath translated all judg-*

This consistory stood sometime in excommunication, sometime in preaching.

In Matt. cap. xvi.

Lib. i. Epist. 2.

De Dignit. Sacerd. Lib. iii.

[5 Bold so to say, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75.]

[7 Diversities, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 Augustine so expoundeth those, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570; Augustine expoundeth these, 1609.]

[9 'Et vidi,' inquit, 'sedes et sedentes super eas, et judicium datum est.' Non hoc putandum est de ultimo judicio dici: sed sedes præpositorum et ipsi præpositi intelligendi sunt, per quos ecclesia nunc gubernatur. Judicium autem datum nullum melius accipiendum videtur, quam id quod dictum est, 'Quæ ligaveritis in terra, ligata erunt et in cœlo; et quæ solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in cœlo.'—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XX. cap. ix. 2. Tom. VII. col. 586.]

[10 Was, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11 On, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[12 O beatus cœli janitor,...cujus terrestre judicium præjudicata auctoritas sit in cœlo: ut quæ in terris aut ligata sint aut soluta, statuti ejusdem conditionem obtineant et in cœlo.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. xvi. 7. cols. 690, 1.]

[13 The passage intended would seem to be the following: Nec enim fas erat...ecclesiam pulsantibus claudi...quando permiserit ipse, qui legem dedit, ut ligata in terris etiam in cœlis ligata essent; solvi autem possent illic, quæ hic prius in ecclesia solverentur.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lvii. p. 116.]

This saying pertaineth not to confession, but to the authority of God's word.

ment which he received of the Father unto the apostles and priests[1]*." Gregory Nazianzene, in an oration to the emperor and his princes, saith to the emperor:* Ovis mea es, et nos habemus tribunalia[2]: *"Thou art my sheep, and we have our seats of judgment." St Gregory the pope compareth the sacrament of penance with a court of justice, in which causes be first examined and tried, and afterward judged*[3]*. That the same is to be done by the priest, St Bernard sheweth*[4]*; who, as also the learned father Hugo de S. Victore*[5]*, be not afraid to say after St Cyprian, Hilary, and Chrysostom, that the sentence of Peter remitting sins goeth before the sentence of heaven. This ordinance of Christ requireth that all trespasses, offences, disorders, transgressions, and sins committed against him and his laws, be referred to his*[6] *consistory.*

Private Confession.

Whether these defenders allow public confession or no, we know not: but, whereas they inveigh against private confession, and say in spiteful words, which they have learned in the school of Satan, being loth the sins of the people, whereby he holdeth his kingdom, should be remitted, that Christ's disciples received not the authority of the keys, that they should hear private confessions of the people and listen to their whisperings; we tell them, that confession of all deadly sins is of the [i]*institution of God, not of man. But, concerning the manner of confessing secretly to a priest alone, it is most agreeable to natural reason that secret sins be confessed secretly....*

[i] Untruth. As it is proved before. Confession grounded upon natural reason.

[k] A vain forgery.

[k]*Clement, amongst those things that he acknowledgeth himself to have received of Peter, this is one, as he writeth in his first epistle, translated by Rufine the priest: "That, if it fortune either envy or infidelity privily to creep into any man's heart, or any other like evil, he which regardeth his soul be not ashamed to confess those things to him that is in office over him, to the end that by him, through the word of God and wholesome counsel, he may be healed; so as by perfect*[7] *faith and good works he may escape the pains of everlasting fire, and come to the rewards of life that endureth for ever*[8]*."... No man speaketh more plainly of secret confession* [l]*than Origen, and that in sundry places, to which for brevity's sake I remit the reader.* In ii. cap. Levitici, *Homil.* 2[9]; De Principiis, *Lib. iii.*[10]; In Psal. xxxvii. *Homil.* 2[11]: *where he compareth the state of a sinner to a man that hath evil and undigested humours in his stomach; and saith, that "as by remaining of such evil matter the man feeleth himself very sick, and by vomiting of it forth he is eased; so the sinner by keeping his sins secret is the more grievously charged in his own conscience, and standeth in danger to be choked with the phlegm and humour of his sins: but if he accuse himself and confess his faults, he both vomiteth forth his sins, and digesteth the cause of the same." St Cyprian, as in many other places, so most plainly speaketh of secret confession,* Serm. 5, De Lapsis. *"Although," saith he of certain devout persons, "they be entangled with no great sin, yet because at least they thought of it,*

[l] Untruth. For he speaketh only of open confession.

All this belongeth to open confession.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 383. See before, page 355, note 16.]

[2 Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι· ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί'... ὅτι πρόβατον εἶ τῆς ἐμῆς ποίμνης. —Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Civ. Naz. Orat. xvii. 8. Tom. I. pp. 322, 3. It was the prefect of the province whom Gregory addressed.]

[3 Causæ ergo pensandæ sunt, et tunc ligandi atque solvendi potestas exercenda, &c.—Gregor. Magni Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. II. Hom. xxvi. 6. Tom. I. col. 1555.]

[4 ... qui claves regni cœlorum tam singulariter accepit, ut præcedat sententia Petri sententiam cœli.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Fest. Apost. Pet. et Paul. Serm. i. 2. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 989.]

[5 ... quia sententiam Petri non præcedit, sed subsequitur sententia cœli.—H. de Sancto Victor. Op. Mogunt. 1617. De Sacram. Lib. II. Pars xiv. cap. viii. Tom. III. p. 500.]

[6 This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 Quod si forte alicujus cor vel livor, vel infidelitas, vel aliquod malum ex his quæ superius memoravimus, latenter irrepserit, non erubescat, qui animæ suæ curam gerit, confiteri hæc huic qui præest, ut ab ipso per verbum Dei et consilium salubre curetur; quo possit integra fide et operibus bonis pœnas æterni ignis effugere, et ad perpetuæ vitæ præmia pervenire.—Clement. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 33, 4.]

[9 ... cum non erubescit sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. ii. 4. Tom. II. col. 191.]

[10 Ita et si qui non prius animæ suæ vitia...cognoverit...ac proprii oris confessione prodiderit, purgari is absolvique non poterit.—Id. de Princip. Lib. III. 12. Rufin. Interp. Tom. I. p. 120. The Greek text hardly bears out this version:...μηδὲ ἑαυτοῦ κατεγνωκώς.]

[11 Fortassis enim sicut ii qui habent intus inclusam escam indigestam, aut humoris vel phlegmatis stomacho graviter et moleste immanentis abundantiam, si vomuerint, relevantur; ita etiam hi qui peccaverunt, si quidem occultant et retinent intra se peccatum, intrinsecus urgentur, et propemodum suffocantur a phlegmate vel humore peccati: si autem ipse sui accusator fiat, dum accusat semetipsum, et confitetur, simul evomit et delictum, atque omnem morbi digerit causam.—Id. in Psalm. xxxvii. Hom. ii. Tom. II. p. 686.]

Confession of evil thought.

the same unto the priests of God confess they sorrowfully and simply. They make confession of their conscience, they lay forth the burden of their mind[12]*," &c....*[13]

St Augustine, treating of the power of the keys in many places, but specially of confession, In Psalm. lx., *where, speaking much of the necessity of confession, he saith thus: "Why fearest thou to be confessed? If not being confessed thou remain hidden, not being confessed thou shalt be damned." And afterward*[14] *thus: "To this end God requireth confession, to deliver the humble; to this end he damneth him that confesseth not, to punish the proud. Therefore be thou sorry before thou be confessed: being confessed, rejoice; thou shalt be whole*[15]*."...*

By these and many other holy fathers, of whom there is no doubt but they had the Holy Ghost for their teacher and prompter of all truth, the catholic church hath been persuaded that the recital and rehearsing of m *all sins before the priest is necessary to salvation; unless necessity for lack of a priest or otherwise exclude us from it; and that a* n *general confession in no wise sufficeth.... True faith acknowledgeth that confession is to be made of all* n *sins, as* n *commanded by Christ and the apostles, commended to us by the* n *fathers of the primitive church, by all* n *learned doctors, and general use of the* n *whole church. And, if the express term of secret or auricular confession be* o *seldom mentioned in the ancient fathers, as that of public confession is oftentimes used*[16]*, as in the Nicene council, and in sundry other places, that is nothing repugnant to the doctrine of the catholic church....*

m Untruth. Read the answer.

n Untruths, many and manifest, as shall appear.

o Untruth. For it is never found. Otherwise let him shew it.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All this great shew of authorities of fathers and doctors M. Harding himself in the end dischargeth easily with one word. For, notwithstanding all that he could best devise to say herein, his conclusion at the last is this: "The express term of secret or auricular confession is seldom mentioned in the ancient fathers." "Seldom," he saith, as if it were sometimes used, although but seldom. But if he had left "seldom," and said "never," I trow this[17] tale had been the truer.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding allegeth against me the authority of pope Leo, condemning public confession offered up in writing, to be published openly to the people, and allowing rather confession made only privately to the priest: "Lest," saith Leo, "the penitents should be ashamed or afraid to open their deeds unto their enemies, of whom they may be troubled therefore by the ordinance of the laws[18]." &c. *The answer.* The name of pope Leo is great; but his reasons are very weak. For, touching the first reason, for that special cause in old times the penitents were forced to make open confession, to the end they might shew themselves ashamed of their sins, and be an example unto others. As for fear of enemies, and troubles, and suits in law that might happen to grow upon such confessions, if the ancient holy fathers had cast such doubts, public confession had never been used. ☜

Addition. ☞

For the rest we say as before: We make no confusion of the keys. Our doctrine is plain, that there be two keys in the church of God; the one of instruction, the other of correction: whereof the one worketh inwardly, the other outwardly; the one before God, the other before the congregation. And yet either of these standeth wholly in the word of God. And therefore St Paul

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[12 Denique quanto et fide majores et timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud sacerdotes Dei dolenter et simpliciter confitentes, exomologesin conscientiæ faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, &c.—Cypr. Op. De Laps. p. 134.]

[13 Here Harding goes on to refer to other passages of the fathers as testimonies for private and secret confession; e. g. Basil. de Regul. Monach. qu. 288, Paulinus in the life of Ambrose, Jerome in Ecclesiasten, cap. x., Leo in two Epistles lvii. ad Episc. Campaniæ, and lxix. ad Theodor. Episc., Innoc. I. in his Epistle ad Decent. cap. vii. To several of these Jewel makes answer.]

[14 Afterwards, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15 Times confiteri, qui non confitendo esse non potes occultus: damnaberis tacitus, qui posses liberari confessus...ad hoc exigit confessionem, ut liberet humilem; ad hoc damnat non confitentem, ut puniat superbum. Ergo tristis esto antequam confitearis; confessus exsulta, jam sanaberis.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. lxvi. Enarr. 6, 7. Tom. IV. cols. 660, 1.]

[16 Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570 omit *used.*]

[17 His, 1567.]

[18 ...dum aut erubescunt, aut metuunt inimicis suis sua facta reserari, quibus possint legum constitutione percelli.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Episc. per Campan. Epist. lxxx. col. 434.]

2 Tim. iii. saith: *Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad doctrinam, ad redargutionem, ad correctionem, ad institutionem, &c.:* "All scriptures inspired from God are profitable to teach the truth, to reprove the falsehood[1], to correct the wicked, to nurture and inform the godly."

Acts xvi. Of the former of these keys St Paul saith: "Believe in the Lord Jesus; and thou shalt be safe, with all thy house."

2 Cor. x. Of the other he saith: "The weapons of our warfare are not fleshly, but mighty through God to throw down holds, casting down every high thing that is builded up against the knowledge of God, and to bring all understanding captive to the obedience of Christ."

This doctrine seemeth to be simple and plain, and without confusion.

Sacraments necessary.

Touching M. Calvin, it is great wrong untruly to report so reverend a father and so worthy an ornament of the church of God. If you had ever known the order of the church of Geneva, and had seen four thousand people or more receiving the holy mysteries together at one communion, ye could not without your great shame and want of modesty thus untruly have published to the world that by M. Calvin's doctrine the sacraments of Christ are superfluous. Certainly, to leave all that he hath otherwise spoken of the sacraments in general, of the sacrament of Christ's last supper he writeth thus: *Magnum consolationis ac suavitatis fructum ex hoc sacramento colligere possunt piæ animæ; quod* [*illic*] *testimonium habeant, Christum sic nobis adunatum esse, sic nos illi vicissim insertos, adeoque in unum corpus cum ipso coaluisse, ut quicquid ipsius est nostrum vocare liceat*[2]*:* "The godly minds may take great fruit of pleasure and comfort of this sacrament, for that therein they have a witness that Christ is so made one with us and we so grafted[3] into him, and are so grown both into one body, that, whatsoever is his, we may now call it ours."

Instit. cap. xviii. 2.

"But Calvin," you say, "writeth thus[4]: The supper is a token of remembrance, to lift up or to help our infirmity. For, if otherwise we were mindful enough of Christ's death, this help were superfluous." O M. Harding, how far malice may bear[5] a man! Because M. Calvin saith, We are weak, and have need of outward sacraments to quicken the dulness of our senses; saith he therefore that the sacraments be superfluous? If he had likewise said, Our bodies be weak, and have need to be refreshed with meat and drink, would you[6] gather thereof that meat and drink are superfluous? Nay, contrariwise, he concludeth, We have need of sacraments; therefore sacraments be needful. And, the greater our weakness is, the more need have we of such remedies. His words, amongst many others of like sense, be these: *Sic est exigua nostra fides, ut, nisi undique fulciatur atque omnibus modis sustentetur, statim concutiatur, fluctuet, vacillet*[7]*:* "So small is our faith that, unless it be borne up of every side, and by all means be maintained, it shaketh, it wavereth, and is like to fall."

Instit. cap. xvi. 3.

If this be so dangerous a doctrine as you tell us, why then are the ancient catholic fathers suffered to hold and maintain the same? Dionysius, whom you so often call St Paul's scholar, writeth thus: *Nos imaginibus sensibilibus, quantum fieri potest, ad divinas adducimur contemplationes*[8]*:* "We, as much as may be, by sensible images or sacraments are brought unto divine contemplations."

Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i.

Likewise St Augustine saith: "*Sacramenta propter carnales visibilia instituta sunt; ut, ab illis quæ oculis cernuntur, ad illa quæ intelliguntur, sacramentorum gradibus transferamur*[9]*:* "Visible sacraments are ordained for carnal men, that by the steps of sacraments we may be led from the things that we see with eye unto the things that we understand." So saith St Cyprian: *Fidei nostræ....*

In Quæst. Vet. Test.

Cypr. De Cœn. Dom.

[1 Reprove falshead, 1567; reprove the falshead, 1570.]

[2 Magnum vero fiduciæ ac suavitatis &c. habent in unum corpus nos cum Christo coaluisse, &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xvii. 2. Tom. IX. p. 365.]

[3 Graffed, 1567, 1570.]

[4 But he saith, 1567.]

[5 May malice bear, 1567.]

[6 Ye, 1567.]

[7 Verum ut exigua est...nostra fides, nisi undique fulciatur ac modis omnibus sustentetur, statim concutitur, fluctuatur, vacillat.—Id. ibid. cap. xiv. 3. p. 343.]

[8 Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. 2. Tom. I. p. 232.]

[9 The editor has not been able to trace this passage.]

infirmitas sensibili[10] *argumento edocta est, &c.*[11]: "The weakness of our faith is taught by the understanding of the sacrament," &c. So St Chrysostom: *Si incorporei essemus, nuda et incorporea nobis hæc ipsa daret. Nunc, quia corporibus insertas habemus animas, sub visibilibus spiritualia tradit*[12]: "If we were bodiless, God would give us these things bare and bodiless. But forasmuch as we have souls fastened unto our bodies, therefore God giveth us things spiritual under things visible." Again he saith: *Rectis et fidelibus scripturæ non sunt necessariæ, dicente apostolo, Lex justis non est posita*[13]: "To the godly and faithful the scriptures are not necessary; for so the apostle saith, 'There is no law provided for the just'." And again: *Oportuerat quidem nos nihil indigere auxilio literarum, sed tam nudam in omnibus vitam exhibere, ut librorum vice gratia Spiritus uteremur*[14]: "It behoved us to have no need of the scriptures; but in all things to shew our lives so pure and clean, that instead of books we might use the grace of the Holy Ghost."

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 60.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 22. In Op Imperf.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 1.

In like manner St Hierome saith: *Cum ... meruerimus esse cum Christo, et similes angelis fuerimus, tunc librorum doctrina cessabit*[15]: "When we shall obtain to be with Christ, and shall be like unto the angels, then the doctrine of books shall give place."

Hieron. in Procem. in Lament. Hierem.

Now tell us, M. Harding, must we hereof conclude, as you do, that these holy fathers, St Cyprian, St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, "held false and perilous doctrines, and with wicked temerity," as you say[16], "would abandon both scriptures and sacraments, as things not necessary?" Certainly, for full resolution hereof, M. Calvin himself saith thus: *Facile patior, ut, quæ Christus nobis dedit salutis adjumenta, eorum usus necessarius dicatur; quando scilicet datur facultas. Quanquam semper admonendi sunt fideles, non aliam esse cujusvis sacramenti necessitatem, quam instrumentalis causæ, cui nequaquam alliganda est Dei virtus. Vocem sane illam nemo pius est qui non toto pectore exhorreat,* [*sacramenta*] *res esse superfluas*[17]: "I can well suffer that, whatsoever helps of salvation Christ hath given us, the use thereof be counted necessary; I mean, when we may have opportunity and time to use them. Howbeit, thus much the faithful must be warned, that the necessity of any sacrament is none otherwise but as of a cause instrumental; unto which cause we may not in any wise bind the power of God. But that the sacraments be things superfluous, no godly man can abide to hear it."

Joh. Calvin. in Antid. ad VII. Sess. Concil. Trident.

Whereas[18] you further charge M. Calvin for saying "the children of the faithful are born holy," ye should rather herewith have charged St Paul. For thus he saith: *Nunc liberi vestri sancti sunt:* "Now are your children holy." Ye should have remembered, M. Harding, that these be St Paul's words, and not M. Calvin's. His meaning is, that the children of the faithful, notwithstanding by nature they be the children of anger, yet by God's free election they be pure and holy. This is St Paul's undoubted doctrine; which notwithstanding, he never neither despised the sacraments of Christ, nor "led the people," as you say, "to Mahomet or Epicure."

1 Cor. vii.

Here at the last M. Harding, to return as he saith to his keys, first beginneth with "the spiteful words and scornful scoffs and light spirit of sir defender, which," he saith, "he learned in the school of Satan, and now lieth bound in Satan's fetters."

To answer all such M. Harding's vanities it were but vain. Wise men will not greatly weigh these childish tragedies.

But he saith "the priest holdeth a consistory, and is a judge over the sins of the people. But, being a judge, he cannot discern sins unless he know them.

[10 Symboli, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[12 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lx. Tom. V. col. 395.]

[13 Id. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxii. ex cap. viii. Tom. VI. p. cii.; where *necessariæ non sunt*, and *lex non est posita justo.*]

[14 Id. in Matt. Procem. Hom. i. Tom. VII. p. 1.]

[15 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1736. Comm. in Lament. Jerem. Procem. Tom. V. pp. 801, 2. This work is not genuine.]

[16 1567 omits *as you say.*]

[17 Calvin. Op. Sept. Sess. Synod. Trident. Antid. in can. 4. Tom. VIII. p. 256; where *patiar* and *nobis Christus.*]

[18 Where, 1567.]

Institution. Venial.

Neither can he know them but by confession. Therefore," saith M. Harding, "we tell them, that confession of all deadly sins is of the institution of God, and not of man. Marry," saith he[1], "touching the manner of confession secretly to the priest alone, it is most agreeable to natural reason that secret sins be confessed secretly."

Here I beseech thee, good christian reader, note this one thing by the way: M. Harding, contrary to common order, hath brought us the institution of God, without any manner word of God. "And thus," he saith, "we tell them;" as if his bare telling should stand for proof.

Verily, notwithstanding Christ gave his apostles power of binding and loosing, yet it appeareth not that he spake any one word of secret confession. And Gratian, a famous doctor of that side, doubteth not to say: *Latentia . . . peccata non probantur necessario sacerdoti confitenda*[2]: "It is not proved that privy sins ought of necessity to be confessed unto the priest." And again: *Datur intelligi, quod etiam, ore tacente, veniam consequi possumus*[3]: "We are given to understand that, although we utter nothing with our mouth, yet we may obtain pardon or absolution of our sins." Therefore, notwithstanding all this M. Harding's telling, his own doctor Gratian telleth him that auricular confession is not God's[4] institution.

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Quis aliq.

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Convertim.

But wherefore speaketh M. Harding so precisely and specially of deadly sins? Or why may not his venial sins come likewise in the reckoning as well as others? Indeed it is specially provided in the late chapter at Trident, that little petite sins need not to be uttered in confession[5]. And Robert Holcot saith: *De venialibus [confiteri], magis est . . . supererogationis quam necessitatis*[6]: "To make confession of venial sins is more of devotion than of necessity." And Thomas of Aquine saith: *Quidam probabiliter dicunt, quod per ingressum ecclesiæ consecratæ homo consequitur remissionem peccatorum venialium*[7]: "Some say, and that not without good reason, that a man may obtain remission of his venial sins only by entering into a church that is consecrate." And it is purposely noted in the gloss upon the decretals: *Venialia*[8] *. . . tolluntur, [vel] per orationem dominicam, vel per aquam benedictam*[9]: "Venial sins may be removed either by a *Pater noster* or by holy water." And therefore perhaps M. Harding will say, according to the judgment of these and others his own doctors, that his little pretty venial sins ought not of duty to be reckoned in confession[10]; but may otherwise be remitted, and have no need of Christ's blood. This is a shorter way to heaven than either Christ or his apostles ever taught us.

Concil. Trid. cap. 5. De confessione.

Rob. Holcot in iv. Sent. Quæst. 4.

iv. Sent. Quæst. 83. Art. 3.

Extr. de Pœnit. et Remiss. Omnis utriusque, in Gloss.

Howbeit, all this error seemeth first to have grown of mistaking these words of Beda: *Cœqualibus quotidiana et levia, graviora vero sacerdoti pandamus*[11]: "Let us open our small and daily sins unto our fellows, and our great sins unto the priest."

Bed. in v. cap. Jacob. citat. a Magist. iv. Sent. Dist. 17.

For the rest, M. Harding's resolution may stand with good favour. For, seeing his auricular confession can hold no better by divinity, that it may seem to hold by somewhat, he did well to say "it holdeth well by natural reason."

M. Harding saith: "The priest can be no judge without particular knowledge of every sin; nor can he know without hearing; nor can he hear without confession." For answer hereto Chrysostom saith, as he is before alleged: *Medicinæ locus hic est, non judicii; non pœnas, sed peccatorum remissionem tribuens: Deo soli*

Chrysost. De Pœnit. Hom. 9.

[1 He saith, 1567.]

[2 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 87. col. 1713; where *sacerdoti necessario.*]

[3 Ibid. can. 34. col. 1677.]

[4 Not of God's, 1567.]

[5 Nam venialia, quibus a gratia Dei non excludimur,...taceri tamen citra culpam, multisque aliis remediis expiari possunt.—Concil. Trident. Sess. XIV. De Confess. cap. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 818.]

[6 R. Holkot Sup. Quat. Libr. Sentent. Quæst. Lugd. 1497. Lib. IV. Quæst. iv. fol. n. iii. 2.]

[7 Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxxiii. Art. iii. 3. Tom. XII. fol. 277. 2.]

[8 Venalia, 1609, 1611.]

[9 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. v. Tit. xxxviii. Gloss. in cap. 12. col. 1872.]

[10 1567 omits *in confession.*]

[11 Bed. in Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xvii. E. fol. 375. Conf. Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. Jacob. cap. v. Tom. V. col. 693. See before, page 357, note 14.]

dic peccatum tuum[12]: "Here is a place of medicine, and not of judgment; rendering not punishment, but remission of sins: open thine offences to God only." Judge over Sin.

But, if the priest can be no judge without knowledge, then doubtless, M. Harding, your priests for the most[13] part can be no judges at all[14]. For your own Peter Lombard saith: *Scientiam discernendi omnes sacerdotes non habent*[15]: "All priests have not knowledge to discern between sin and sin." And many of them be utterly ignorant, and know nothing. iv. Sent. Dist. 19. Postquam.

Notwithstanding, be the priest[16] never so wise or well learned, yet how is he able to enter into the breast of man, and to know the secrets of the heart? St Paul saith: "What man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit of man that is within him?" Salomon saith: "God only knoweth the thoughts of men." St Paul saith: "God only searcheth the heart and reins." And St Augustine, purposely speaking hereof, as it is said before, saith thus: *Unde sciunt, cum a me ipso de me ipso audiunt, an verum dicam*[17]? "How know they, when they hear me speak of myself[18], whether I say truth or no?" Therefore the priest, judging that that he cannot know, must needs wander uncertainly, and be a very doubtful judge. 1 Cor. ii. 1 Kings viii. Rom. viii. August. Confess. Lib. x. cap. iii.

Nevertheless, admitting the priest to be a judge, yet if it may be proved either that he may be a judge over the sins of the people without particular knowledge of the same, or that he may come to certain and particular knowledge thereof without any manner auricular confession, then I trust this whole matter will soon be answered.

First, therefore, I say, that a priest having authority to pronounce the word of God is thereby a judge over sin. For the word that he speaketh "is the power of God unto salvation;" and "a two-edged sword, able to sunder the soul and the spirit, and the marrow[19] from the bones; and is able to judge" (for so St Paul saith) "the thoughts and cogitations of the heart." And thus M. Harding himself granteth that "a priest pronouncing God's words[20] may therewith both bind and loose;" that is, in this case, to do the office of a judge. St Augustine saith: *Clavis ea dicenda est, qua . . . pectorum dura . . . reserantur*[21]: "That thing ought to be called the key, wherewith the hardness of the heart is opened." Rom. i. Heb. iv. κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας. August. de Sanct. Hom. 26.

So saith Tertullian: *Ipse clavem imbuit. Vides, quam? Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate, quæ dico; Jesum Nazarænum, virum a Deo nobis destinatum*[22]: "He endued the key. And know you what key? This key I mean: ye men of Israel, mark what I say: Jesus of Nazareth, a man appointed unto you from God." These words, saith Tertullian, are the key[23]. So saith St Augustine: *Loquimur in auribus vestris. Unde scimus quid agatur in cordibus vestris? Quod autem intus agitur, non a nobis sed ab illo agitur. Prospexit ergo Deus, ut solvat filios mortificatorum*[25]: "We speak in your ears. But how know we what is wrought in your hearts? Howbeit, whatsoever is wrought within you, it is wrought not by us, but by God. God therefore hath looked forth, to loose the children of them that were appointed to death." Thus is the priest a judge, and bindeth and looseth without any hearing of private confessions. Tertull. De Pudic. p. 643. Acts ii. August. in Psalm. ci.[24]

Of the other side I say, that in open crimes and public penance the priest is likewise appointed to be a judge. For, notwithstanding in the primitive church either the whole people, or the elders of the congregation, had authority herein, yet the direction and judgment rested evermore in the priest. And in this sense St Paul saith unto Timothy, "Receive no accusation against an elder, unless it be under two or three witnesses." 1 Tim. v

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[12 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœn. Hom. iii. Tom. II. p. 300. See before, page 360.]

[13 More, 1567, 1570.]

[14 1567 omits *at all.*]

[15 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. xix. A. fol. 380. 2; where *non habent omnes sacerdotes.*]

[16 Priests, 1570.]

[17 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. x. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. col. 171.]

[18 Meself, 1567.]

[19 Marie, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Word, 1567.]

[21 Id. Serm. ccii. in Nat. Apost. Petr. et Paul. ii. 1. Tom. V. Append. col. 336; where *enim* for *ea.* See before, page 364, note 5.]

[22 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Pudicit. 21. p. 743; where *vide quam,* and *Deo vobis.*]

[23 1567 omits this sentence.]

[24 This reference is inserted from 1567 and 1570.]

[25 Loquimur ad aures vestras, unde &c. Respexit ergo ut solvat &c.—August. Op. In Psal. ci. Enarr. Serm. ii. 3, 4. Tom. IV. col. 1103.]

Judge over Sin.

And, notwithstanding these orders for the greatest part thereof be now utterly out of use, yet I trust it shall not be neither impertinent to the matter, nor unpleasant unto the reader, to consider how the same were used in old times. Therefore, as it is learnedly noted by Beatus Rhenanus, the sinner, when he began to mislike himself and to be penitent for his wicked life, for that he had offended God and his church, came first unto the bishop and priests, as unto the mouths of the church, and opened unto them the whole burden of his heart. Afterward he was by them brought into the congregation, and there made the same confession openly before his brethren; and further was appointed to make satisfaction by open penance: which penance being duly and humbly done, he was restored again openly unto the church, by laying on of the hands of the priests and elders[1].

2 Cor. ii.

Hereof St Paul saith unto the Corinthians: "If you have forgiven any thing to any man, I have likewise forgiven it. For I myself[2], whatsoever I have forgiven, I have forgiven it for your sakes in the person of Christ." In this limitation of penance, lest any thing should pass unadvisedly and out of order, the priest was appointed to be the judge. St Basil saith: *Modus conversionis debet esse conveniens illi qui peccavit*[3]: "The order of conversion or open penance must be agreeable unto him that hath offended." And therefore St Augustine saith: *Quia plerunque, &c.*[4]: "Forasmuch as for the most part the grief of one man's heart is unknown unto another, neither cometh forth into the knowledge of others either by words or by other tokens, as being before him unto whom it is said, 'My mourning is not hid from thee;' therefore it is very well that by them that have the oversight of the church certain times of penance are appointed, that the congregation may be satisfied." Again he saith: *Hortor, prius publica pœnitentia satisfacere, et ita sacerdotis judicio reconciliatum communioni sociari*[5]: "I counsel him, that first he make satisfaction by open penance; that, being so reconciled, he may afterward be restored unto the communion by the judgment and discretion of the priest." Likewise saith Cassiodorus: [*Rei*] *exspectant communionis tempus, quod decrevit episcopus*[6]: "The penitent parties wait for the communion-time appointed unto them by the bishop."

Basil. Quæst. 289. οἰκεῖος τοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντος.

August. in Enchir. ad Laurent. cap. lxv.

August. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xxxv.

Cassiod. Lib. ix. cap. xxxv.

St Ambrose demanded of the emperor Theodosius, being then excommunicate, *Quibus medicamentis incurabilia vulnera* [*tua*] *plagasque curasti?* "By what medicines have you healed your wounds and cuts, that were incurable?" The emperor answered: *Tuum... opus est, et docere et medicamenta temperare; meum vero, oblata suscipere*[7]: "It is your part to instruct me, and to minister medicines; and it is my part to receive that you minister." And therefore Peter Lombard saith: *Etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per judicium sacerdotis*[8]: "Although a man be assoiled before God, yet is he not accounted assoiled in the face or sight of the church but by the judgment of the priest."

Cassiod. Lib. ix. cap. xxx.

iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Non autem.

By[9] these, M. Harding, I doubt not but ye may see that the priest may be a judge over sin, notwithstanding he never[10] hear private confessions, nor have particular knowledge of every several sin.

[1 Discimus autem ex ejusdem sanctissimi martyris [Cypriani] scriptis hunc olim in ecclesia servatum ordinem, ut primum fieret confessio criminum apud sacerdotes Dei; hanc sequebatur pœnitentia quæ et præcesserat, pœnitentiam excipiebat exomologesis, quam subsequebatur impositio manus episcopi aut cleri. Hac facta, dabatur eucharistia sic reconciliato. —Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Lib. de Pœn. p. 14.]

[2 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Reg. Brev. Tractat. Interr. cclxxxviii. Tom. II. p. 516.]

[4 Verum quia plerumque dolor alterius cordis occultus est alteri, neque in aliorum notitiam per verba vel quæcumque alia signa procedit; cum sit coram illo cui dicitur, 'Gemitus meus a te non est absconditus:' recte constituuntur ab iis qui ecclesiis præsunt tempora pœnitentiæ, ut fiat satis etiam ecclesiæ, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Enchir. cap. lxv. 17. Tom. VI. col. 220.]

[5 Id. Lib. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xxiii. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 78.]

[6 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. ix. cap. xxxv. fol. T. 5; where *commune tempus*. Conf. Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. cap. xvi. p. 590; where περιμένει τὸν χρόνον, εἰς ὅσον αὐτῷ τέταχεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.]

[7 Ibid. Lib. ix. cap. xxx. fol. T. 2; where *medicaminibus*, and *medicamina*.]

[8 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. xviii. F. fol. 378. 2.]

[9 But, 1570.]

[10 Neither, 1567.]

This is that confession that the holy fathers have so often spoken of. It was made not secretly or in a corner, but publicly and openly and in the sight of the congregation. Hereof Origen saith, as it is reported before: *Si quis sibi sit conscius, procedat in medium, et ipse sui accusator existat*[11]: "If any man find himself guilty, let him come forth into the midst of the church, and let him be his own accuser." Likewise Tertullian saith: *Advolvi presbyteris, et aris Dei adgeniculari, et omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere*[12]: "To fall down before the priests, to kneel before the altar or communion-table, and to desire all the brethren to pray for him."

Judge over Sin.

Origen. in Psal. xxxvii.

Tertull. de Pœnit. 382.

Touching St Hierome, M. Harding, ye lay in his words as faithfully as Ananias sometimes[13] laid in his money at the apostles' feet: ye serve us with a parcel, and hold back the rest. It is true that St Hierome saith, "It is the priest's part to discern the diversity between sin and sin;" as in cases of excommunication, and public offences. But wherefore could ye not espy, or rather why would you so closely dissemble, so many and so plain words going immediately before? For thus St Hierome writeth of the power of the keys, and of the use of confession: *Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio; ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur*[14]: "This place the bishops and priests not understanding take unto them some part of the proud looks[15] of the Pharisees; thinking themselves able either to condemn the innocent, or to absolve the guilty; whereas indeed it is not the absolution of the priest, but the life of the sinner, that is weighed before God." These words, M. Harding, would not thus have been dissembled, if ye had meant simple dealing. St Hierome saith plainly, that your bishops and priests understand not the use of the keys; that ye have taken upon you some part of the proud looks of the Pharisees; and that it is not the absolution of the priests[16], but the life of the party, that is accepted before God.

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xvi.

In the end he concludeth thus: *Alligat vel solvit episcopus vel presbyter non eos qui insontes sunt, vel noxii; sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui... solvendus*[17]: "The bishop or priest neither bindeth the innocent or[18] looseth the guilty; but, according to his office, when he hath heard the diversity of sins (as in public offences), he knoweth who ought to be bound, who ought to be loosed." In like sort writeth Peter Lombard: *Dominus tribuit sacerdotibus potestatem ligandi et solvendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus ligatos vel solutos*[19]: "God hath given to priests power to bind and to loose, that is to say, to declare unto men that the penitents be either bound or loosed."

iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Nec ideo.

All this notwithstanding, albeit M. Harding were able to prove that the fathers had somewhere made mention of confession in secret, yet should not that greatly either further his purpose or hinder ours. For, abuses and errors removed, and specially the priest being learned, as we have said before, we mislike no manner confession, whether it be private or public. For, as we think it not unlawful to make open confession before many, so we think it not unlawful, abuses always excepted, to make the like confession in private, either before a few or before one alone. And, as the holy fathers upon good considerations were forced to remove the use of open confession, even so we say, that upon like good considerations private confession also may be removed.

Only this we say, that Christ, when he sent his disciples into the world, and gave them authority to bind and to loose, made no manner mention of any such hearing of confessions, but only bade them "go and preach the gospel."

Hilary, Bernard, and Hugo, as ye have alleged them, seem to say that "the

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[11 Si aliquis...conscius sit sibi, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733–59. Explan. sup. Psalm. xxxvii. Hom. ii. 1. Tom. II. p. 686. See before, page 360, note 13.]

[12 ... presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Pœnit. 9. p. 146.]

[13 Sometime, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75.]

[15 Look, 1567.]

[16 Priest, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17 Id. ibid.; where *et presbyter*.]

[18 Nor, 1567.]

[19 ...quibus tamen tribuit potestatem solvendi et ligandi, &c. homines &c.—Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. xviii. F. fol. 378. 2.]

Judge over Sin.

judgment of man goeth before the judgment of God." Other the like, or rather more vehement, speeches ye might have found in Chrysostom: *Cœlum accipit auctoritatem judicandi a terra: judex sedet in terris: Dominus sequitur servum*[1]: "Heaven taketh authority of judgment from the earth: in earth sitteth the judge: the Lord followeth the servant." These and such other the like extraordinary speeches, with good construction, may be comfortable to the afflicted mind. But, as one said sometime, they must be received with a grain of salt; for otherwise of themselves they be unsavoury. For St Hierome saith, as I have alleged before: *Apud Deum non sententia sacerdotis, sed reorum vita quæritur*[2]: "It is not the sentence or absolution of the priest, but the life of the penitent, that is accepted before God." And again: *Tunc vera est sententia præsidentis, quando æterni sequitur sententiam Judicis*[3]: "Then the judgment of the president or priest is true (not when it goeth before, but) when it followeth the judgment of the everlasting Judge." And Gratian himself saith: *Non sacerdotali judicio, sed largitate divinæ gratiæ peccator emundatur*[4]: "The sinner is made clean, not by judgment of the priest, but by the abundance of the heavenly grace."

Chrysost. in Esai. Hom. 5.

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xvi.

xi. Quæst. 3. Tunc vera.

De Pœnit. Dist. I. Convertimini.

But Nazianzene, as he is here alleged, said unto the emperor: *Ovis nostra es*[5]: "Thou art our sheep." No marvel. He meant that the emperor was one of the flock and fold of Christ. So St Ambrose said sometime unto the emperor Valentinian: *Quid... honorificentius, quam ut ecclesiæ filius... dicatur imperator? ...Imperator enim* [*bonus*] *intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est*[6]: "What thing is there more honourable than for the emperor to be called a child of the church? For a good emperor is within the church, but not above the church." St Chrysostom saith: *Deus ipse subjecit caput principis manui sacerdotis*[7]: "God himself hath set the head of the prince under the hand of the priest." For, as touching faith and the obedience of the gospel, the highest prince is but a subject. All this proveth well the authority and dignity of God's word; but it maketh nothing for confession.

Ambros. ad Valent. Epist. 32.

Chrysost. de Verb. Esai. Hom. 5.

To conclude, M. Harding saith: "It hath been persuaded, that the reciting and rehearsal of all sins before the priest is necessary to salvation; and that a general confession is in no wise sufficient." And again he saith: "True faith acknowledgeth that confession is to be made of all sins, as commanded by Christ and his apostles, commended unto us by the fathers of the primitive church, and by all learned doctors, and general use of the whole church."

Good reader, thou wouldest think that amongst so many great words there were some truth, and that M. Harding, of his modesty and for his credit's sake, would not speak so boldly without some good ground[8]. But, I beseech thee, consider these few, and thereby judge indifferently of the rest.

Chrysostom saith: *Non dico ut confitearis conservo tuo peccata tua. Dicito Deo, qui curet ea*[9]: "I will thee not to confess thy sins unto the priest, that is thy fellow-servant. Confess them unto God that may heal them." Again: *Cogitatione* [*tua*] *fiat delictorum exquisitio: sine teste sit hoc judicium: solus Deus te confitentem videat*[10]: "Examine thy sins in thy heart within thee: let this judgment be without witness: let God only see thee making thy confession." Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great reading and singular judgment, hereof writeth thus: *Tertullianus de clancularia ista confessione admissorum nihil loquitur. Neque eam usquam olim præceptam legimus*[11]: "Tertullian of this privy con-

Chrysost. in Psal. I. Hom. 2.

Chrysost. in Hom. de Pœnit. et Confess.

Beat. Rhenan. in Argum. Libel. Tertull. de Pœnit.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In illud, Vidi Dom. Hom. v. Tom. VI. p. 132.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75. See before, page 375.]

[3 Tunc vera est absolutio præsidentis, cum interni [*al.* æterni] sequitur arbitrium judicis.—Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XI. Quæst. iii. can. 62. col. 943. Conf. Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. II. Hom. xxvi. 6. Tom. I. col. 1555.]

[4 Ibid. De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 34. col. 1677.]

[5 See before, page 368, note 2.]

[6 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Serm. contr. Auxent. 36. Tom. II. col. 873; where *imperator* precedes *ecclesiæ*.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. In illud, Vidi Dom. Hom. v. Tom. VI. p. 132.]

[8 Some ground, 1567.]

[9 Id. in Psal. I. Hom. ii. Tom. V. p. 589. This homily appears to be spurious.]

[10 Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Pœn. et Confess. Serm. Tom. V. col. 905; where *absque teste*, and *solus te Deus*.]

[11 ...ne quis admiretur Tertullianum de clancularia ista admissorum confessione nihil locutum...Nec

fession of sins saith nothing. Neither do we read that the same kind of privy confession in old times was ever commanded."

Confession not commanded.

M. Harding saith, "It was commanded:" Rhenanus saith, "It was not commanded." If Rhenanus' words be true, as they be indeed, then are M. Harding's words most untrue. Likewise it is noted in the very gloss upon M. Harding's own decrees: *Forte tunc (tempore Ambrosii) non erat facta institutio confessionis, quæ modo est*[12]: "Perhaps then[13] (in the time of St Ambrose, which was four hundred years after Christ) the manner of confession that now is used was not appointed."

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Petrus, in Gloss.

And Gratian saith: *Antequam sacerdoti ora nostra ostendamus, id est, peccata nostra confiteamur, a lepra peccati mundamur*[14]: "Before we open our mouth unto the priest, that is to say, before we make confession of our sins, the leprosy of our sin is made clean." Theodorus saith: *Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci*[15]: "Some say we ought to confess our sins only unto God, as do the Grecians." Peter Lombard, the chief founder of M. Harding's divinity, saith thus: *Sane dici potest, quod sine confessione oris et solutione pœnæ exterioris peccata delentur per contritionem et humilitatem cordis*[16]: "We may safely say that, without confession of the mouth and absolution of the outward pain, sins be forgiven by the contrition and humility of the heart."

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Convertimini.

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Quidam.

iv. Sent. Dist. 17. Quid ergo.

Briefly, Gratian, having thoroughly debated the matter of both sides, that is to say, both for confession and against confession, in the end concludeth thus, as it is said before: *Cui...harum [sententiarum] potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur. Utraque enim [sententia] fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros*[17]: "Whether of these sayings it is best to follow, it is left to the judgment of the reader; for either saying is maintained and favoured both by wise and by godly men." And, whereas M. Harding saith, "Confession of all sins is commanded[18] by Christ and his apostles;" his own gloss upon his own decrees openly reproveth his error, and teacheth him the contrary. The words be these: *Melius dicitur, confessionem institutam fuisse a quadam universalis ecclesiæ traditione*[19], *potius quam ex novi vel veteris testamenti auctoritate*[20]: "It is better said, that confession was appointed by some tradition of the universal church, than by any authority or commandment of the new or old testament."

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Quamvis.

De Pœnit. Dist. 5. In pœnitentia, in Gloss.

Now, good christian reader, I beseech thee, examine a little the truth of M. Harding's tale. First he saith: "The reciting and rehearsal of all sins before the priest is necessary to salvation." Chrysostom answereth: "Let God only hear thy confession." There is one untruth. M. Harding saith: "General confession is[21] not sufficient." Peter Lombard answereth: *Sine confessione oris, &c.*: "Without any confession made by mouth our sins may be forgiven." There are two untruths. 1. 2.

M. Harding saith: "Confession of all sins is commanded by Christ and his apostles." His own gloss saith: "It is only a tradition of the church, commanded neither in the old testament nor in the new." There are three untruths. M. Harding saith: "It was commended unto us by the doctors and fathers of the primitive church." Rhenanus saith: "We read not that this kind of privy confession in the old times was ever commanded." And his own gloss saith: "In the time of St Ambrose (which was four hundred years after Christ) perhaps it was not used." There are four and five untruths. M. Harding saith: "It hath ever been allowed by all the learned doctors." His own Gratian answereth him: "The contrary hath been maintained and favoured both by wise and by godly fathers." There are six untruths. 3. 4. 5. 6.

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enim usquam præceptam olim legimus.—Tertull. Op. Franck. 1597. Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Arg. Libr. de Pœn. p. 11.]

[12 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 1664; where *non* is omitted.]

[13 Them, 1611.]

[14 Ibid. can. 34. col. 1677; where *sacerdotibus*.]

[15 Ibid. can. 90. col. 1718.]

[16 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xvii. B. fol. 372; where *exteriori*.]

[17 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 89. col. 1717.]

[18 Commended, 1611.]

[19 Traditionem, 1570.]

[20 Ibid. Gloss. in Dist. v. col. 1801; where *dicitur eam institutam*.]

[21 In, 1611.]

7. To be short, M. Harding saith: "It hath been commended unto us by the general use of the whole church." Theodorus answereth him: "The whole church of Græcia useth it not." There are seven apparent and great untruths, disclosed by M. Harding's own doctors. He could not have comprised[1] so much untruth in so narrow room without some study.

Erasm. in Schol. in Epitaph. Fabiol.

Erasmus, a man of great judgment, saith thus: *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem; quam postea ecclesia salubriter instituit; si modo recte utantur ea et sacerdotes et laici. Verum in hoc labuntur theologi quidam parum attenti, quod,... [quæ] veteres... [scribunt] de hujusmodi publica et generali confessione,... [ea] trahunt ad hanc occultam, et longe diversi generis*[2]: "It appeareth that in the time of St Hierome (which was four hundred years after Christ) secret confession of sins was not yet ordained; which notwithstanding was afterward wholesomely and profitably appointed by the church, so that it be well used, as well by the priests as by the people. But herein certain divines, not considering advisedly what they say, are much deceived; for, whatsoever the ancient fathers write of general and open confession, they wrest and draw the same to this privy and secret kind, which is far of another sort."

Here, M. Harding, Erasmus telleth you ye are foully deceived, and sheweth you also the cause of your error; for that, as he saith, "ye consider not advisedly what ye either read or write;" but, wheresoever ye hear this word "confession," ye imagine straightway it must needs be your own "auricular confession," and can be none other.

Last of all ye grant "the express term of auricular or secret confession is seldom mentioned in the ancient fathers." Here wanteth, M. Harding[3], some part of your simplicity. If ye would have your reader to believe you, ye should have alleged certain of the ancient fathers, one at the least, if ye could have found so many that had at any time used the express term of "auricular" or "secret confession." Otherwise it had been the better and plainer way to have confessed expressly, that the same express term is never used in any one of all the ancient fathers. Howbeit, if "auricular" or "secret confession" had then been used, it could never so long have lacked a name.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 3.

Authority and Power.

We say, that the priest indeed is a judge in this case, but yet hath no manner of right to challenge an authority or power[4], as saith Ambrose.

M. HARDING.

*Whereas ye make preaching of the gospel to be the keys, how call ye the priest judge in this case? Preach ye never so much, the conscience of man being so secret a thing as it is, how can ye judge who inwardly and thoroughly repenteth, and who repenteth not; and, though one repent and be sorry, and have remorse of his former life, though he look unto the light of the gospel, as ye say, and believe in Christ, what then? How can ye judge of such a person? *Do ye know his heart by looking in his face?....*

* And do ye know his heart by tooting in his ear?

The priest, duly using the key of knowledge and discretion, doth the office[5] *of a judge, and, as he seeth cause, either looseth or bindeth. As touching the priest's authority or power, which to challenge he hath no right, for so your interpreter maketh you to speak, and impute it to St Ambrose; we deny that St Ambrose saith *even very so. But, as we may gather of his words, as he meaneth that a priest exerciseth not the right of any his own proper power in remitting sins; so in the very place by you alleged he saith the*

De Pœnit. Dist. 1, cap. Verbum Dei.

* Untruth. For the words be these: "Nullius potestatis jura exercet."

[1 Comprisoned, 1570.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. in Epitaph. Fabiol. Schol. Tom. I. fol. 89. 2; where *Hieronymi tempore.*]

[3 Here M. Harding wanteth, 1567.]

[4 Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 51. col. 1686. See below, note 16.]

[5 Officie, Conf.]

contrary to your doctrine. "For the right of loosing and binding," saith he, "is granted to priests only; and therefore the church challengeth it rightly, which hath true priests." Lo, he useth the word of "challenge." Again in the same place he avoucheth, that he which receiveth the Holy Ghost (whom priests receive when they be consecrated in the sacrament of order) receiveth[6] *also power to loose and bind sins. For proof thereof he alleged*[7] *the scripture: "Take ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained*[8]*."... And if you, defender, were accustomed to make your humble confession, and so to be assoiled, you should hear some ghostly fathers say to you, after certain other words,* Auctoritate mihi commissa ego te absolvo, &c....

Authority and Power.

John xx.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In what sense the priest, without hearing confessions, may be a judge, we have sufficiently said before. Neither know I what fantasy[9] M. Harding can have in so often rehearsal of one thing. With what words or colour of commission M. Harding can furnish out his authority, it forceth not greatly. Verily, without some shew or countenance his credit would not hold. Indeed, Hugo and Bernard say: "The judgment of God followeth the judgment of man[10]." And pope Julius saith: *Habet... [sacrosancta Romana ecclesia] potestatem, singulari sibi privilegio concessam, aperire et claudere januas regni cœlestis, quibus voluerit*[11]*:* "The holy church of Rome hath power granted unto her by singular privilege, to open and to shut the gates of the kingdom of heaven to whom she listeth[12]." And Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Hæc ligandi et solvendi potestas non minor est in ecclesia quam in Christo*[13]*:* "This power of binding and loosing is no less in the church than it is in Christ."

Concil. Tom. I. de Primat. Rom. Eccles.

Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[14]

But it is no great wisdom to give over much credit unto them that so often have deceived us. If their authority be so great as they make it, let them shew forth the words[15] of their commission.

The saying of St Ambrose is clear and plain: *Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. Sacerdos est judex. Sacerdos quidem officium suum exhibet; sed nullius potestatis jura exercet*[16]*:* "The word of God forgiveth sins. The priest is the judge. The priest executeth his office; but he exerciseth the right of no power." And to this end in another place he allegeth the words of the prophet Esay, spoken in the person of God: *Ego sum, ego sum, qui deleo iniquitates [tuas]*[17]*:* "I am he, I am he, that put away thine iniquities."

De Pœnit. Dist. I. Verbum Dei.

Ambros. de Noe et Arc. cap. xiii.

Isai. iv.

And, to lay more weight to St Ambrose's words, St Augustine saith in like sense: *Officium baptizandi Dominus concessit multis; potestatem vero et auctoritatem in baptismo remittendi peccata sibi soli reservavit*[18]*:* "Our Lord hath granted the office of baptizing unto many; but the power and authority in baptism to forgive sins he hath reserved only to himself. So saith St Ambrose: *Nostrum est, onera remittere; illius est, resuscitare; illius [est], educere de sepulchro*[19]*:* "It is our part to remove the stone from the grave (by preaching, by counsel, and

August. de Scal. Parad.

Ambros. de Pœnit. Lib. ii. cap. vii.

[6 Receive, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Allegeth, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[8 ...jus enim hoc solis permissum sacerdotibus est. Recte igitur hoc ecclesia vindicat, quæ veros sacerdotes habet...qui Spiritum sanctum accepit, et solvendi peccati potestatem et ligandi accepit. Sic enim scriptum est: Accipite &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Pœn. Lib. I. cap. ii. 7, 8. Tom. II. col. 392.]

[9 Fancy, 1567.]

[10 See before, page 368, notes 4, 5.]

[11 Rescr. Jul. Papæ I. contr. Orient. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 309; where *privilegio sibi.*]

[12 Listed, 1570.]

[13 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 835.]

[14 Here, and in other places, as before noted, the reference is given in 1567: *Nicol. Cusanus De Authorit. Eccles. et Conc. supra et contra scripturam.*]

[15 Shew the words, 1567.]

[16 Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 51. col. 1686; where *suum officium*, and *et nullius.* Conf. Ambros. Op. De Cain et Abel, Lib. II. cap. iv. 15. Tom. I. cols. 212, 3; where the Benedictine editors accuse Gratian and Lombard: in hoc loco citando nec verba nec sensum Ambrosii exhibent.]

[17 Id. Op. Lib. De Noe et Arc. cap. xiii. 42. Tom. I. col. 244.]

[18 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Scal. Parad. cap. iii. Tom. VI. Append. col. 164; where *soli retinuit.* This tract is not by Augustine: it is ascribed to Guigo Carthusiensis.]

[19 Ambros. Op. De Pœn. Lib. II. cap. vii. 56. Tom. II. col. 429; where *onera removere*, and *de sepulcris.*]

Authority and Power.

by exhortation); but it is the Lord's work to raise up the dead: it is the Lord's work to bring him from the pit."

Ambros. Lib. ix. Epist. 76.

Likewise again he saith: *Neque legatus, neque nuntius, sed ipse Dominus salvum fecit populum suum. Solus remanet; quia non potest hoc cuiquam hominum cum Christo esse commune, ut peccata condonet. Solius*[1] *hoc munus est Christi, qui tulit peccata mundi*[2]: "It is not the embassador, it is not the messenger, but the Lord himself, that hath saved his people. The Lord remaineth alone; for no man can be partner with God in forgiving of sins. This is Christ's only office, that hath taken away the sins of the world."

2 Cor. v.

Tertull. de Baptism.

And yet is not therefore the priest's[3] office void of power. He hath power and commission to open the will of God, and, as St Paul saith, "to speak unto the people even as in the person of Christ." So Tertullian saith: *Dandi baptismi jus habet summus sacerdos, id est, episcopus*[4]: "The chief priest, that is to say, the bishop, hath right and power to give baptism."

August. in Johan. Tract. 5.[6]

But St Augustine saith: *Ministerium dedit servis; potestatem sibi retinuit*[5]: "God gave the ministry (of remission of sins) unto his servants; but the power thereof he retained to himself."

Luke x. ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν.

So, when Christ sent out his disciples to preach the gospel, he gave them "authority and power," as it is written in St Luke[7].

Hos. in Confess. Petricov. cap. lii.

If M. Harding will say there is no power or authority in the reading or publishing of God's word, his own doctor Hosius will tell him that, when the bishop ordereth a reader, even after the manner of the church of Rome, he saith unto him: *Habe potestatem legendi epistolas in ecclesia sancta Dei, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis*[8]: "Have thou power to read the epistles in the holy church of God, as well for the quick as for the dead."

Indeed, this is a very special power, such as, I trow, Christ and his apostles never taught us. Neither would I have noted it in this place, saving that Hosius, the profoundest proctor of that side, thought it a matter worth the noting. Such power therefore belongeth to priests and ministers in the church of God. But the power of giving remission of sin belongeth to God alone, and to none other.

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xvi.

If any man will presume further, St Hierome saith, as it is alleged before, "He hath put on the proud looks[9] of the Pharisees[10];" and saith further, that such priests and bishops understand not the words of Christ. For, saith he, "it is not the judgment or absolution of the priest, but the life of the penitent, that is regarded before God[10]."

August. de Fid. et Op. cap. xiv.

And therefore St Augustine saith: *Inde nata sunt schismata, cum homines dicunt, Nos sanctificamus immundos: nos justificamus impios: nos petimus: nos impetramus*[11]: "Hereof grow[12] schisms and divisions in the church, when men say, We sanctify the unclean: we justify the wicked: we pray[13]: we obtain."

Rich. de Sanct. Vict. De Potest. Lig. et Solv. Par. i. cap. xxiv.

Howbeit, here cometh in Richardus de Sancto Victore, God wot, with a full cold distinction between these two words *dimittere* and *remittere*[14]. For thus he saith: *Christus potuit dimittere peccata; nos vero non possumus dimittere peccata, sed tantum remittere*[15].

iv. Sent. Dist. 18. Nec ideo.

Peter Lombard saith much better: *Christus sacerdotibus tribuit potestatem ligandi et solvendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus ligatos vel solutos*[16]: "Christ hath

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[1 Solus, 1611.]

[2 ... non enim legatus, &c. peccatum mundi.—Id. Epist. Class. i. Ad Iren. Epist. xxvi. 16. Tom. II. col. 897.]

[3 Not the priests, 1567.]

[4 Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos; qui est episcopus.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 17. p. 263.]

[5 ... sibi tenuit Dominus baptizandi potestatem, servis ministerium dedit.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. v. 7. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 323.]

[6 The latter part of this reference is omitted, 1567.]

[7 1567 omits these seven words.]

[8 Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. lii. Tom. I. fol. 167; where *habeat*, and *eas* for *epistolas*.]

[9 Look, 1567.]

[10 See before, page 375, note 14.]

[11 Unde enim facta sunt schismata? Cum dicunt homines...Nos &c.—August. Op. In Epist. Johan. cap. ii. Tractat. i. 8. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 831.]

[12 Grew, 1611.]

[13 We desire, 1567.]

[14 1567 has not the preceding seven words.]

[15 It is the sense of the chapter referred to that is here given, rather than the words. The conclusion come to is ... remittendi potius quam dimittendi potestas confertur in eo quod dicitur, 'Quorum remiseritis,' &c.—R. Sanct. Vict. Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. De Potest. Lig. et Solv. cap. xxiv. Pars i. p. 522.]

[16 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. xviii. F. 378. 2. See before, page 375, note 19.]

given power unto priests to bind and to loose; that is to say, to declare unto men who be bound, who be loosed[17]."

So saith Bonaventura of the priests under the law of Moses: *Mundare dicebantur, quia mundatum ostendebant*[18]: "They were said to cleanse the leprosy because they shewed who was cleansed." So saith St Augustine: *Nec voluntas sacerdotis obesse vel prodesse potest, sed meritum benedictionem poscentis*[19]: "The will of the priest can neither further nor hinder, but the merit of him that desireth absolution."

Bonavent. iv. Sent. Dist. 1. In Proœm. i. Quæs. 1. Dictum est.

This therefore is the meaning of St Ambrose[20]: "The priest is a judge to discern between sin and sin, as well private as public. But right, power, or authority to forgive sins he hath none[22]."

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Verbum Dei[21].

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 4.

And therefore our Saviour Jesus[23] Christ, to reprove the negligence of the scribes and Pharisees in teaching, did with these words rebuke them, saying: "Wo be unto[24] you, scribes and Pharisees! which have taken away the keys of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven before men." Seeing then the key, whereby the way and entry to the kingdom of God is opened unto us, is the word of the gospel and the expounding of the law and scriptures, we say plainly, where the same word is not, there is not the key.

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...By this we are induced to grant that the knowledge of the scripture is a key, whereby the gate to the truth is opened, the use whereof consisteth in expounding of the law and prophets, as they shew Christ. But we say this not to be the special keys which Christ gave to the church, but one key alone. And so Christ calleth it, where he rebuked the scribes and Pharisees; though you have put it otherwise than the gospel hath, in the plural number. And this key is common to the law and to the gospel. But the keys which we speak of are another thing. By the name of these keys we understand the whole spiritual power which Christ first promised to Peter, and afterward gave to the apostles, and from them is transferred to all bishops and priests; by which power priests teach the gospel, consecrate the body and blood of Christ, and minister[25] *the sacraments, through authority of the word absolve penitents, and excommunicate public and heinous sinners. The key that you confusely speak of, naming it to be the word of the gospel, and expounding of the law and scriptures, is one part pertaining to this spiritual power, it is not the whole power. And, where this word is not, that is to say, where the scriptures be not taught and the gospel preached, there is not the key, say ye: there is not the exercise of that key, say we. Yet there is this spiritual power, that is to wit, there be the keys. Yea, we say that a simple priest, *though he have no great learning, yet hath he the keys, though he might do better, and more worthily use them, having learning and knowledge.*

The knowledge of the scripture is a key.

* Untruth. The key of knowledge without knowledge.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding much and often complaineth of the confusion of the keys, for[26] that we appoint not distinctly, as he saith, each[27] key to his several office. Mark

[17 Loose, 1567.]

[18 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Libr. Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. i. Pars i. Dub. 6. Tom. V. p. 4.]

[19 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. i. Quæst. i. can. 96. col. 541; where *aut prodesse possit.* Conf. Op. Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. xi. Tom. III. Append. col. 47.]

[20 Thus therefore St Ambrose meaneth, 1567; Thus therefore &c. 1570.]

[21 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[22 See before, page 379, note 16.]

[23 Jesu, Conf.] [24 Wo unto, Conf.]

[25 Christ administer, Conf.]

[26 1567 omits *for.*]

[27 Distinctly each, 1567.]

Confusion of Keys.

therefore, I beseech thee, gentle reader, how distinctly and plainly M. Harding himself entreateth of the same.

First, of the two keys that Christ hath delivered us in the gospel he hath made a great many keys[1]; the key of knowledge; the key of order; the key of power; the key of discretion; the key of sacraments; and, forasmuch as sacraments by his doctrine be seven in number, there must also be of this sort seven other several keys. And yet, over and besides all these keys, being so many, the pope hath also one special master-key. Afterward, by a sleight, and by nimbleness of his fingers, he conveyeth all this heap of keys into two only keys; whereof the one he calleth the key of knowledge, and the other the key of power; which two keys notwithstanding in the end are suddenly consumed both into one only key. For, whereas the key of knowledge is lost, there, by M. Harding's judgment, power only remaineth without knowledge; and that key alone dischargeth all offices, and is utterly all in all.

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Verbum Dei[2]. Luke xxii. iv. Sent. Dist. 19. Postquam. Alex. de Hales, Par. iv. Quæst. 79.

This key of power without knowledge must needs be the key of ignorance; or, as they themselves have used to call it, *clavis errans*, "the key of error." Of which key undoubtedly Christ said sometime: *Hoc est tempus vestrum, et potestas tenebrarum:* "This is your time, and the power of darkness." Peter Lombard himself saith: "Many priests be ignorant, and have not the key of knowledge[3]." Alexander of Hales saith: *Scientia non est clavis*[4]*:* "Knowledge is no key at all."

Yet M. Harding answereth us, that the simple ignorant priest, that knoweth nothing, hath not only one key, but both keys (for so he calleth them in the plural number), that is to say, as well the key of knowledge as the key of power. And thus have they forged a key of knowledge without knowledge; and with the same key they expound and open the scriptures, they minister the sacraments, they bind, they loose, and break up a by-way into the kingdom of heaven. Yet must we believe that they speak simply and plainly of these keys, and without confusion.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 5.

And, seeing one manner of word is given to all, and one only key belongeth to all, we say there is but one only power of all ministers as concerning opening and shutting. And, as touching the bishop of Rome, for all that his flattering parasites sing these words in his ears[5], "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (as though these[6] keys were fit for him alone, and for nobody else); except he go so to work as men's consciences may be made pliant, and be subdued to the word of God, we deny that he doth either open or shut, or hath the keys at all.

And, although he taught and instructed the people (as would God[7] he might once truly do, and persuade himself it were at the least any[8] piece of his duty!) yet we think his key to be never a whit better or of greater force than other men's. For who hath severed him from the rest? Who hath taught him more cunningly to open or better to absolve than his brethren?

[1 Many of keys, 1567, 1570.]

[2 This reference is not given in 1567, 1570. The expression in the text does not occur in the place named.]

[3 Multi ... scientiæ ... exortes, sacerdotii gradum recipere præsumunt... Ideoque illam clavem in consecratione non recipiunt, quia semper scientia carent. —Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xix. A. fol. 380. 2. See before, page 373.]

[4 Alex. Alens. Summ. Theol. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars IV. Quæst. xx. Membr. iii. Art. 1. pp. 604, 5. This author here discusses the question whether knowledge be a key, and concludes that taken in one sense it is, in another not.]

[5 All his parasites flatteringly sing in his ears those words, Conf.]

[6 Those, Conf.]

[7 Would to God, Conf.]

[8 Some, Conf.]

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... Your ground being false, what ye build thereon soon faileth. The whole power of the keys, pardy, (how oftentimes must we tell you one thing?) standeth not in preaching only, but in sundry other excellent ministries also, as we have proved. If the bishop of Rome preach not, he doth neither open nor shut by preaching, we grant. Yet, men's consciences being made pliant and subdued by the word of God, by others that preach at his appointment, he may, by virtue of the keys, either open or shut, loose or bind, as by discretion he seeth cause. And, whereas Christ said to Peter, and therefore to the bishop of Rome, Peter's successor, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" will ye call them flattering parasites that yield to him that which Christ gave to him? Such vomit sheweth what humour your stomach is charged withal. Denying the bishop of Rome, whom, for all the spite ye bear[9] *toward him, ye must acknowledge to be a bishop, to have the keys at all, unless he preach in his own person, ye declare your great ignorance and foul temerity. Know ye not that a power annexed to an order and vocation is not taken away from one by not exercising the same in his own person?...*

Matt. xvi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The effect hereof, besides other ordinary idle talk, standeth in two points. First, M. Harding saith, The pope, though he do nothing himself in his own person, yet he may sufficiently feed the flock of Christ, and bind, and loose, and discharge all duties by his deputies and under-vicars, that is to say, by his cardinals and bishops, which are as careful and zealous for their offices and tender their charge as much as he. This ground, I trow, is not false; and therefore, whatsoever M. Harding shall build thereon, it can never fail. Notwithstanding, I do not remember that either Christ or his apostles ever used to do the like. One said sometime: *Impudens est imperator, qui, cum alienis oculis omnia ei agenda sint, postulet*[10] *sibi aliorum capita et fortunas committi*[11]*:* "He is a shameless captain that, whereas he must needs guide[12] all things by the eyes of others, will require other men's lives and goods to be committed to his hands."

Preach by a Deputy.

Tit. Liv. Decad. III. Lib. vi.

Pope Damasus saith: *Illi... episcopi, qui talia sibi præsumunt, videntur mihi similes esse meretricibus; quæ statim ut pariunt infantes suos aliis nutricibus tradunt educandos, ut suam citius libidinem explere valeant. Sic et isti infantes suos, id est, populos sibi commissos, aliis educandos tradunt, ut [ipsi] suas libidines expleant, id est, ut pro suo libitu secularibus curis inhient, et quod... cuique visum fuerit liberius agant*[13]*:* "Such bishops, taking such matters upon themselves, seem like unto harlots, which, as soon as they be once delivered, straightway deliver out their children unto nurses, that they may the rather follow their pleasures: even so these bishops deliver over their children, that is to say, the people committed to their charges, to be reared and brought up by others, that they themselves may[14] the better accomplish their pleasures, that is to say, that they may give themselves over to worldly cares, and do whatsoever shall like them best."

Damas. Pap. Epist. 4.

Further saith M. Harding: Christ said unto Peter, "To thee will I give the keys:" "Feed my sheep:" "Confirm thy brethren;" *ergo*, the pope is a lord paramount, and hath a power peerless over all the world. Peter of Palus hereof writeth thus: *Christus dixit apostolis, Quæcunque ligaveritis in terra, erunt ligata et in cœlo. Non dixit, In cœlis, sicut Petro dixerat; sed in cœlo uno. Unde non sunt tantæ perfectionis, sicut Petrus*[15]*:* "Christ said unto the apostles, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven.' He said not, It

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. coll. Apost. Art. I.

[9 Bare, 1611.]

[10 Postulat, 1567.]

[11 Tit. Liv. Hist. Decad. III. Lib. XXVI. cap. xxii.]

[12 Must guide, 1567.]

[13 Damas. Epist. iv. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 388; where *mihi esse meretricibus similes.*]

[14 That they may, 1567.]

[15 Unde Orig....super illud. Quæcunque alligaveritis dicit. Non dicit in cœlis sicut Petro, sed in cœlo, quia non fuerunt tantæ perfectionis, ut Petrus. —P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Apost. Art. ii. Oct. Concl. fol. b. v.]

Equal Power.

shall be bound in heavens, as he said to Peter, but inone heaven. Therefore the other apostles were not of such perfection as Peter was."

Petr. de Palud.

Again he saith: *Illa verba, Quæcunque ligaveris, intelliguntur de utroque foro et de utraque potestate. Illa autem verba, Quorumcunque ligaveritis, intelliguntur tantum de foro conscientiæ*[1]: "These words (spoken unto Peter), 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind,' are understood of both courts, as well of the court of judgment as of the court of conscience. But these other words (spoken unto the other apostles), 'Whatsoever you shall bind,' &c., are understood only of the court of conscience."

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 6.

This fantasy it seemeth he learned out of these words of Origen: *Non modica differentia est, quod Petro quidem datæ sunt claves, non unius cœli, sed multorum cœlorum; ut quæcunque ligaverit super terram sint ligata non tantum uno in cœlo, sed etiam in omnibus cœlis. Ad alios dicet*[2], *ut solvant et ligent, non in cœlis, sicut Petrus; sed in uno cœlo; quia non sunt in tanta perfectione sicut Petrus, ut ligent et solvant in omnibus cœlis*[3]: "The difference is great; for unto Peter are given the keys, not of one heaven, but of many heavens; that whatsoever he bindeth in earth shall be bound, not only in one heaven, but also in all the heavens. But unto the rest he giveth power to bind and loose, not in the heavens, as Peter doth, but in one heaven; for that they were not in such perfection as Peter was, to bind or loose in all the heavens."

This multiplication of heavens, as I have said, is but a fantasy; and yet to M. Harding's purpose it maketh nothing. For Origen by this word "Peter" meant not Peter the apostle, but any other godly-learned priest or bishop, whom he expresseth here under the name of Peter. For it followeth immediately:

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Ergo, quanto melior fuerit qui solvit, tanto beatior erit qui solvitur; quoniam in omnibus solutus est cœlis[4]: "Therefore, the better man he is that looseth, the more blessed is he that is loosed, for that he is loosed in all the heavens." Again he saith: *Quod si nos idem loquimur quod Petrus loquutus est, ... efficimur Petrus. Et nobis dicetur, Tu es Petrus. Petra enim est, quisquis est discipulus Christi*[5]: "If we speak the same that Peter spake, we are made Peter. And unto us it shall be said, 'Thou art Peter.' For he is the rock, that is the disciple of Christ."

In eodem Tract.

And again he saith: *Hoc dictum, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, ceteris quoque commune est. Et quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia*[6]: "This saying, 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' is common to the rest of the apostles. And the words that follow, as spoken unto Peter, are common unto all."

August. in Johan. Tract. 50.

So saith St Augustine: *Petrus, quando accepit claves, ecclesiam sanctam significavit*[7]: "Peter, when he received the keys, signified the holy church."

Basil. in Vit. Sol. cap. xxii.

So saith St Basil: *Petre, inquit, amas me? Pasce oves meas. Et consequenter omnibus pastoribus et doctoribus eandem potestatem tribuit. Cujus signum est, quod omnes ex æquo et ligant et absolvunt quemadmodum ille*[8]: "Christ said unto Peter, 'Lovest thou me?' 'Feed my sheep.' And in like sort unto all pastors and doctors he gave the same power. A token whereof is this, that all others bind and loose equally as well as Peter[9]."

Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. cap. ii.

Likewise saith St Ambrose: *Dominus dixit Petro, Pasce oves meas. Quas oves et quem gregem non solum tunc beatus Petrus suscepit, sed et nobiscum eas suscepit, et cum illo eas nos suscepimus omnes*[10]: "Our Lord said unto Peter, 'Feed my sheep.' Which sheep and flock not only blessed Peter then re-

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[1 Si quæratur quare illa verba dicta Petro Quodcunque ligaveris. et cetera. Intelligantur in utroque &c. verba similia quæcunque alligaveritis. et cetera. quæ etiam dicuntur in plurali...non intelliguntur nisi in foro conscientiæ.—Id. ibid. fol. b. vi.]

[2 Dicit, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XIII. 31. Tom. III. p. 614. Conf. Vet. Interp. ibid. pp. 613, 4.]

[4 Id. ibid.]

[5 Id. ibid. Tom. XII. 10. pp. 523, 4.]

[6 Id. ibid. 11. p. 525.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xii. Tractat. l. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 633; where *quando claves accepit.*]

[8 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Const. Monast. cap. xxii. 5. Tom. II. p. 573.]

[9 As he, 1567.]

[10 ...repetitum est a Domino tertio, Pasce &c. beatus suscepit....Petrus &c. eas accepit &c. accepimus omnes.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Dignit. Sacerdot. cap. ii. Tom. II. Append. col. 359.]

ceived, but he received the same together with us; and all we have received the same together with him." Likewise St Cyprian: *Christus eandem dedit apostolis omnibus potestatem*[11]: "Christ gave unto all his apostles like and equal power." Cypr. de Simpl. Prælat.

So likewise saith Beda: *Potestas ligandi et solvendi, quamvis soli Petro a Domino data videatur, tamen absque ulla dubietate noscendum est, quod et ceteris apostolis data est*[12]: "The power of binding and loosing, notwithstanding it seem to be given only unto Peter, yet, without all doubt, we must understand that it was given also to the rest of the apostles." Bed. in Hom. in Evang. Quem me dicunt.

Briefly, M. Harding's own scholastical doctors confess that the power of the apostles was one and equal: but they say that the whole multitude of the church was committed only unto Peter, and not likewise to any other; and that therein only standeth all the difference. Hervæus saith: *Quamvis apostoli... eandem habuerint a Christo et æqualem potestatem clavium et jurisdictionis, tamen jurisdictionem, sive materiam subjectam, non habuit nisi Petrus, et cui [eam Petrus] committere voluit*[14]: "Notwithstanding the apostles received of Christ equal power of the keys and jurisdiction, yet the jurisdiction, or matter wherein to use their power, none had but only Peter, and to whomsoever Peter would commit the same." And thus he imagineth that all the apostles, saving only Peter, had keys given them, but no house to open; and jurisdiction of government[15], but no people to govern. Johan. de Par. de Potest. Reg. et Papal.[13] cap. xii.

Verily Alphonsus de Castro saith: *Quando absolvit simplex sacerdos, tantum absolvit de culpa sicut papa*[16]: "When a simple priest absolveth, he absolveth as much touching sin as doth the pope." Alphons. adv. Hæres. Lib. ii. de Absol.

But touching the pope, how great soever he fancy his key to be above all others, if he never use the same, and if he either know not or utter not the word of God, we say as before, well may he shut up the kingdom of God before men; but open it he cannot. Origen saith: *Qui funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur, frustra vel ligat vel solvit*[17]: "He that is bound with the bands of his own sins bindeth and looseth but in vain." Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

To conclude, St Augustine saith: *Cum Petro dicitur, omnibus dicitur, Amas me? Pasce oves meas*[18]: "These words of Christ, 'Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep;' when they are spoken unto Peter, they are spoken unto all priests or ministers." He addeth further: *Itaque miseri, dum in Petro Petram non intelligunt, et nolunt credere datas ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum, ipsi eas de manibus amiserunt*[19]: "Therefore wretched men, while in Peter they understand not (Christ, that is) the Rock, and while they will not believe that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given (not unto Peter alone, but) unto the church, they have quite lost the keys out of their hands." August. de Agon. Christ. cap. xxx. August. de Agon. Christ. cap. xxxi.

The Apology, Chap. viii. Division 1.

We say that matrimony is holy and honourable in all sorts and states[20] of persons, as[21] in the patriarchs, in the prophets, in the apostles, in the[22] holy martyrs, in the ministers of the church, and in bishops; and that it is an honest and lawful thing (as Chrysostom saith) for a man living in matrimony to take upon him therewith the dignity of a bishop[23].

[11 ...quamvis apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 107.]

[12 Quæ solvendi atque ligandi potestas, quamvis soli Petro videatur a Domino data, absque ulla tamen dubietate noscendum est, quia et ceteris apostolis datur.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Hom. Æstiv. de Sanct. Tom. VII. col. 112.]

[13 For this reference 1567 has *Hervæus de Potestate Papæ*.]

[14 Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1611-14. Tom. II. p. 125; where *habuissent*.]

[15 1567 omits *of government*.]

[16 Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. II. Absol. 2. fol. 36.]

[17 Orig. Op. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 14. Tom. III. p. 531.]

[18 Et cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, &c.—August. Op. De Agon. Christ. cap. xxx. 32. Tom. VI. col. 260.]

[19 Id. ibid. cap. xxxi. 33. ibid.]

[20 An dates, 1609; and dates, 1611.]

[21 Conf. omits *as*.]

[22 Conf. omits *the*.]

[23 See below, page 387, note 15.]

M. HARDING.

*Matrimony is "holy and honourable in all persons, and an undefiled bed," as saith St Paul. Yet is it not lawful for them to marry *which either have by deliberate vow dedicated all manner their chastity unto God, *or have received holy order. For the vowed be forbidden marriage by express word of God; those that have taken holy orders by tradition of the apostles and ancient ordinance of the church.* Heb. xiii.

* Untruths, two together, as better appereth by the answer.

Touching the first, the scripture is plain, because a vow is to be performed: Vovete, et reddite Domino Deo vestro: *"Vow ye, and pay (or render that ye vow) to our*[1] *Lord God." Christ also saith in the gospel: "There be some eunuchs that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that can take let him take." Again St Paul, speaking of young widows which have vowed and promised chastity, saith that, "when they wax wanton against Christ, they will marry, having damnation, because they have broken their first faith." Whether these scriptures pertain hereto, and be thus to be understanded, we refer us to the primitive church and to all the holy fathers....* Psal. lxxvi. Matt. xix.

The first faith St Hierome expoundeth the faith of baptism[2]. See the answer.

Such marriages, or rather "slidings and falls from the holier chastity, that is vowed to God," St Austine[3] *doubteth not but they be "worse than* [4]*advoutry*[5]*." St Cyprian calleth this case plain incest*[6]*. St Basil accounteth the marriages of veiled virgins to be void, of no force, and sacrilegious.*

"She that hath despoused herself to our Lord," saith St Basil, "is not free. For her husband is not dead, that she may marry to whom she list. And whiles her immortal husband liveth, she shall be called an advoutress, which for lust[7] *of the flesh hath brought a mortal man into our Lord's chamber*[8]*."...*

Touching the second, the apostles forbid those that come single to the clergy to marry, except such as remain in the inferior orders, and proceed not to the greater, as we find in their canons, Can. 25[9]*. Paphnutius, as Socrates and Sozomenus record in their ecclesiastical story, said at the Nicene council, that it was "an old tradition of the church, that such as come to the degree or order of priesthood single should not marry wives*[10]*." And this is that holy bishop Paphnutius, whom these evangelical vow-breakers pretend to be their proctor for their unlawful marriages....* Clerks bound to continency. Lib. i. cap. xi. Paphnutius. Lib. i. cap. xxiii.

This[12] pope Siricius shamefully abuseth the words of St Paul, and condemneth all marriage.

Read who list the epistle of Siricius ad Himerium Tarraconensem, *cap. vii.*[11]*, the second epistle of Innocentius to Victritius, bishop of Roen, cap. ix.*[13]*, and his third epistle to Exuperius, bishop of Tolouse, cap. i.*[14]*; and weighing well these places, he shall perceive that these holy popes forbade the ministers of the church the use of wedlock, by the same reason by which the priests of Moses' law were forbidden to come within their own houses in the time when their course came to serve in the holy ministries; by the same reason also by which St Paul requireth married folk for a time to forbear the use of their wives, that they might attend praying.* 1 Cor. vii.

The place of Chrysostom alleged by this defender, well considered, disproveth no part of the catholic doctrine in this behalf, but condemneth both the doctrine and common practice of his companions, these new Answer to Chrysostom's place. In i. cap. ad Tit. Hom. 2.

[1 Your, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 407, 8. See below, pages 102, 3, note 12.]

[3 Augustine, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Advoutries, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 ...sed plane non dubitaverim dicere, lapsus et ruinas a castitate sanctiore, quæ vovetur Domino, adulteriis esse pejores.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bon. Vid. cap. xi. 14. Tom. VI. col. 376.]

[6 The place referred to is probably the following: Quid? Christus Dominus et Judex noster, cum virginem suam, sibi dicatam et sanctitati suæ destinatam, jacere cum altero cernit, quam indignatur et irascitur! et quas pœnas incestis ejusmodi conjunctionibus comminatur!—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pompon. Epist. iv. p. 8.]

[7 Lusts, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 ...ἔπειθ' ὅτι οὐκ οὖσα ἐλευθέρα (οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν αὐτῆς ὁ ἀνήρ, ἵνα ᾧ βούλεται γαμηθῇ) ζῶντος τοῦ ἀθανάτου ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει, θνητὸν διὰ πάθη σαρκὸς τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου παστῷ ἐπεισάγουσα.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Virgin. 39. Tom. III. p. 624. This treatise is not by Basil.]

[9 Τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προσελθόντων ἀγάμων, κελεύομεν βουλομένους γαμεῖν, ἀναγνώσταις, καὶ ψάλταις μόνους.—Can. Apost. 25. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 29.]

[10 ...κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀγάμους τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος κοινωνήσαντας μηκέτι γαμεῖν.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. p. 357. Conf. Socr. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 33.]

[11 Syric. ad Himer. Tarrac. Epist. i. 7. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 417.]

[12 The, 1611.]

[13 Innoc. I. ad Victric. Rothom. Epist. ii. 9. in eod. Tom. I. p. 456.]

[14 Id. ad Exuper. Tholos. Epist. iii. 1. in eod. pp. 457, 8.]

fleshly gospellers. His words be these upon the saying of St Paul, that "a bishop ought to be without crime, the husband of one wife." "The apostle," saith he, "stoppeth the mouths of heretics, which condemn marriage, shewing that it is not an unclean thing, but so reverend that with the same a man may ascend to the holy throne or seat (he meaneth the state of a bishop); and herewith he chastiseth and restraineth the unchaste persons, not permitting them who have twice married to attain such a room. For whereas he keepeth no benevolence towards[15] *his wife *deceased, how can he be a good governour? yea, what grievous accusations shall not he be subject unto daily? For ye all know right well that, albeit by the laws the second marriages be permitted, yet that matter lieth open to many accusations. And therefore he would a bishop to give no occasion (of evil) to those that be under him*[16]*."...He putteth bigamy, *that is to wit, marrying another after the first or a widow, to be lawful rather than commendable.*

Twice married may not be bishops, and why.

* Untruth. For M. Harding foully mistaketh St Chrysostom's meaning.

* Untruth, standing in false exposition.

...So we see the impure bigamy of our holy gospellers condemned both by Chrysostom and St Paul, of whom many being priests and (as they say) bishops, at least presuming to occupy that holy seat for custody of their chastity, after their former old yoke-fellows' decease, solace themselves with new strumpets. By a better name I would call them if I wist I should not offend. For what woman soever coupleth herself in such damnable yoking, how can she appear either to be honest or to have care of her soul's[17] *health? As for the simple, that be deceived by the importunity and craft of those lurdens, as they are not to be borne withal, so yet I think them to be pitied.*

Strumpets.

*But, if this defender press us with Chrysostom, we answer that, though Chrysostom grant that a married man may ascend to the holy seat, yet he saith not that a man may descend from that holy seat to the bride-bed. For we deny utterly that any man after that he hath received holy orders may marry. *Neither can it be shewed that the marriage of such was ever accounted lawful in the catholic church. Indeed, we know that in Germany, and in England, and certain other provinces at dissolute times, when the discipline of the church was shaken off, priests have been married, as we read of the time in which Anselmus was bishop of Canterbury. But that disorder was always by *due correction of bishops punished and redressed*[18]*....*

After holy orders received, marriage never counted lawful among catholics.

* Untruth. For it was undoubtedly counted lawful.

Priests married in England in the time of Anselmus.

* That is, by allowing of concubines.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, I grant, M. Harding is like to find some good advantage, as having undoubtedly a great number of the holy fathers of his side. For single life in the eyes of politic wise men, for many causes, seemeth worthy of favour. But, good christian reader, that thou mayest be the better able to see and judge how uprightly and indifferently the fathers have dealt herein, either in the advancing[19] of virginity, or else in the disgracing of lawful matrimony, it may please thee to consider the form and manner of their sayings.

Marriage condemned.

Indeed Origen saith: *Potest aliquis de castitate plus sapere, quam oporteat sapere*[20]*:* "A man may think more of chastity than is convenient." Likewise saith St Hierome: *Declinare ad dextram est abstinere a cibis, quos Deus creavit ...[et] condemnare matrimonium, et incurrere in illud quod dictum est, Noli justus esse nimium*[21]*:* "To turn to the right hand is to abstain from meats which God

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. Lib. ix.

Hieron. in Mal. cap. ii. Vos autem recessistis. Eccles. vii.

[15 Toward, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16 Ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναγὲς, ἀλλ' οὕτω τίμιον, ὡς μετ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον· ἐν ταὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς κολάζων, καὶ οὐκ ἀφιεὶς μετὰ δευτέρου γάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι ταύτην. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀπελθοῦσαν μηδεμίαν φυλάξας εὔνοιαν, πῶς ἂν οὗτος γένοιτο προστάτης καλός; τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταίη κατηγορίαν; ἴστε γὰρ ἅπαντες, ἴστε ὅτι εἰ μὴ κεκώλυται παρὰ τῶν νόμων τὸ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, ἀλλ' ὅμως πολλὰς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα κατηγορίας. οὐδεμίαν οὖν παρέχειν λαβὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὸν ἄρχοντα βούλεται.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738.]

[17 Soul, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18 Harding goes on to censure the books of Bale, Ponet and others on this subject, and refers the inquirer to "a large treatise written hereof by a learned man in our own tongue."]

[19 Avancing, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Potest etiam in castitate aliquis plus sapere quam oportet sapere.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Epist. ad Rom. Lib. ix. 2. Tom. IV. p. 647.]

[21 Declinare &c. condemnare nuptias, et in illud incurrere, quod...scriptum est: Ne sis justus multum. —Hieron. Op. Comm. in Malach. Proph. cap. ii. Tom. III. col. 1818.]

Marriage condemned.

hath made, and to condemn matrimony, and to fall into the danger of the words written by the wise man, 'Never be over just'."

First, therefore, Tertullian in the disproof of matrimony saith thus: *Ecquid tibi videtur stupri affine esse matrimonium? Quoniam... in illo deprehendo quæ stupro competunt*[1]: "Dost not thou think that matrimony is like unto fornication? Certainly I find the same things in the one that I find in the other." Further[2] he saith: *Ergo, inquies, jam et primas, id est, unas nuptias destruis. Nec immerito; quoniam et ipsæ ex eo constant quod est stuprum*[3]: "Then, thou wilt say to me[4], thou condemnest also the first marriage. Yea, verily, and not without cause; for both matrimony and fornication consist both of one thing." Chrysostom saith: *Hæc ipsa conjunctio maritalis malum est ante Deum. Non dico peccatum, sed malum*[5]: "The very copulation of matrimony is an evil thing before God. I say not it is sin; but I say it is an evil thing." And yet immediately after he saith: *Si in maritis et adulteris una est libido, quomodo potest fieri ut una eademque res pro dimidia... parte sit justitia, pro dimidia autem sit peccatum? Aut enim tota est justitia, aut tota est peccatum; quia res una est*[7]: "If the married man and the advouterer have one kind of pleasure, how can it be that one and the self-same thing for the one half should be righteousness, and for the other half should be sin? Either it is all sin or all righteousness; for the thing itself is one."

Tertull. in Exhort. ad Cast. p. 458.

Eodem loco.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 1.[6]

Addition.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding saith I do falsely demean myself[8], and beguile my unlearned reader. "For the author by these words, *conjunctio maritalis*, meant not the copulation of matrimony, as you translate it, as though he said matrimony itself were an evil thing. God forbid any should so speak of God's holy ordinance! But he meaneth the conjunction of the husband with his wife in the act of generation." Besides all this he telleth us of "*fides, proles*, and *sacramentum;* of *malum culpæ*, and *malum pœnæ;* of immoderate concupiscence, inordination, and rebellion of the flesh," &c.; and all to excuse these words written in *Opere Imperfecto*, under the name of Chrysostom: "The copulation of matrimony, or the conjunction of man and wife, is an evil thing before God."

M. Hard. fol. 283. b. [Detect.]

M. Hard. fol. 284. a. [Detect.]

The answer. First, M. Harding, where you charge me with false translation and corruption of mine author, besides that my words of themselves[9] be plain enough, I meant also the very same thing that you mean. Only I thought[10] to express my meaning modestly, and in comely terms, without offence. Neither ever was there any heretic, that I have heard of, that condemned the very state of matrimony of itself, otherwise than in respect of the conjunction that followeth afterward. Therefore it was needless for you so spitefully[11] to cry out, "God forbid any man should so speak of God's holy ordinance, to say that matrimony itself were an evil thing!" And yet God ordained not only the state of matrimony itself, but also the very act itself of generation. And therefore you have brought us a vain distinction, M. Harding, without sense or savour. You might better have said, God forbid that any man should say the act of generation itself were an evil thing, or should so speak of God's holy ordinance!

M. Hard. fol. 283. b. [Detect.]

But you tell us a tale of *malum pœnæ*, and *malum culpæ*. *Malum pœnæ* is that necessity, infirmity, and misery that is fixed and mortised unto our bodies, as care, trouble, hunger, thirst, sickness, death, and such other. But are these ill things before God? Are these the things whereof St Paul complaineth of himself, saying, "I do not that good thing that I would do, but I do that evil thing that I would not do?"

Rom. vii.

You will say, the author of the work called *Opus Imperfectum* speaketh not of these natural infirmities of the body, but of that concupiscence which

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[1 ...ecquid videtur tibi stupri adfine esse secundum matrimonium, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Exhort. Cast. 9. p. 669.]

[2 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Id. ibid. p. 670; where *inquis*, and *quo et stuprum*.]

[4 1567 omits *to me*.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. i. ex cap. i. Tom. VI. p. xxiv.]

[6 1567 has *Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. i.*]

[7 Si ergo una est libido in maritis et in adulteris; quomodo &c.? Aut enim tota est peccatum, aut tota justitia: quia una est res.—Id. ibid.]

[8 Meself, 1570.]

[9 Themself, 1570.]

[10 Sought, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Pitifully, 1570; spightfulle, 1609.]

you call a rebellion of the flesh. If the author meant thus, then, I pray you, against what thing doth concupiscence work this rebellion? You must needs say, against the will and Spirit of God! for so saith St Paul. And will you say this is only an ill thing; it is no sin? Is it no sin to rebel against God's holy Spirit, and to withstand his will? Verily, St Augustine saith plainly: *Concupiscentia carnis, adversus quam bonus concupiscit Spiritus, et peccatum est, ... et pœna peccati, ... et causa peccati*[12]: "The concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good Spirit desireth or laboureth, is both sin itself, and also the pain of sin, and the cause of sin." Here St Augustine saith that the same concupiscence and rebellion whereof you speak is not only an evil thing, but also very sin indeed. Therefore leave this niceness, M. Harding, and tell us plainly that the conjunction of man and wife is not only an evil thing, but also sin before God.

Marriage condemned.

August. contr. Jul. Lib. v. cap. iii.

But St Augustine saith far otherwise: *Paulus modeste deterret a nuptiis, non tanquam a re mala et illicita, sed tanquam ab*[13] *onerosa et molesta. Aliud est enim admittere carnis turpitudinem, aliud habere carnis tribulationem. Illud est criminis facere; hoc laboris est pati*[14]: "St Paul in modest manner withdraweth men from marriage; not as from a thing evil and unlawful, but as from a thing grievous and burdenous. For to commit the filthiness of the flesh, it is one thing: to have the trouble of the flesh, it is another thing. The one is to commit a fault; the other is to suffer a pain." Thus, by St Augustine's judgment, marriage is not an evil or unlawful thing, but only a burdenous and a grievous thing.

August. de Sanct. Virg. cap. xvi.

But why should you thus defend an open error? This author bearing the name of Chrysostom saith that the "copulation which is in marriage," notwithstanding it be no sin, yet "is an evil thing before God." Where did God himself ever so say in all the scriptures? Where did the Holy Ghost ever say that "wedlock is an evil thing?" Neither do I here mean the degree or state of wedlock, but the very fellowship and use of wedlock. Where did the Holy Ghost ever say hereof, "It is an evil thing before God?"

Verily, St Paul saith: "Marriage is honourable in all degrees, and a bed undefiled." The marriage-bed, saith St Paul, is no evil thing before God: it is pure, and holy, and undefiled. God himself ordained matrimony: he ordaineth no ill. God himself commanded the conjunction itself and use of matrimony: he commandeth no ill. "Unto the clean all things are clean." "He that bestoweth his virgin in marriage," saith St Paul, "doth well." St Paul saith not, He doth evil before God; but, contrariwise, "He doth well." But how could he do well in giving her occasion to do ill? The holy father Paphnutius in the great council of Nice said thus: *Congressus cum legitima uxore est castitas*[15]: "The company of a man with his lawful wife is chastity." Touching the disordered affections, that may happen in the use of marriage, I will say nothing. If ye reason thus, Such affections be ill; *ergo*, the use of marriage itself is ill; ye fall into a foul error in arguing, called, as you know, *paralogismus accidentis*. St Augustine saith: *Non quia incontinentia malum est, ideo connubium*[16], *vel* [*id*] *quo incontinentes copulantur, non est bonum*[17]: "We may not say, because incontinency is an evil thing, therefore wedlock, or that copulation that is between (man and wife) that contain not, is no good thing." St Augustine calleth the very copulation of man and wife, and the use of matrimony, a good thing, and that four times together in the[18] same one place. How then can you say that the same "copulation and use of matrimony is an evil thing before God?" Beware, M. Harding, ye be not found in the company of them that say "good is evil, and evil is good." ☞

Heb. xiii.

Tit. i.
1 Cor. vii.

Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xxii.

August. de Gen. ad Lit. Lib. ix. cap. vii.

Isai. v.

St Hierome saith: *Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere. Nihil enim bono contrarium est, nisi malum*[19]: "If it be good for a man

Hieron. contr. Jovin. Lib. i.

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. v. cap. iii. 8. Tom. X. col. 631.]

[13 Ob, 1570.]

[14 ...ut...a nuptiis etiam deterreret, modeste sane, non tamquam &c. ac molesta. &c.—Id. de Sanct. Virgin. cap. xvi. 16. Tom. VI. col. 347.]

[15 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. p. 356.]

[16 Concubinum, 1609, 1611.]

[17 August. Op. De Gen. ad Lit. Lib. IX. cap. vii. 12. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 247; where *neque enim quia.*]

[18 That, 1570.]

[19 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 149.]

not to touch his wife, then is it evil to touch his wife. For there is nothing contrary to good, but evil." Again he saith: *Quamdiu impleo mariti officium, non impleo christiani*[1]: "As long as I do the duty of a husband, I do not the duty of a christian man." Again: *Non negamus viduas, non negamus maritatas, sanctas mulieres inveniri; sed quæ uxores esse desierint, quæ in ipsa necessitate conjugii virginum imitentur castitatem*[2]: "We deny not but widows and married women may be holy; but such as have left and forsaken wives' duties, and in the very necessity of matrimony do counterfeit the chastity that is in maidens."

Ibid.

Hieron. contr. Helvid.

Second Marriage.

The like account we may make of sundry others: these few may suffice for this present.

Now, touching the marriage of widowers and widows, a great many of the ancient fathers seem expressly and utterly to condemn it.

Athenagoras saith: *Secundæ nuptiæ decorum quoddam sunt adulterium*[3]: "The second marriage (of widowers or widows) is a fair kind of advoutry." And St Hierome calleth widows so married "harlots and naughty women," *malas et prostitutas*; and saith: *Digamia non nascitur in terra bona*[4]: "Second marriage groweth not in good soil." Again he saith: *Tolerabilius est, uni... prostitutam esse, quam multis*[5]: "More tolerable it is to be concubine unto one than unto many." Again: *Ubi... numerus maritorum est, ibi vir, qui proprie unus est, esse desiit*[6]: "Where as there is a number of husbands, there the husband, that in proper speech is but one, is no husband." Likewise again: *Non damno digamos.... Etiam scortatorem recipio pœnitentem. Quicquid æqualiter licet, æqua lance pensandum est*[7]: "I condemn not widowers or widows that have married again. No, I refuse not the fornicator upon his repentance. Whatsoever is equally lawful must be weighed in one balance."

Athenag. in Apolog. pro Christ.

Hieron. ad Gerontiam.

Hieron. contr. Jovin. Lib. i.

In eod. Lib.

Nazianzenus saith: *Hic sermo videtur mihi rejicere secundas nuptias. Si enim duo sunt Christi, duo item sunt mariti, et duæ uxores*[8]: "This saying seemeth to condemn second marriage. For, if there be two Christs, then are there two husbands and two wives." Origen saith: *Nunc... et secundæ, et tertiæ, et quartæ nuptiæ... repetuntur; et non ignoramus quod tale conjugium ejiciet nos de regno Dei*[9]: "Now the second, and third, and fourth marriage is received; and we know that such marriage shall cast us out of the kingdom of God."

Nazianz. in Dict. Evang. Cum perfecisset Jesus.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 17.

By these few examples we may see it was hard for these holy learned fathers, in so large amplifications of praising or dispraising, to hold measure. Yet, all these vehement words and amplifications notwithstanding, partly the same, partly other the like holy and learned fathers, both used marriage themselves in their own persons, and also otherwise wrote and spake thereof with great reverence.

Tertullian, as St Hierome witnesseth, was a married priest[10]. Spiridion the bishop of Cyprus, sometime famous in the council of Nice, was married, and had children[11]. So was St Hilary the bishop of Poiters, as appeareth by his epistle to his daughter Abra[12].

Hieron. de Script. Eccles. Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xi. Hilarius.

Addition.

☞ *Addition.* ☞ "The authority of Hilary," saith M. Harding, "is a simple rag and a peevish apocryphal forged writ," &c. *The answer.* It is even so indeed. I never took it to be otherwise. Neither do I allege it in such great sooth as you imagine, but only as a pamphlet of your own. For, howsoever you weigh it now, they were your own friends that first forged this forgery;

[1 Id. ibid. col. 150; where *continentis* for *Christiani* in the text.]

[2 Id. adv. Helvid. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 143.]

[3 Athenag. Leg. pro Christ. 33. ad calc. Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. p. 311.]

[4 ...digamia in quo erit numero?...Certe in bona terra non oritur...in eo se putet esse laudabilem, si scortis melior sit...si uni sit prostituta, non pluribus. —Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Ageruch. Epist. xci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 744.]

[5 Id. adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 159.]

[6 Id. ibid.]

[7 Id. ibid. col. 160; where *æquali lance.*]

[8 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xxxvii. 8. Tom. I. p. 650.]

[9 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Luc. Hom. xvii. Tom. III. p. 953; where *reperiuntur.*]

[10 Hieron. Op. Catalog. Script. Eccles. 53. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 115.]

[11 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xi. pp. 338, 9.]

[12 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Abr. Fil. Epist. cols. 1209, &c. The Benedictine editors consider this letter genuine.]

they were not of us. If you would shake off all such the like rags, that you and your fathers have patched up under the names of Anacletus, Athanasius, Amphilochius, and others, a great part of your books must needs go naked. But notwithstanding these writs be forged and full of fables, yet the fathers themselves, whose names they bear, in their own persons were not forged. For Anacletus indeed was bishop of Rome: Athanasius indeed was bishop of Alexandria: Amphilochius indeed was bishop of Iconium. Even so, although this epistle, which some of you have forged under the name of St Hilary, be a fable, yet St Hilary indeed in his own person was a learned father and bishop of Poiters in France, above eleven hundred years ago, and might indeed have a wife; and Abra indeed might be his daughter. And what marvel? For the priests in France lived still in wedlock until the time of pope Hildebrand, which was above seven hundred years after the death of St Hilary. Verily, Baptista Mantuanus witnesseth that Hilarius in the time of his bishoprick had a wife, and lived with her[13]. ☙

Second Marriage.

Bapt. Mant. in Fast.

So was Gregory, St Basil's brother, the bishop of Nyssa[14]. So was Gregory the bishop of Nazianzum, father unto Gregory Nazianzene, as appeareth by Ruffinus; yet was he nevertheless "a faithful servant, and a steward of the mysteries of God, a man of spiritual desires, the God of Pharao, the pillar and buttress of the church, and the star of the world[15]:" for in such wise his own son Gregory Nazianzene reporteth of him. Such a one was he[16], his wife and family notwithstanding. So was Prosper of Aquitania, the bishop of Rhegium, as it appareth by his epigram written unto his wife: *Mearum comes irremota rerum*[17].

Niceph. Lib. xi. cap. xix. Nazianz. in Laud. Patr. Θεὸν Φαραώ,... στῦλον καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας,... καὶ φωστῆρα ἐν κόσμῳ. Prosper.

So was the holy father Cheremon, the bishop of Nilus, who, as Eusebius writeth, was sent into banishment with his wife[18]. So Polycrates, being likewise a bishop, sometime said that seven of his fathers or ancestors had been bishops[19]. The Greek word is συγγενεῖς. Ruffinus translateth it *parentes*[20].

Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xli. Χερήμων. Euseb. Lib. v. cap. xxv.

Addition. ☙ M. Harding: "The Greek word (you say) is συγγενεῖς; and Ruffinus translateth it *parentes*, &c. You mean not, I trow, that Polycrates had seven fathers; for that were too many by six, you know. One father is enough, pardy, for one man. What gather you hereof, that Polycrates was married, because he had seven ancestors?" *The answer.* You are a pleasant man, M. Harding: I see a little thing may make you merry. But you say further I have "belied Ruffinus. For he translateth not συγγενεῖς *patres*, but *parentes;* which," you say, "goeth further off in signification than the word *patres* doth, as the learned in the civil laws do know." Indeed herein I confess there was an oversight. It is true Ruffinus hath not *patres*, but *parentes.* And yet where you say I "belie Ruffinus," ye are over bitter. You know the difference between *patres* and *parentes* is not so great; for oftentimes in good signification both *patres* be *parentes* and *parentes* be *patres.* Cicero joineth them in one, and saith *pater parensque*, both together. You say: "This word *parentes* goeth further in signification than this word *patres*, as the learned in the civil law do know." I deny it not, M. Harding. But will you also say that Ruffinus was so curious in choice of words, or that he went to the civilians to learn Latin? Verily, St Hierome speaketh scornfully of him in that behalf, and thinketh him not able to speak good Latin[21].

Addition. ☙

Hieron. in Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Συγγραφεὺς ἀγράμματος.

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[13] Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obstitit uxor
Legitimo conjuncta toro; non horruit illa
Tempestate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tedas, &c.
—Bapt. Mant. Libr. de Sacr. Dieb. Argent. 1518. Lib. I. De Sanct. Hil. fol. c. iiii. 2.]

[14] Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XI. cap. xix. Tom. II. p. 137.]

[15] ...πιστὲ θεράπον, καὶ οἰκονόμε τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν τοῦ Πνεύματος. &c.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Orat. xviii. 1. Tom. I. p. 330. This appears to be an address to Basil.]

[16] 1570 omits *he.*]

[17] Prosp. Op. Par. 1711. Ad Uxor. Poem. Conj. 1, 2. cols. 773, 4. The genuineness of this poem has been doubted.]

[18] Χαιρήμων ἦν ὑπέργηρως τῆς Νείλου καλουμένης ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως. οὗτος εἰς τὸ Ἀράβιον ὄρος ἅμα τῇ συμβίῳ ἑαυτοῦ φυγὼν, οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VI. cap. xlii. p. 196]

[19] ...ἑπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος.—Id. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 155. Conf. Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. v. cap. xxiii. fol. 60. 2.]

[20] Patres, 1567.]

[21] Hieron. Op. Apolog. adv. Rufin. Lib. III. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 441, 3.]

Bishops and Priests married.

Howbeit, let us see what signification this word *parentes* beareth among the civilians. Thus therefore saith Caius, one of the fathers of the law: *Appellatione parentis non tantum pater, sed etiam avus, et proavus, et deinceps omnes superiores continentur; sed et mater, et avia*[1]: "Under this name *parens* is contained not only father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and all other[2] orderly going upward; but also mother and grandmother." All these, saith Caius, are contained under this word *parens*. Now, M. Harding, for that it liketh you to make needless quarrels, and to play with words, I reckon ye will not say that Polycrates' mother, or grandmother, or great-grandmother were bishops before him. For so, I trow, your learned civilians will not say. Then it resteth that Polycrates said his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, &c., were bishops, and that one of them had been father unto another. And this is all that I said. Therefore your mirth is at an end.

De Verb. et Rer. Signif. Lib. I.

Justinianus the emperor seemeth the more to esteem Epiphanius the bishop of Constantinople, for that his father, and other his ancestors, had been priests and bishops[3].

Novell. Const. 3. § fin. e Græco.

Ignatius, St John the Evangelist's scholar, saith: "Peter and other the apostles of Christ were married men[4]." So writeth Clemens Alexandrinus[5]. So writeth Eusebius[6]. Origen saith, by the report of others his ancestors[7], that "St Paul and his wife were called to the faith both at one time[8]."

Ignat. ad Philad. Clem. Strom. iii. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i. Lib. i.

Addition. Of which wife, as he saith, he writeth thus in his Epistle to the Philippians: *Rogo te, germana compar, &c.*: "I beseech thee, faithful yoke-fellow, help those women that have laboured with me in the gospel."

Addition. Phil. iv.

St Ambrose saith: *Omnes apostoli, excepto Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt*[9]: "All the apostles had wives, only John and Paul excepted."

Ambros. in 2 Cor. xi.

Addition. Here saith M. Harding: "Whether is truer man, M. Jewel that wrote the Reply, or M. Jewel that wrote this pretensed Defence? There he saith thus: 'The twelve apostles, saith St Ambrose, only St John excepted, were all married[10].' Here he saith otherwise: 'St Ambrose saith, All the apostles had wives, only St John and St Paul excepted.' Here St Paul hath no wife; there St Paul hath a wife. If you were a true man there, then are you false here: if you be true here, then were you false there. Or he had a wife, or he had not. Say which ye will, M. Jewel is contrary to M. Jewel. Fain would I know which of these M. Jewels were to be trusted." *The answer.* Here we have "M. Jewel in his Reply, and M. Jewel in his Defence;" "M. Jewel contrary to M. Jewel;" "true here, and false there;" "false here, and true there." O what a merry pang was this, M. Harding! Ye lack[11] but somewhat to make yourself sport. St Ambrose saith: "The twelve apostles, only St John excepted, were all married." Again St Ambrose saith: "All the apostles had wives, only St John and St Paul excepted." I pray you, good M. Harding, what contrariety find you in these words? Do I make St Ambrose first to say, "St Paul had a wife?" And do I make him afterward to say, "St Paul had no wife?" I trow ye were not awaked[12]. Ye laughed at somewhat in your dream. You know, though St Paul were an apostle of Christ, yet was he none of the twelve apostles. What should you be told of those[13] things that children know? Ye much misreckon yourself. These

M. Hard. fol. 286. a. b. [Detect.]

Ambros. in 2 Cor. cap. xi.

[1 Gaius, Lib. XXIII. ad Edict. Prov. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. L. Tit. xvi. 1. Tom. I. p. 778.]

[2 Others, 1570.]

[3 Τὴν μακαριότητα τοίνυν τὴν σὴν, ἥπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ νηπίας σχεδὸν ἡλικίας ἐν ἱερατικῷ παντὶ βαθμῷ...κατεκόσμησεν ἐκκλησίαν, οἷα καὶ ἐξ ἱερατικῆς καταβαίνουσα γενεᾶς, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. Auth. Coll. I. Tit. iii. Novell. iii. Epil. Tom. II. p. 8.]

[4 ...ὡς Πέτρου, καὶ Παύλου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων.—Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philad. cap. iv. in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 77.]

[5 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. III. 6. Tom. I. p. 535.]

[6 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxx. pp. 81, 2.]

[7 1567 omits the preceding seven words.]

[8 Paulus ergo (sicut quidam tradunt) cum uxore vocatus est.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Epist. ad Rom. Lib. I. 1. Tom. IV. p. 461.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. II. ad Cor. cap. xi. v. 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 198; where *exceptis*.]

[10 See Vol. II. page 727.]

[11 Lackt, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Not well awaked, 1570.]

[13 Told those, 1570, 1609.]

things[14] may well stand together. "All the twelve apostles, John only excepted, had wives." And yet St Paul, being none of the twelve, had no wife. What mean you then with "this M. Jewel, and that M. Jewel; M. Jewel here, and M. Jewel there?" Both here and there M. Jewel saith truth. But both here and there you are one man still. Why should you so vainly bestow your wits?

As touching St Paul, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, and Ignatius, that saw Christ after his resurrection, and was in company with the apostles, say in plain words, "He had a wife." Of the other side, St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, St Hierome, and others that lived well-near four hundred years after Christ's ascension, say plainly, "He had no wife." Here have you doctors against doctors; three against three; and that namely touching the marriage of St Paul. Will you therefore come in with these gewgaws, and tell us, "Fain would I know which of these doctors were to be trusted?" Leave, leave this unseemly sporting, M. Harding. Ye wis it becometh you not. There is nothing here worthy the laughing at, but only your folly. ☞ Ignat. ad Philad.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Perfecti christiani edunt, bibunt, contrahunt matrimonium*[15]: "They that be perfect[16] christian men do eat and drink and contract matrimony." St Hierome, writing against Jovinian, saith thus: *Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia*[17]: "As though now-a-days very many priests were not married." And therefore he saith, as he is alleged by Gratian: *Legant episcopi et presbyteri, qui filios suos secularibus literis erudiunt*[18]: "Let bishops and priests read these things, that bring up their children in worldly learning" (and not in the scriptures of God). ☞ Clem. Strom. Lib. vii. Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i. Dist. 37. Legant.

Pope Damasus and others have shewed us, that[19] a great number of bishops of Rome were priests' sons; as pope Sylverius, pope Deusdedit, pope Adrianus II., pope John XV., pope Fœlix III., pope Hosius, pope Agapetus, pope Gelasius[20], pope Bonifacius, pope John X., pope Theodorus; and concludeth thus: *Complures etiam alii inveniuntur, qui, de sacerdotibus nati, apostolicæ sedi præfuerunt*[21]: "Many others beside there are found that, being priests' sons, ruled the apostolic see of Rome." Dist. 36. Osius. Bishops married.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "What shall I say unto this fellow? Who ever saw so impudent a man? Doth pope Damasus shew you all this, M. Jewel? Fie for shame, man. You a minister of God's word? Nay, a minister of vain fables, and a minister of open lies. What may we call this in you? Foolish ignorance, or shameless malice? How could you be so ignorant, or so witless, as once to dream that Damasus, that learned pope, should thus write? That you might seem a jolly proctor for your brothers', the married apostates', sacrilegious, incestuous, and abominable yoking, must Damasus needs be made a prophet? Consider, reader, I pray thee (for it booteth not to tell it M. Jewel), how this tale hangeth together. Damasus was the 39th pope; Sylverius was the 60th pope; Deusdedit was the 70th pope; Adrianus II. was the 109th pope, &c. What a marvellous prophet then was M. Jewel's Damasus, that could thus prophesy of so many popes so long to come after his death! As for pope Hosius, he is a pope of M. Jewel's own making. In the registers of the popes I find none so named. Gratian hath not so many popes by three. For he nameth not John X., nor John XV., nor Adrian II." &c. *The answer.* What mean these terrible exclamations, M. Harding? You cry out: "Vain, foolish, ignorant, witless, impudent, shameless, sacrilegious, incestuous, abominable yoking." Who hath thus offended you? What wise man would be so vehement without some cause? It were much better for you to come again to yourself, and to learn to be sober. "Pope Damasus," you say, Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 287. a. [Detect.]

[14 Sayings, 1570, 1609.]

[15 Clement. Alex. Op. Strom. Lib. VII. 12. Tom. II. p. 874.]

[16 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[17 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 165.]

[18 Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxvii. can. 5. col. 182; where *atque presbyteri.* Conf. Op. Comm. Lib. III. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. vi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 396.]

[19 Pope Damasus sheweth us that, 1567.]

[20 Galatius, 1611.]

[21 Damas. in eod. ibid. Dist. lvi. can. 2. col. 291. This canon is headed "Palea;" and it does not contain the names of John X., John XV., or Adrian II.]

Bishops married.

"could not write of Sylverius, and Deusdedit, and Adrianus, and Fœlix, and others that were born so many years after his death." What then? Will you therefore thus fondly fall out, and rage with me? It is your own friend doctor Gratian, M. Harding, that thus hath written. I am the reporter only; I write it not. Call him "vain, foolish, ignorant, witless, impudent, shameless," and what you list. Fall out rather with them that have called his books "the foundation of the canon law." Fall out with pope Eugenius, that commended his books unto the world. As for me, I know what he is. I allege him as I find him. Compare my words with Gratian: you shall see I do right. Only I left out certain popes' names for shortness sake; which fault here, for your pleasure, I have reformed.

Dist. 56. Hosius.

Fundamentum juris canonici.

But you say: "Hosius is a pope of M. Jewel's own making; for in the register of popes ye find none so named." Yet, if you had better conferred with Gratian, you should have found that pope Hosius is the first in all the rank. How truly he is either so named or so placed, I make none account. It is your own Gratian that so reporteth; and, as I have said before, it is the "ground and foundation of all your laws." "Pope Damasus," you say, "could not write of those popes that so many hundred years followed after him." That, I grant you, is also an error. Bid your Gratian reform it: for his only error it is; it is none of ours. Howbeit, as for the truth of the matter itself, read the lives of all these popes; and ye shall find it true that Gratian saith, that every of them had a priest to his father. For example, Platina saith pope Sylverius was the son of bishop Hormisda[1], pope Bonifacius I. was the son of Jucundus a priest[2]. And so the rest. Therefore, somewhat to relieve your Gratian's credit, notwithstanding he erred in the name of Damasus, yet in the true story of these popes, and of their fathers, he erred nothing: for indeed all they whose names he rehearseth were priests' sons.

Plat. in Sylv. et in Bonif. I.

Further you say: "Gratian hath not so many popes' names by three as I have reckoned. For he nameth not pope John X., nor pope John XV., nor pope Adrian II." This, I confess, was mine own oversight, in that I mingled these names with the rest, neither alleging nor noting mine author. Notwithstanding, this error proceeded only of negligence, and not of malice, as to any indifferent man it may soon appear. For, touching the truth of the matter itself, Platina saith, "Every of these three popes had a priest to his father," as had the others whom we have named. These be his words: "Pope John the eleventh (which in other computations is reckoned the tenth) was son unto pope Sergius[3]: pope John the sixteenth (who of some others is counted the fifteenth) was son to a priest called Leo[4]: pope Adrian the second was the son of a bishop named Taralus[5]." Here ye[6] have your whole reckoning, M. Harding, and no cause why ye should be further offended.

Plat. in Johan. XI.

In Johan. XVI.

In Adrian. II.

But you tell your reader that "this authority is brought in by Gratian under the name of *Palea;* and that *Palea* is as much to say as 'chaff,' and signifieth that all that followeth is little worth." "Such chaff," say you, "is M. Jewel driven to take hold at, to maintain his brothers' filthiness, for lack of better stuff." And is it true, M. Harding, that all that Gratian layeth out under the name of *Palea* is nothing else but "chaff, and vain stuff of little worth?" What will you then do with your great Donation of Constantine, whereby the pope claimeth his jurisdiction over the other three patriarchs, his whole triple crown, and the whole empire of the west? Shall this also go for "chaff, and forgery, and vain stuff?" Do you not know that the said Donation is intituled *Palea*[7], as well as this? Will you, for the safeguard of your priests' children, leave the pope with all his universal power and authority in the chaff? Thus you use your authors and doctors, M. Harding: sometimes they are "chaff;" sometimes they are "corn;" sometimes they are "dross;" sometimes they are "gold."

M. Hard. fol. 287. b. [Detect.]

Dist. 96. Constantinus.

Here you have the whole matter truly proved; all these popes by your

[1 Silverius...patre Hormisda episcopo...pontifex creatur.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Silver. p. 67.]

[2 Bonifacius...patre Jucundo presbytero, Honorii temporibus fuit.—Id. Bonif. I. p. 53.]

[3 Johannes undecimus...patre Sergio pontifice ...pontificatum iniit.—Id. Johan. XI. p. 129.]

[4 Johannes decimus sextus...patre Leone presbytero...pontificatum adeptus.—Id. Johan. XVI. p. 137.]

[5 Hadrianus secundus...patre Talaro episcopo, Sergio pontifici familiaris fuit.—Id. Hadr. II. p. 122.]

[6 You, 1570.]

[7 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 14. col. 470.]

Gratian alleged found priests' sons; the other three popes with the priests their fathers fully avouched; your vain "chaff" blown into the wind; and your Gratian's errors, touching the names of Damasus and Hosius, sufficiently answered. Leave therefore your ordinary talk of "foolish, witless, impudent," and "shameless men," M. Harding, lest your reader happen to open his eyes, and espy whose[8] dealing is impudent. ☙ ❧

Bishops married.

Pope Pius saith: "A married man, having his wife alive, may be chosen pope." His words be these: *Cur enim disputant doctores, an... electus in papam uxori [suæ] debitum solvere teneatur, &c.*[9]? "For wherefore do the canonists move this doubt, whether a man being chosen pope be bound to yield marriage duty to his wife, unless a married man may be chosen to that room?" Polydorus Vergilius saith that the "restraint of priests' marriage" was first attempted in England about the year of our Lord "nine hundred threescore and ten[10];" and that the same was afterward concluded in the west church about the year of our Lord "a thousand and a hundred," and never before[11].

Æn. Sylv. De Gestis Concil. Basil. Lib. ii.

Polyd. in Hist. Angl. Lib. vi. Anno Dom. 970.

Polyd. De Invent. Rerum. Lib. v. Anno Dom. 1100.

Fabian saith that "bishops and priests lived a thousand years together with their wives, no law being to the contrary[12]."

Fabian. p. 293.

These two principles being thus laid, the one of immoderate and extraordinary speech[13] of the holy fathers, the other of the continual and ordinary practice of the church, we may now be the better able to consider the substance of M. Harding's reasons.

Addition. ☙ M. Harding: "What, will M. Jewel make this fond and childish argument, Certain fathers spake over vehemently concerning matrimony: *item*, some of them were called to dignity of bishops from the state of married men; *ergo*, priests, monks, friars, nuns, who have vowed chastity, may lawfully marry wives, and take husbands? Of what small substance this reason is, the veriest cobblers of all their ministers, if they can read any English besides their communion-book, may easily perceive." *The answer.* Cobblers we have none in the holy ministry, M. Harding. And yet, if we had any such, I see no cause but they might do God better service in his church than many that have been and yet are priests and cardinals in the church of Rome. And what great wonder were it, if a good simple godly man were made a priest? You may remember that Julius the second, a man utterly void both of learning and virtue, from a wherry-slave not long sithence became a pope[14]. Verily St Chrysostom is not ashamed oftentimes to call St Paul *sutorem pellium*[15]; which words you may English "a clouter of skins" or "a cobbler." But, to leave these your vain and needless quarrels, there is no cobbler so simple but it pitieth him to see you in so weighty matters to shew such folly.

Addition. ☙ M. Hard. fol. 282. b. [Detect.]

Erasm. in Proverb. A remo ad tribunal.

Chrysost. in 2 ad Tim. Hom. 5.

The childish arguments that you have imagined are your own, M. Harding: you know full well they are none of mine. Thus only I say: "Divers the holy fathers have written over basely, I will not say vilely and slanderously, of the state of matrimony in general, calling it in all kind of men fornication, an ill thing, and like to advoutry; therefore, I say, they may much less be taken as indifferent judges in priests' marriage." Again: "Divers the holy fathers, being themselves priests and bishops, had wives, and lived in matrimony; therefore, I say, they condemned not priests' marriage." ☙ ❧

First of all, his objection of vows nothing toucheth the clergy of England: for it is known and confessed, that the priests of England were never votaries.

Addition. ☙ Further, where I say the clergy of England was never bound to such vow of chastity; you say, "What moveth you to say the priests of Eng-

Addition. ☙ M. Hard. fol. 290. b. [Detect.]

[8 Whole, 1611.]

[9 Cur &c. solvere debitum teneatur, nisi quoniam etiam conjugatus recipi possit?—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Comm. de Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. II. p. 59.]

[10 Polyd. Vergil. Anglic. Hist. Basil. 1555. Lib. VI. p. 119. This author narrates this as occurring in the reign of Edgar.]

[11 ...non ante pontificatum Gregorii septimi, qui anno salutis MLXXXIV. est pontifex creatus, conjugium adimi occidentalibus sacerdotibus potuit.—Id. De Rer. Invent. Amst. 1671. Lib. v. cap. iv. p. 313.]

[12 The Chronicle of Fabyan, Lond. 1542. The seventh Part, Henry the first, p. 293.]

[13 Speeches, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Adag. Chil. III. Cent. iv. 86. Tom. II. col. 823.]

[15 ...ἅτε σκηνοποιὸν ὄντα.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. ii. Hom. v. Tom. XI. p. 687. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Tom. IV. col. 1561.]

Bishops and Priests married.

land are no votaries? What privilege have they above all other priests of Christendom, at least of the Latin and west church?" &c. *The answer.* You know, M. Harding, neither the priests of England ever offered any such vow, nor the bishop ever required it. And how can he be a votary that maketh no vow? Or how can there be a vow, where nothing is vowed?

M. Hard. fol. 291. a. 291. b. [Detect.]

You say: "This vow is annexed to holy orders by statute of holy church; and bishops, priests, and deacons be tied to chastity." To chastity, say you, M. Harding? Would God it were so! Would God the world saw not the contrary! Howbeit, here you allege pope Gregory, the emperor Justinian, the council of Carthage, pope Leo, and others. Yea, although the bishop require nothing, and although the priest promise nothing, "yet," you say, "oaths and promises may lawfully pass without words." And here you bring in many proper things, of "laying hands on a book," of "holding up two fingers," of "soldiers' badges," and I wot not what. In the end you conclude, "A beck is as good as a Dieu garde[1]." All these words, M. Harding, are not worth one word of answer.

M. Hard. fol. 293. a. [Detect.]

M. Hard. fol. 293. b. [Detect.]

If the priests of England were always votaries, and have so continued from the beginning, how is it then that the same priests nevertheless continued still in lawful matrimony for the space of more than a thousand years together after Christ, and that without reproof, and without offence of the church of God? Were they all bound by vow to live single; and yet did they altogether all that while, contrary to their solemn vow, live lawfully in open wedlock? Who would thus say, but M. Harding? Where then was the pope, that should have deprived them? Where was then M. Harding, that should have cried out upon them, "Fleshly, incestuous, sacrilegious vow-breakers?" Was incest and sacrilege so lightly weighed among our fathers so long a time? Was there neither bishop, nor[2] priest, nor other holy man within this realm, during the space of so many hundred years, that would reprove it? Did all the godly priests of this realm make solemn vows for no other cause but only to break them? Let us think better of our fathers, M. Harding. Certainly they made no such vow, neither by "beck," as you say, nor by "Dieu garde."

Again, if "the vow of chastity be of itself annexed to orders," as you say, what shall we then think of the priests of Græcia and Asia, and of all other christened countries through the world? Are they all bound to chastity by solemn vow, and yet live they all in open matrimony against their vow? Are they all "fleshly, incestuous, sacrilegious vow-breakers," without exception? Wherefore then doth pope Stephanus say, *Aliter se orientalium traditio habet ecclesiarum, aliter hujus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ; nam illarum sacerdotes, diaconi, et subdiaconi matrimonio copulantur*[3]? "The tradition of the east church is one; and the tradition of this holy church of Rome is another; for the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons of the east church are joined in matrimony?" Wherefore is it noted there in the rubric, *Orientalis ecclesia votum castitatis non obtulit*[4]? "The east church hath not offered the vow of chastity?" Wherefore do you yourself, M. Harding, secretly confess that the priests of the east church are no votaries? Remember your words. Thus you say: "What privilege have the priests of England above all other priests of Christendom, at least of the Latin and west church?" you say: you dare not say the east church was ever subject to any such vow. Wherefore doth cardinal Cajetane say, *Nec ordo in quantum ordo, nec ordo ... in quantum sacer, est impeditivus matrimonii*[5]? "Neither the order of priesthood in that it is an order, nor the same order in that it is holy, is any hindrance to matrimony?" Neither pope Stephanus, nor Gratian, nor cardinal Cajetane, nor you yourself might[6] thus have written, if the vow of chastity were necessarily annexed to holy orders.

Dist. 31. Aliter.

M. Hard. fol. 290. b. [Detect.]

Card. Cajet. in Quodlib.

You allege a canon of the council of Ancyra, where you say: "It is thus decreed touching deacons: If a deacon receive orders of the bishop, and hold his

M. Hard. fol. 292. a. [Detect.] Concil. Ancyr. cap. 10.

[1 Dieu garde: may God defend. So help me God.]

[2 No, 1570.]

[3 Steph. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxi. can. 14. col. 154; where *earum sacerdotes*, and *atque subdiaconi*.]

[4 Ibid.; where *non orientalis*, and *obtulit votum*.]

[5 Thom. de Vio Cajet. Opusc. et Quol. Venet. 1514. De Cast. fol. 49. 2.]

[6 Mought, 1570.]

peace, it shall not be lawful afterward for him to marry." By this canon you teach us, that the vow of chastity is evermore joined with holy orders. But in the same canon it is also decreed, that "if the deacon make protestation and tell the bishop that he will marry, for that he is not able to live single, then, if he afterward marry, he shall still continue in the ministry[7]." All this, I say, is written in the same canon; I say not in any other, but in the same. Ye would not thus have beguiled your reader, if ye had meant plainly. Notwithstanding, I will not here touch your credit, M. Harding, nor use your ordinary exclamations of "falsehood[8]" and "forgery." Yet here you see in this case the council thought it lawful for a deacon to marry, notwithstanding he were in holy orders. And thus it is plain by the same canon ye have here alleged, that then your vow was not annexed to holy orders.

Bishops and Priests married.

Further you say: "Origen, whom I may well allege for witness of the church of his time, saith that none may offer the continual sacrifice but such only as have vowed continual chastity[9]." *The answer.* By the "continual sacrifice" you would bear us in hand that Origen meant only that sacrifice that you have imagined in your mass. But indeed, M. Harding, Origen in that place speaketh not one word neither of your mass (for he never knew it; he would have abhorred it), nor of your imagined sacrifice, nor of priest, nor of deacon, nor of any outward ministry of the church. If it be otherwise, for your credit's sake let the words appear. If there be in Origen not one such word, no not one, what opinion may your friends have in your dealing, whom they see so slily to juggle before their eyes? Verily, Origen by the "continual sacrifice" meant none other but only the sacrifice of faithful prayer; which sacrifice also thus many ways he expresseth: *Si sine intermissione, &c.*[10]: "If we pray without ceasing: if our prayer early in the morning rise up as a pleasant perfume in the sight of God: if the lifting up of our hands be unto him an evening sacrifice." This is the sacrifice that Origen there speaketh of, M. Harding. Of any other your sacrifice he speaketh nothing. Of this sacrifice he saith: "No man can offer it that liveth in wedlock." And thus he saith, not only of priests and deacons, as you seem to tell us, but generally of every of God's faithful people. "No man," saith he, "can offer up this continual sacrifice of prayer, unless he continue in chastity, and live a virgin." And this, M. Harding, was not the general order of the church in that time, as you report it, but one of Origen's particular and known errors.

M. Hard. 292. a. [Detect.] Orig. in Numer. Hom. 23.

Thus you have proved that your "vow was annexed to holy orders" by the authority of him that speaketh not one word neither of priest nor of deacon, nor of any other ecclesiastical order, but generally of all faithful christian people; and of the particular error of one man ye have framed a general order of the church. ☞

Yet, for further answer, we grant it is reason and convenient that whoso hath made a vow unto God should keep his promise. Cyrillus saith: *Si castitatem promiserit, et servare non poterit, pronunciet peccatum suum*[11]: "If he[12] have promised or vowed chastity, and cannot keep it, let him pronounce and confess his sin."

Cyril. in Levit. Lib. iii.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "As for the saying you allege out of the third book of Cyrillus *in Leviticum*, it can serve you to no purpose but to witness your forgery and falsehood[8]. For there is no such saying in that book." *The answer.* O M. Harding, why should you take so vain pleasure

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 290. a. [Detect.]

[7 Διάκονοι, ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτο δὲ εἴ τινες σιωπήσαντες καὶ καταδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ μένειν οὕτως, μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον ἐπὶ γάμον, πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς διακονίας.—Concil. Ancyr. can. 10. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1460.]

[8 Falsehead, 1570.]

[9 Unde videtur mihi quod illius est solius offerre sacrificium indesinens, qui indesinenti, et perpetuæ se devoverit castitati.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Num. Hom. xxiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 358.]

[10 ...si et sacrificium indesinens offeramus, si sine intermissione oremus, ita ut ascendat oratio nostra sicut incensum in conspectu ejus mane, et elevatio manuum nostrarum fiat ei sacrificium vespertinum.—Id. ibid.]

[11 See the next page, notes 3, 4.]

[12 Ye, 1611.]

Bishops and Priests married.

in evil speech? Is there no such saying in all that book? What book had you to seek in[1]? Or what spectacles had you to behold it? Your manner is to pronounce over-boldly before you know. I grant I have not alleged all the words that St Cyril useth; otherwise I should have taken out of him more than thirty lines all together. Notwithstanding I have neither forged nor altered nor devised any manner thing of myself[2], as it shall appear.

Cyril. in Levit. Lib. iii.

First, St Cyril saith thus: *Nos,... cum venimus ad Dominum, et vovemus nos ei in castitate (velle) servire, pronunciamus labiis nostris, et juramus nos (velle) castigare carnem nostram, &c.*[3]: "When we come to our Lord, and make a vow that we will serve him in chastity, we pronounce with our lips and make an oath that we will chasten our flesh," &c. Here have we by express words a vow, and a vow of chastity. After certain lines it followeth thus: *Si... istum ordinem promiseris, et servare non quiveris, audi quid legis ordo præcipiat: Si peccaverit, inquit, unum aliquod de istis, pronunciet peccatum [suum] quod peccavit*[4]: "If thou have promised to keep this order, and canst not keep it, hear what the order of the law commandeth thee. Thus saith the law, 'If a man shall offend in any of these things, let him pronounce the sin that he hath sinned.'" Here you may not say, M. Harding, that these last[5] words were uttered upon occasion of some other matter that went between. For St Cyril spake these self-same words namely and only of him that hath "vowed and sworn chastity." "We make a vow," saith Cyril, "to serve God in chaste life: we pronounce it, and give it out from our lips: we swear that we will chasten our flesh." Yet, saith he, "if thou have promised to keep this order, and canst not keep it, pronounce thy sin that thou hast sinned." These, M. Harding, be the words that you say cannot be found in St Cyril. This is my falsehood[6], this my forgery. You see your over-hasty judgment may soon deceive you.

Matt. xix.

Justin. Apolog. 2.

Howbeit, touching virginity or chastity, we say it standeth not in our choice or vow, but in the singular gift of God. Christ himself saith: "All men take not this word, but they unto whom it is given." Justinus Martyr saith: *Multi castraverunt se propter regnum cœlorum. Verum hoc non cuivis datum est*[7]: "Many have gelded themselves for the kingdom of heaven. But this thing is not given to all men."

xxxii. Quæst. 1. Integritas.

St Ambrose saith: *Sola... virginitas est quæ suaderi potest, imperari non potest*[8]: "Only virginity is a thing that may be counselled, but commanded it may not be."

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xix.

So St Hierome: *Unde .... infert [Dominus], Qui potest capere, capiat; ut unusquisque consideret vires suas, utrum possit virginalia... pudicitiæ præcepta implere. Per se enim castitas blanda est, et quemlibet ad se alliciens. Sed considerandæ sunt vires; ut qui potest capere, capiat*[9]: "Our Lord addeth, 'He that can take, let him take,' that every man may consider his own strength, whether he be able to accomplish the laws of virginity and chastity or no. For chastity of itself is fair and pleasant, and able to allure any man unto itself. But we must weigh our ability, that he may take it that can take it."

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 24.

Hereof the ancient father Origen began to complain so long ago in his time: *Non solum quæ docent non faciunt, sed etiam crudeliter et sine misericordia injungunt aliis majora virtute ipsorum, non habentes rationem virium uniuscujusque; ut qui prohibent nubere, et ab eo quod expedit ad immoderatam munditiem compellunt*[10]: "Not only they do not that they teach, but also cruelly and without mercy they command others to do that they[11] be not able, not

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[1 Seek it in, 1570.]

[2 Meself, 1570.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. iii. 4. Tom. II. p. 196; where *ad Deum et vovemus ei nos.* Conf. Cyril. Alex. Comm. in Levit. Par. 1514. Lib. III. fol. 9. See Vol. II. page 553, note 4.]

[4 Id. ibid.; where *unum aliquid.*]

[5 Later, 1570; latter, 1609.]

[6 Falshead, 1570.]

[7 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. I. 15. p. 52. Justin merely quotes the text here cited.]

[8 Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXXII. Quæst. i. can. 13. cols. 1598, 9; where *sola est.* Conf. Op. Par. 1686-90. Exhort. Virg. cap. iii. 17. Tom. II. col. 282.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xix. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 88; where *implere præcepta.*]

[10 Orig. Op. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 10. Tom. III. p. 836.]

[11 Thy, 1570.]

considering or weighing each man's strength. Such be they that forbid men to marry, and from that thing that is lawful drive and force men to an immoderate kind of cleanness." Bishops married.

St Hierome saith: *Si quis consideret virginem suam, id est, carnem [suam], lascivire, et ebullire in libidinem, nec refrænare se potest, duplex illi incumbit necessitas, aut capiendæ conjugis, aut ruendi*[12]: "If any man consider that his own virgin, that is to say, his own flesh, groweth proud, and boileth unto lust, and cannot stay it, there is laid upon him a double necessity either to take a wife, or else to fall[13]." Hieron. contr. Jovin. Lib. i.

In this case St Cyril saith: *Oportet compati et [com]metiri doctrinam pro virium qualitate; et hujusmodi qui non possunt capere sermonem de castitate, concedere nuptias*[14]: "We must have consideration of men, and measure our doctrine according to every man's ability; and unto such men as cannot take the word of chastity we ought to grant marriage." Cyril. in Levit. Lib. xvi.

If M. Harding will reply that this counsel may take place in all others, but not in them that have vowed or promised the contrary; let him understand his own rule written in the pope's own decrees: *In malis promissis rescinde fidem: in turpi voto muta decretum. Quod incaute vovisti, ne facias: impia.... est promissio quæ scelere impletur*[15]: "In an evil promise break thy faith: in an unhonest vow change thy purpose. That thou hast unadvisedly vowed, see thou do it not: it is an evil promise that is kept with wickedness." Vows. xxii. Quæst. 4. In malis.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "What relief bringeth all this unto his cause, unless he be able to prove that chastity is an ill and a wicked thing?" *The answer.* No, M. Harding, chastity is no ill thing: it is the special gift of God. But an unclean and a filthy life under colour of a vow or the name of chastity is a wicked thing before God. You know it is commonly said, under the name of St Hierome: *Simulata sanctitas duplex est iniquitas*[16]: "Counterfeit holiness is double wickedness." ☞ Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 296. a. [Detect.] Gift of Chastity. ☞ Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 11.

St Cyprian, having occasion to write of certain maids that had vowed virginity, and lived in disorder, saith thus: *Quod... si... perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est [ut] nubant, quam [ut] in ignem deliciis suis cadant. Certe nullum fratribus aut sororibus scandalum faciant*[17]: "If they either cannot or will not continue in chastity[18], better it is for them to marry than to fall into the fire (of hell) with their pleasures. At the least let them breed no slander to their brother or sister[19]."

St Augustine saith: *Quidam nubentes post votum asserunt adulteros esse. Ego autem dico [vobis], quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt*[20]: "Some men there be that say they be advouterers that marry after that they have made a vow. But I tell you that they sin grievously that put such asunder." August. de Bon. Conjug. Dist. 27. Quidam.

Epiphanius likewise saith: *Melius est unum habere peccatum, quam multa. Melius est cadentem a stadio*[21] *aperte sibi uxorem asciscere secundum leges, &c. Et a virginitate longo tempore agere pœnitentiam, &c. Et non quotidie occultis jaculis vulnerari*[22]: "Better it is to have one sin than many sins. Better it is for a man falling from his course openly to take unto him a wife, according to the law, &c.; and a long time to repent himself of the breach of his virginity, &c.; and not to be wounded with privy darts every day." Epiph. contr. Hæres. 61. Apost. Lib. ii. φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον.

St Hierome saith: *Sanctum virginum propositum, et cœlestis angelorumque familiæ gloriam quarundam non bene se agentium nomen infamat. Quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere; aut contineant, si* Hieron. ad Virg. Demet.

[12 Si quis autem considerat &c. duplexque ei incumbit &c. aut accipiendæ conjugis, aut spernendæ.—Hieron. Op. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 158.]

[13 Or to fall, 1567.]

[14 ...verbi causa non potest plene de castitate capere sermonem, oportet compati, et metiri doctrinam pro virium qualitate, et concedi talibus nuptias.—Orig. Op. In Levit. Hom. xvi. 2. Tom. II. p. 265.]

[15 Isidor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXII. Quæst. iv. can. 5. col. 1264; where *adimpletur*.]

[16 This is ascribed to Jerome by the author of Fortal. Fid. fol. Nurmb. 1494. Lib. IV. Consid. ix. 280. 2. Other writers ascribe the sentiment to Gregory. See Becon's Works, Park. Soc. Vol. III. page 278.]

[17 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pompon. Epist. iv. p. 8; where *delictis*.]

[18 1567 omits *in chastity*.]

[19 Brothers or sisters, 1567, 1570.]

[20 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxvii. can. 2. col. 133.]

[21 Studio, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[22 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxi. Tom. I. p. 512.]

Vows.

nolunt nubere[1]: "The name of certain virgins not well behaving themselves defameth and shameth the holy purpose of virgins, and the glory of the heavenly and angelical family. Whom we must plainly charge that either they marry, if they cannot contain, or that they contain if they will not marry."

August. de Sanct. Virg. cap. xxxiv.

To like purpose St Augustine saith: *Multas... earum revocat a nubendo, non amor præclari propositi, sed aperti dedecoris timor, veniens et ipse a superbia; qua formidatur hominibus magis displicere quam Deo. Nubere nolunt; et ideo non nubunt, quia impune non possunt: quæ melius nuberent quam urerentur, id est, quam occulta flamma concupiscentiæ in ipsa conscientia vastarentur; quas pœnitet professionis, et piget confessionis*[2]: "Many of them are kept from marriage, not for love of their goodly purpose of virginity, but for fear of open shame, which shame also proceedeth of pride, for that they are more afraid to displease man than God. They will not marry; and therefore they marry not, because they cannot without rebuke. Yet better were it for them to marry than to burn, that is to say, than with the flame of their concupiscence in their own conscience to be wasted. They are sorry of their profession, and yet it grieveth them to confess," &c.

Mark vi. Acts xxiii. xxii. Quæst. 4. Inter cætera.

It is not sufficient to say, "I have vowed." Herod vowed John Baptist's head; the Jews vowed St Paul's death. Hubaldus, as it is noted by Gratian in the Decrees, made a vow that he would never help his own mother or brethren, were their need never so great[3].

Alphons. Philip. 19.

Alphonsus Virvesius[4], one of M. Harding's greatest doctors, saith thus: *Si quis voverit, et continere non possit, et omnia expertus nihil promoverit, ego illi auctor essem, non ut proprio consilio, sed ut auctoritate pontificis saluti suæ consulat per matrimonium*[5]: "If any man have vowed, and cannot contain, and, having assayed all means, yet be never the near, I would advise him that he should provide for the safety of his soul by marriage; and yet not of his own counsel, but by licence and authority of the pope."

Thom. 2. ii. Quæst. 88. Art. 10.

Likewise Thomas of Aquine saith: *Potest... contingere, quod in aliquo casu sit vel simpliciter malum, vel inutile, vel majoris boni impeditivum,... et ideo necesse est quod determinetur in tali casu votum non esse servandum*[6]: "It may happen that in some case a vow may be either utterly ill or unprofitable, or an hindrance unto some other good thing of more weight. And therefore it must of necessity be determined, that in such a case a vow ought not to be kept." Therefore it was thus decreed in the council of Toledo: *Non est servandum sacramentum, quod male et incaute promittitur*[7]: "A vow ill and unadvisedly promised ought not to be kept."

Concil. Tolet. VIII. can. 2.

Addition.

M Hard. 294. a. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Here M. Jewel allegeth the sayings of sundry holy fathers, counselling those that either cannot or will not keep chastity to take the remedy that God hath ordained, that is to say, to marry. Which counsel is understanded to be given unto them that have made no vow at all to the contrary." *The answer.* How then, M. Harding, if you be not able to keep chastity? Is your vow sufficient to make you able? or will you keep your vow, and live in filthiness? Or, if you so live, shall you be excused by your vow? St Paul saith: "Fornicators and advouterers the Lord will judge: they shall have no part in the kingdom of Christ and God." Wo be to that vow that worketh the destruction of the soul!

M. Hard. 294. a. [Detect.]

"But," you say, "this counsel is given to them that have made no vow." Thus you say, and yet you know you say untruly. Behold the authorities: the words be plain: the holy fathers[8] spake expressly of them that have vowed. Let

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[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Demetr. Epist. xcvii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 796.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Sanct. Virg. cap. xxxiv. 34. Tom. VI. col. 357; where *de superbia, magis hominibus*, and *hæ igitur quæ nubere volunt et ideo.*]

[3 ...de Hubaldo...qui...juramento firmavit...matrem cum fratribus de domo expellere, nihilque eis alimoniæ unquam impendere.—Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXII. Quæst. iv. can. 22. col. 1270.]

[4 Alphonsus de Castro, 1567.]

[5 Nunc ad illum quem legitimus scrupulus angit ...qui si omnibus...tentatis viderit se non posse continere, confidenter ego illi auderem consulere, ut non propria auctoritate...sed summi pontificis indulgentia saluti suæ per matrimonium prospiceret.—Alfons. Virves. Philip. Disp. adv. Luth. Antv. 1542. Philip. xix. pp. 247, 8.]

[6 Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Sec. Secund. Quæst. lxxxviii. Art. 10. Tom. XI. fol. 218.]

[7 Concil. Tolet. VIII. cap. 2. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 243; where *conservandum.*]

[8 Father, 1570.]

St Cyprian be an example for the rest. Thus he saith: *Quod si se ex fide Christo dicaverunt, pudice et caste sine ulla fabula perseverent, &c. Sin autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est [ut] nubant, &c.*[9]: "If they have in faith vowed themselves to Christ, let them continue chastely and honestly without guile, &c. But, if they will not or cannot continue, better it is for them to marry than with their pleasures to fall into the fire of hell." Behold, M. Harding, St Cyprian speaketh namely of them that have vowed themselves to Christ. Unto them he directeth his counsel: of such he saith, "It is better for them to marry."

Vows.

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 11.

You say, "St Cyprian speaketh of them that have made no vows[10]:" St Cyprian himself saith, he speaketh of "them that have made a vow." And must we believe you before St Cyprian? Why should you with such untruths and vanities deceive the world?

Yet notwithstanding you tell us, contrary to all that St Cyprian hath taught you, "If a man have once made a vow, though he be not able to live chaste, yet he may in no wise marry;" that is to say, he must live in fornication or other filthiness. St Paul saith: "If they live not chastely, let them marry: better it is to marry than to burn." But by your advice we must take St Paul's words and turn them backward, and say thus: Marry not, though you live unchastely: better it is to burn in concupiscence than to marry.

Here, M. Harding, ye cry out in your inordinate heat: "Fleshly gospellers," "evangelical vow-breakers," "impure bigamy," "filthy railing rabble," "lurdens," "strumpets," and I wot not what; as if this were the only way to win the victory. Unto this kind of eloquence I will make you none other answer than that Demetrius sometime made unto Lysimachus: *Scortum apud nos modestius vivit quam apud vos Penelope:* One of these whom it liketh you to call strumpets "liveth more soberly amongst us than doth amongst you your chaste Penelope."

It appeareth by St Augustine, M. Harding, that your error is ancient, and began long ago. For he saith that even then in his time there were some that maintained the same. But he answered them then as we do you now: "They spake fondly and unadvisedly, and understood not what they said." His words be these: *Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias sed potius adulteria, mihi non videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant*[11]: "They that say the marriage of such men or women" as have vowed chastity "is no marriage, but rather advoutry, seem unto me not to consider discreetly and wisely what they say." And again: *Fit ... per hanc minus consideratam opinionem, ... ut ... cum volunt eas separatas reddere continentiæ, faciant maritos earum adulteros veros, cum suis uxoribus vivis alteras duxerint*[12]: "It cometh to pass by this unadvised opinion that, whereas they will remove these women that so have vowed from their husbands, and force them to continue in their single life, they make the husbands of them advouterers indeed, in case they marry again, their own wives being still alive."

August. de Bon. Viduit. cap. x.

In eodem cap.

Thus therefore, M. Harding, you may imagine St Augustine saith unto you as he did unto them: "Ye speak fondly and unadvisedly, and understand not what ye speak."

And yet one of your companions there telleth us, that "he is undoubtedly the devil's minister, that will say (as St Augustine saith) that the marriage of such persons is true and very marriage[13]." Thus, by the judgment of your late Lovanian clergy, St Augustine is become the minister of the devil.

Dorm. fol. 16.

But M. Harding hath further to say, that St Augustine called[14] this kind of marriage "worse than advoutry:" another calleth it "incest;" and another "sacrilege." That the ancient fathers have thus written it is true, and not denied. Howbeit, good reader[15], as I have partly shewed before, these and other like words have proceeded more of zeal[16] and heat of mind than of profound con-

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[9 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pompon. Epist. iv. p. 8; where *si ex fide se*, and *si autem*. See before, page 399, note 18.]

[10 Vow, 1570.]

[11 August. Op. De Bon. Vid. cap. x. 13. Tom. VI. col. 375; where *non mihi videntur*.]

[12 Id. ibid. col. 376.]

[13 ...although the ancient fathers of Christ's church have not doubted, some of them to call it, not (as do the devil's ministers) marriage, but adultery. —Dorman, Proufe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Juell. Ant. 1564. fol. 16. 2.]

[14 Calleth, 1567.]

[15 Reade, 1570.]

[16 Of a zeal, 1567, 1570.]

Worse than Advoutry.

sideration and judgment of the cause. Neither may we always strain such sayings to the uttermost. For, whereas St Augustine saith, "Such marriage is worse than advoutry;" he saith nevertheless immediately after in the same place, "It is true and very marriage indeed before God and man, and no advoutry." His words be these: *Non quod ipsæ nuptiæ vel talium damnandæ judicentur.... Damnatur propositi fraus; damnatur fracta voti fides, &c. Damnantur tales, non quia conjugalem fidem posterius inierunt, sed quia continentiæ primam fidem irritam fecerunt*[1]: "Not that the marriage of such persons is to be blamed: that[2] defrauding of their purpose and the breach of their vow is blamed. Such are blamed, not for that they have entered into the faith of matrimony, but for that they have broken their first faith or promise of continent life." So likewise St Augustine saith of a woman that used to paint her face: *Etsi impudica circa homines... non sis,* [*tamen*], *corruptis violatisque quæ Dei sunt, pejor adultera detineris*[3]: "Although thou be no evil woman as touching men, or the misusing of thy body[4], yet, thus colouring and corrupting thy face, which thou hast of God, thou art worse than an advouteress." Here, by way of comparison, and in heat of speech, St Augustine saith that painting of the face is worse than advoutry. In like sense St Cyprian saith: *Diabolo pejor est, qui fœminarum aspectibus feritur*[5]: "He that is stricken or moved with the sight of women is worse than the devil." Likewise again he saith: *Multo... gravior et pejor est mœchi causa, quam libellatici*[6]: "An advouterer's case is worse than is the case of him that hath betrayed the faith."

August. de Bon. Viduit. cap. ix.

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. xxi.

Cypr. de Sing. Cleric.

Cypr. Lib. iv. Epist. 2.

Such comparisons, as I have said, may not well be racked to all purposes, but must be taken so far forth only as they were meant. Otherwise the same St Cyprian saith: *Pejus est quam mœchari continentiam ducere criminosam*[7]: "To live unchastely under the colour of chaste life (as your clergy doth) is worse than an[8] advoutry." Here, M. Harding, St Cyprian saith that your unchaste chastity and coloured vaunt of virginity is worse than advoutry.

Cypr. de Sing. Cleric.

So St Ambrose, when he had said, "If she have a mind to marry, she committeth advoutry; she is made the handmaid of death;" he addeth further, as of a greater evil: *Si hoc ita est, quid de illa dicendum est, quæ occulta et furtiva turpitudine constupratur, et fingit se esse quod non est?... Bis adultera* [*est*][9]: "This being so, what then shall we say of her that is defiled with secret and privy filthiness, and feigneth herself to be that indeed she is not? She is twice an advouteress."

Ambros. ad Virg. Laps. cap. v.

Here St Ambrose calleth[10] your painted virginity "double advoutry." So St Chrysostom: *Virginitas ista cum viris plus ab omnibus arguitur quam stuprum ipsum*[11]: "This virginity of women amongst men is more reproved of all men than fornication itself."

Chrysost. Tom. v. Quod regulares fœminæ cum viris cohabitent.

By these few we may the better understand the place that M. Harding hath here alleged of St Paul unto Timothy: "When they wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have broken their first faith." Notwithstanding indeed St Paul spake these words neither of vows nor of vow-breakers, but of the widows that were appointed to attend upon the old and sick persons, and therefore were relieved and found by the church.

1 Tim. v.

But let us imagine, as M. Harding would have us, that St Paul spake all this of the breach of vows; and let *prima fides*, "the first faith," be the vow of chastity. Howbeit, indeed, our first faith is the faith that we promise in baptism, and none other. And so St Hierome seemeth to take it. For thus he writeth: *Non*

Hieron. in Proœm. in Epist. ad Tit.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bon. Vid. cap. ix. 12. Tom. VI. col. 375; where *non quia*, and *judicantur*.]

[2 The, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Id. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. IV. cap. xxi. 49. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 85; where *ut enim* for *etsi*. Conf. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Habit. Virg. p. 99.]

[4 1567 omits the preceding six words.]

[5 Quod si... sit aliquis diabolo pejor, qui &c. feriatur.—Cypr. Op. De Singul. Cleric. Append. p. 9. This treatise is spurious.]

[6 Id. ad Anton. Epist. lv. p. 113; where *sit mœchi quam libellatici causa*.]

[7 Id. de Singul. Cleric. Append. p. 7; where *mœchia*.]

[8 1567, 1570, 1609 omit *an*.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Laps. Virg. cap. v. 21. Tom. II. col. 310.]

[10 Called, 1570.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Quod Reg. Fem. &c. Tom. I. p. 254.]

sunt digni fide, qui primam fidem irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem[12]: "They be not worthy to be believed that have forsaken their first faith; I mean Marcion and Basilides." These two famous heretics, Marcion and Basilides, were not condemned for breaking any vow of chastity, but for refusing the faith of Christ, which St Hierome calleth the[13] "first faith." Vow annexed, &c.

St Paul maketh no mention of any vow, but only rebuketh such light and wavering women, as being of long time found by the charges of the congregation, purposely to relieve the sick and the feeble, afterward forsook both the congregation and Christ too, and became heathens, and followed the devil. For so St Paul saith: *Nonnullæ jam deflexerunt post Satanam:* "Many such women are already gone after Satan." But, if St Paul spake this of the breach of vows, with what eyes then, M. Harding, do you read his words? Or what advantage can you hope to find in such authorities as do so expressly cry against yourself? St Paul saith, even there in the same place: *Vidua eligatur non minor annis sexaginta. Juniores viduas rejice. Volo juniores viduas nubere, liberos gignere, domum administrare, nullam occasionem dare adversario, ut habeat maledicendi causam:* "Let no widow be chosen under three-score years of age. Refuse young widows. I will that young widows be married, bring up their children, oversee their house, and give no occasion to the adversary to speak ill." 1 Tim. v.

If these words of St Paul must needs[14] be taken of vows, and none otherwise, why do you so violently, contrary to St Paul's commandment, either force or suffer young maids and girls to receive these vows? Why do you[15] not stay them until they be stricken in age, as St Paul willeth you[16], that they may be three-score years old before they vow? It is no reason ye should in one place claim by one word and break so many.

You say, The vow of chastity is annexed unto holy orders by the ancient constitution of the church, and by the apostles of Christ. For trial of your truth herein, I beseech you to consider these few instead of many. Fol. 79. b. [Conf.]

Your own allowed and principal doctor Gratian saith thus: *Copula . . . sacerdotalis, vel consanguineorum, nec legali, nec evangelica, nec apostolica auctoritate prohibetur*[17]: "Priests' marriage is not forbidden by any authority either of the law of Moses, or of the gospel, or of the apostles." xxvi. Quæst. 2. Sors.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Omnes apostoli epistolæ, quæ moderationem docent et continentiam, cum et de matrimonio, et de liberorum procreatione, et de domus administratione innumerabilia præcepta contineant, nunquam tamen honestum moderatumque matrimonium prohibuerunt*[18]: "All the epistles of the apostle[19], which teach sobriety and continent life, whereas they contain innumerable precepts touching matrimony, bringing up children[20], and government of house, yet they never forbade honest and sober marriage." Clem. Strom. Lib. iii.

Cardinal Cajetanus saith: *Nec ratione nec auctoritate probari potest quod, absolute loquendo, sacerdos peccet contrahendo matrimonium. . . . [Nam] nec ordo, in quantum ordo, nec ordo, . . . in quantum sacer, est impeditivus matrimonii. . . . [Siquidem sacerdotium] non dirimit matrimonium contractum, sive ante, sive post: . . . seclusis omnibus legibus ecclesiasticis, stando tantum iis, quæ habemus a Christo et apostolis*[21]: "It cannot be proved, neither by reason nor by authority, speaking absolutely, that a priest sinneth in marrying a wife. For neither the order of priesthood in that it is order, nor the same order in that it is holy, is any hindrance to matrimony. For priesthood breaketh not marriage, whether it be contracted before priesthood or afterward; setting all ecclesiastical laws apart, and standing only unto those things that we have of Christ and his apostles." Card. Cajet. in Quodlib. contr. Luther.

[12 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 407, 8; where *fidem primam.*]

[13 1570 omits *the.*]

[14 Deeds, 1567.]

[15 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16 The five preceding words do not appear in 1567.]

[17 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXVI. Quæst. ii. can. 1. col. 1456; where *vel apostolica.*]

[18 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. III. 12. Tom. I. p. 550.]

[19 Apostles, 1609, 1611.]

[20 Up of children, 1567, 1570.]

[21 Thom. de Vio Cajet. Opusc. et Quol. Venet. 1514. De Cast. fol. 49. 2; where *auctoritate probatur quod,* and *stando tantum in his quæ a Christo et apostolis habemus.*]

Letteth Prayer.

Abbat Panormitane saith: *Continentia non ... est de substantia ordinis, ... nec de jure divino*[1]: "Single life is not of the substance of the order of priesthood, nor of the law of God."

Panorm. de Cler. Conjug. Cum olim. Anton. in Summ. Part. III. Tit. i. cap. xxi.

Likewise Antoninus[2] saith: *Episcopatus ex natura sua non habet opponi ad matrimonium*[3]: "The office or degree of a bishop, of the substance or nature of itself, is not contrary to matrimony." Hereby ye may easily see, M. Harding, how true it is that you say, The vow of chastity is annexed to holy orders, and that by the apostles' ancient constitution.

But this order, you say, was taken for that, having the use of wedlock, we cannot pray. And to that end ye allege the authority of St Paul; where also ye might have alleged the names and sayings of sundry fathers. Origen saith: "The Holy Ghost in time of copulation forsaketh a man, yea, although he were a[4] prophet of God[5]." Another saith: *Virginitas sola potest animas hominum præsentare Deo*[6]: "Only virginity is able to present the soul of a man[7] unto God." St Hierome saith: *Quotiescunque uxori debitum reddo, orare non possum*[8]: "As often as I do my duty to my wife I cannot pray." And to this purpose pope Siricius undiscreetly and fondly abuseth the holy word of God. Thus he saith: *Qui ... in carne sunt ... Deo placere non possunt*[9]: "They that be in the flesh cannot please God."

Orig. in Num. Hom. 7.

Extr. De Probat. in Gloss.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

Inter Decret. Siric. cap. 7. Rom. viii.

These words seem very hard, and sound much to the derogation of God's ordinance. And therefore Ignatius, St John's scholar, saith: *Si quis legitimam commixtionem, et filiorum procreationem, corruptionem et coinquinationem vocat, ... ille habet cohabitatorem dæmonem apostatam*[10]: "If any man call lawful copulation and begetting of children corruption and filthiness, he hath the devil that fell from God dwelling within him."

Ignat. ad Philad.

In like manner say the learned godly bishops in the council of Gangra: *Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum quod offerre non debeat, et ab ejus oblatione abstinet, anathema sit*[11]: "If any man make difference of a married priest, as if he may not minister the oblation (or holy communion) because of his marriage, and abstaineth from his oblation, accursed be he."

Concil. Gangr. cap. 4.

Likewise it is written in the council of Constantinople: *Si quis ... præsumpserit, contra apostolicos canones, aliquos presbyterorum et diaconorum privare* [*a*] *contactu*[12] *et communione legalis uxoris* [*suæ*], *deponatur. Similiter et presbyter aut diaconus, qui religionis causa uxorem suam expellit, excommunicetur*[13]: "If any man, contrary to the apostles' canon[14], presume to remove either priest or deacon from the use and company of his lawful wife, let him be deprived. And in like manner let the priest or deacon be excommunicate that putteth away his wife under the colour of religion."

Dist. 31. Quoniam.

As touching the place of St Paul, "Defraud not yourselves one another, unless it be of consent for a season, that ye may attend unto fasting and prayer;" he speaketh not this of that kind of prayer that is commonly and daily used of all the faithful, as well married as unmarried, but only of the general and solemn prayer of the whole congregation, which then, as in time of persecution and fear of enemies, was kept only in the night, and all the whole multitude of the faithful was charged to be present at the same: at which times it was necessary that both the man and the wife should leave the one the other's company, and resort to prayer.

1 Cor. vii.

[1 Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. iv. De Cler. Coñjug. cap. 6. fol. 16.]

[2 Antonius, 1611.]

[3 Antonin. Summ. Basil. 1511. Tert. Pars Summ. Tit. i. cap. 21. fol. C. 8.]

[4 The, 1567.]

[5 ...connubia quidem legitima carent quidem peccato, nec tamen tempore illo quo conjugales actus geruntur præsentia sancti Spiritus dabitur, etiamsi propheta esse videatur.— Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Num. Hom. vii. 3. Tom. II. p. 288.]

[6 ...quæ sola est potens Deo animas hominum præsentare.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. II. Tit. xix. Gloss. in cap. 14. col. 699.]

[7 Of man, 1567.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 150.]

[9 Siric. ad Himer. Epist. i. 7. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 417.]

[10 Ignat. Epist. Interp. cap. vi. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 79.]

[11 Concil. Gangr. can. 4. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 419.]

[12 Contractu, 1570.]

[13 Synod. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxi. can. 13. col. 153.]

[14 Canons, 1567.]

So it is written in the prophet Joel: "Blow up the trump in Sion: proclaim a solemn fast: call together a congregation of the people. Let the bridegroom leave his bed: let the spouse come from her chamber. Let the priests, the ministers of God, weep between the entry and the altar; and let them say, O Lord, spare thy people, and give not over thine inheritance unto confusion." Of the like kind of general and solemn prayer Tertullian saith thus: *Quis ... solemnibus paschæ abnoctantem [uxorem] securus sustinebit*[15]? "What man (being an heathen) can without mistrust suffer his wife (being a christian woman) to be away from him at the solemnity of the Easter prayer?" Joel ii. Tertull. ad Uxor. Lib. ii.

Of such solemn and seldom meetings St Paul speaketh, and not of the daily usual and common prayers of all Christians.

Otherwise, touching the purity and holiness of married people, St Augustine saith: *Quod Paulus ait, Quæ innupta est, cogitat ea quæ sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu, non sic accipiendum est, ut putemus non esse sanctam corpore christianam conjugem castam. Omnibus quippe fidelibus dictum est, Nescitis, quoniam corpora vestra templum sunt Spiritus Sancti? ... Sancta sunt ... etiam corpora conjugatorum, fidem sibi et Domino servantium*[16]: "Whereas St Paul saith, 'She that is unmarried thinketh of the things that pertain unto the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit;' it may not so be taken as though we should think a christian wife living chastely with her husband is not holy in body. For it is generally said unto all faithful, 'Know ye not that your bodies be the temple of the Holy Ghost?' Therefore, if the man and wife keep their faith both between themselves and to the Lord, their bodies are holy." August. de Bon. Conjug. Lib. i. cap. xi.

But "these evangelical vow-breakers," saith M. Harding, "pretend Paphnutius to be their proctor." Whether he be our proctor or no, it forceth not greatly. Notwithstanding it is plain he was then the only proctor for the truth; and that against the general consent of all the whole council besides. And, although he were but one man alone, yet the whole council gave place unto him. Sozomenus saith: *Synodus laudavit sententiam Paphnutii, et nihil ex hac parte sancivit; sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate sine ulla necessitate reliquit*[17]: "The council commended Paphnutius' judgment; and, touching this matter of marriage, made no decree at all, but left it to each man's own will, without any force of necessity." Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xxiii.

Of our side thus much Paphnutius saith: "Marriage is honourable; and the company of man and wife is (not filthiness, as these men seem to say, but) cleanness and chastity[18]." σωφροσύνην δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας γυναῖκας συνουσίαν.

But, M. Harding, if the same holy father Paphnutius weigh so much of your side as you pretend, wherefore then doth one of your companions of Lovain so lightly and so disdainfully control that whole story with the utter discredit and condemnation of the writers? For thus hath he not doubted to publish his judgment therein to all the world: *Mihi, nescio quomodo, in dubium venit fides hujus historiæ de Paphnutio. Sunt enim, quæ suspicionem ... important, eam esse Arianorum aut impudicorum hominum commentum.... Tota [enim] hæc res a Socrate pendet et Sozomeno; quorum alter Novatianus fuit, alter Theodorum Mopsuestensem a quinta synodo damnatum magnis laudibus extulit*[19]: "I know not how, this story of Paphnutius seemeth to me to be of doubtful credit. For there be matters that make me to suspect that it is but a vain forged tale, either of the Arian heretics or of some other filthy persons. The whole matter hangeth of Socrates and Sozomenus; of which two the one was a Novatian heretic, the other highly commendeth Theodorus of Mopsuesta, being condemned by the fifth council." Cop. Dial. i. p. 154.

Thus your fellows make this whole story to be but a vain fable, and the authors and writers hereof[20], Socrates and Sozomenus, to be heretics, Novatians, Arians, unhonest and shameless persons. And therefore, I trow, ye will not say they are your proctors.

[15 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. II. 4. p. 189.]

[16 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bon. Conjug. cap. xi. 13. Tom. VI. col. 327; where *quod ergo ait, nescitis quia*, and *templum in vobis est Spiritus.*]

[17 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. p. 357.]

[18 Id. ibid. p. 356.]

[19 ...nescio quomodo, in dubium mihi venit &c. hujus de Paphnutio historiæ; sunt &c. a Socrate et Sozomeno pendeat &c. Novatianus videtur; &c. Mopsuestiensem &c.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. capp. xxii. xxiii. p. 154.]

[20 Thereof, 1567.]

Husband of one Wife.

Whereas St Chrysostom saith marriage is so reverend a thing that a man may therewith ascend into the holy throne and be made a bishop, notwithstanding he have a wife; and that St Paul suffereth not them that have twice married to attain such a room; "By these words," saith M. Harding, "Chrysostom condemneth the impure bigamy of our holy gospellers." Again he saith: "If this defender press us with Chrysostom, we answer that, although Chrysostom grant that a married man may ascend to the holy seat, yet he saith not that a man may descend from that holy seat to the bride-bed. For we deny utterly that any man, after that he hath received holy orders, may marry. Neither can it be shewed that the marriage of such was ever accounted lawful in the catholic church."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Tit. Hom. 2.

I doubt not, good reader, but it shall easily appear that M. Harding in either of these two parts was foully deceived. For first Chrysostom, as it is plain by his words, which M. Harding in his translation hath purposely falsified, expoundeth these words of St Paul, "the husband of one wife," not of a man that never had but one wife in all his time, but of a man that hath but one wife at one time[1]. If M. Harding shall think this exposition to be strange and unlikely, let him remember that Chrysostom himself thereof writeth thus: *Unius uxoris virum. Non hoc, veluti sanciens, dicit, quasi non liceat absque uxore episcopum fieri, sed ejus rei modum constituens. Judæis quippe licitum erat etiam secundo matrimonio jungi, et duas itidem simul habere uxores*[2]: "'The husband of one wife.' St Paul writeth not this as making a law, as if it were not lawful for a man to be made a bishop without a wife; but he appointeth an order in that behalf. For it was lawful for the Jews to be coupled in the second matrimony, and to have two wives at one time."

Tit. i.

Chrysost. in Epist. 1 ad Tim. Hom. 10.

In like sort saith St Hierome: *Quidam de hoc loco ita sentiunt: Judaicæ, inquiunt, consuetudinis fuit vel binas uxores habere, vel plures... Et hoc nunc volunt esse præceptum, ne is, qui episcopus eligendus est, uno tempore duas pariter uxores habeat*[3]: "Touching this place some men think thus: By the custom of the Jews it was lawful for a man to have two wives or more at once. And this they take to be the apostle's commandment, that he that is to be chosen a bishop have not two wives or more together at one time." Again he saith: *Diaconi sint unius uxoris viri; non ut si non habuerint, ducant, sed ne duas habeant*[4]: "Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife; not that they should needs marry a wife, if they have none; but that they should not have two wives together." Likewise saith cardinal Cajetane: *Apostolus episcopis permittit unam uxorem, ceteris plures*[5]: "The apostle suffereth a bishop to have one wife; others he suffereth to have more."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i.

Hieron. in Epist. 1 ad Tim. cap. iii.

Catharin. contr. Error. Cajet. Error. 99.

And to this purpose Isidorus seemeth to say: *Castimoniam... non violati corporis perpetuo observare studeant; aut certe unius matrimonii vinculo fœderentur*[6]: "Let them study to keep and continue the chastity of their body undefiled; or else let them be coupled with the band of one marriage."

Dist. 23. His igitur.

Of such a one pope Leo wrote sometime unto the bishop[7] of Mauritania: *Sicut ad nos relatum est, duarum simul est maritus uxorum*[8]: "As we are informed, he is at one time the husband of two wives." And therefore he addeth his judgment of him: *Privandum honore decernimus:* "We think him meet to be deprived of his promotion."

Leo ad Episc. Maurit.

Of this kind of second marriage Chrysostom speaketh, I mean of having two

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[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738. See before, page 387, note 15.]

[2 Id. in 1. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. XI. pp. 598, 9.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars 1. col. 414; where *habeat uxores.*]

[4 Id. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Tim. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1089.]

[5 Primum, quod jure divino uxorum pluralitas licita est....Tertium, quod etiam sacerdotibus hoc liceret, præter episcopos, nisi ecclesiastica prohiberentur censura.—Ambr. Catharin. Annot. in Excerpt. de Comm. Card. Caietan. Par. 1535. De Plur. Uxor. p. 196. Conf. Error. Index, fol. b. iiii. 2.]

[6 Isidor. de Eccles. Off. Lib. ii. c. 2. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxiii. can. 3. col. 108; where *inviolati,* and *conservare.*]

[7 Bishops, 1567.]

[8 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Episc. Aphr. Epist. lxxxvii. 1. col. 459.]

wives alive together, and not of marrying the second wife after the death of the former. And therefore he saith: *Secundam quidem accipere secundum præceptum apostoli* [*licitum*] *est; secundum autem veritatis rationem vere fornicatio est. Sed cum, permittente Deo, publice et licenter permittitur, fit honesta fornicatio*[9]: "To take the second wife (while the first is alive), according to the apostle's commandment it is lawful; but by the judgment of the truth indeed it is fornication. But, while as by God's permission it is openly and lawfully suffered, the fornication is made honest." The[10] last clause the gloss there expoundeth thus: *Fornicatio cum ea, quam permisit Moses post repudiatam assumi*[11]: "Fornication, I mean, with her whom Moses suffered to be taken to wife after the divorce of the first."

Marriage in Holy Orders.

xxxi. Quæst. 1. Hac ratione.

Thus therefore St Chrysostom saith, that such a man as had "two wives together at one time," or was "divorced from one wife and had married another," might not be chosen to be a bishop. For otherwise Tertullian saith unto the bishops of the catholic church: *Apud vos episcopi sunt digami*[12]: "There be bishops among you (he meaneth among the catholics) that have married two wives," the one after the death of the other.

Tertull. de Monog.

If all this will not suffice, I refer myself[13] to Chrysostom's own words. Thus he writeth: "St Paul restraineth unchaste persons, not permitting them that have married two wives to be chosen to the government of the church." His reasons be these: *Nam qui uxori quæ decessit* (*a se*) *benevolentiam nullam servasse deprehenditur, quo pacto potest ille esse bonus præceptor ecclesiæ? Imo quibus criminibus non subjicitur indies? Nostis enim quod, etsi per leges secundæ nuptiæ permittuntur, tamen ea res accusationibus multis patet*[14]: "For he that is found to have borne no good-will unto his wife (not that is dead, but) that is gone from him, how can he be a meet master for the church of God? Nay rather, to what[15] quarrels and accusations (by mean of these two wives) shall he not be subject every day? For you know, although by the law the marriage of the second wife (after the divorce of the first) be suffered, yet the matter lieth open to many offences."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Tit. Hom. 2. τῇ ἀπελθούσῃ.

"It appeareth," saith Chrysostom, "that he bare no good-will towards his former wife (not that now is dead, but) that is divorced," and so departed from him. And therefore oftentimes grow many accusations and griefs between the wives, the children, the friends, and others, for parting of goods, for restoring of dowries[16], and other like quarrels. For to have spoken of "good-will or affection" towards the former wife, being dead, it had been impertinent and to no purpose.

Thus much touching Chrysostom's judgment upon these words of St Paul, "the husband of one wife." Notwithstanding, I deny not but certain other ancient and learned fathers have taken it otherwise.

Last of all, M. Harding unawares[17] falleth into the same "negative divinity" that he so often and so much abhorreth. For thus he saith: "We deny utterly that any man, after that he hath received holy orders, may marry. Neither can it be shewed that the marriage of such was ever accounted lawful in the catholic church." If this tale be true, then be all the Greek priests votaries as well as the Latins. But it is noted upon the decrees: [*Græci*] *continentiam non promittunt,* [*vel*] *tacite, vel expresse*[18]; "The Greeks make no promise of continent or single life, neither secretly nor expressly." And in the council holden at Ancyra it is concluded thus: *Diaconi quicunque ordinantur, si in ipsa ordinatione protestati sunt, et dixerunt velle se conjugio copulari, quia sic manere non possunt, hi, si postmodum uxores duxerint, in ministerio maneant: propterea quod episcopus*

Dist. 31. Quoniam. In margine.

Concil. Ancyr. can 9.

[9 Chrysost. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXXI. Quæst. i. can. 9. col. 1583; where *veritatis autem, sed dum*, and *committitur*. Conf. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxii. ex cap. xix. Tom. VI. pp. cxxxiv. cxxxv.]

[10 This, 1567.]

[11 Gloss. ibid.]

[12 Quot enim et digami præsident apud vos.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Monog. 12. p. 685.]

[13 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738.]

[15 Want, 1570.]

[16 Dowers, 1567, 1570.]

[17 Unwares, 1567, 1570.]

[18 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxi. Not. in can. 13. col. 153.]

Marriage in Holy Orders.

illis licentiam dederit[1]: "Deacons, as many as be ordered, if at the time of receiving orders they made protestation and said that they would marry, for that they find not themselves able so to continue without marriage, if they afterward marry, let them continue in the ministry; forasmuch as the bishop hath given them licence." M. Harding, I trow, will not deny but deaconship is one of the holy orders. Yet deacons, at the time of their consecration making protestation solemnly before the bishop, were licensed by this council to marry at any time afterward; and the same marriage, contrary to M. Harding's position, was evermore in the catholic church accounted lawful.

Addition. M. Hard. fol. 298. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "This proveth not that deacons did marry, nor that any bishop ever gave them leave to marry." *The answer.* What then doth it prove, M. Harding? Or to what purpose was it thus decreed by the council? Whether deacons married or no, I will not strive: certainly it appeareth hereby it was lawful for them to marry, yea, although they were within holy orders; ☞ and that by the authority and warrant of this council. ☜

Dist. 31. Aliter.

So saith pope Stephen: *Græcorum sacerdotes, diaconi, aut subdiaconi matrimonio copulantur*[2]: "The Greek priests, deacons, or subdeacons, are coupled in matrimony." Upon which words the gloss noteth thus: *Multi ex hac litera dixerunt quod orientales possunt contrahere in sacris ordinibus*[3]: "Many have said upon occasion of this text, that the priests of the east church (contrary to that M. Harding so certainly here assureth us) may marry, being within holy orders."

Gloss. Dist. 31. Aliter.

Addition. M. Hard. fol. 299. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "If you had rehearsed the whole decree as you found it, you had marred your cause, and played the simple proctor, &c. And whereas you allege the gloss for you, you make all that be able to read the place witnesses of your impudency. Whereas the decree hath *matrimonio copulantur*, the gloss expoundeth it thus: *Id est, copulato utuntur.* As for the other words of the gloss, 'many upon occasion of this text have said that they of the east church may marry within holy orders,' it is not the mind of the gloss, but as some say," &c. *The answer.* You say, if I "had rehearsed the whole decree, I had marred my cause." Never a whit, M. Harding. A little before I rehearsed it whole; and yet is the cause nothing impaired. "The gloss," you say, "is against me." I grant you: weigh better my words: I deny it not. What moveth you thus to cry out, "Impudency and corruption of glosses?" Lay our words together, M. Harding. I say none otherwise but as the gloss hath said. I have neither added nor diminished, nor altered or changed one syllable. I beseech you, doth not the gloss say thus, *Multi ex hac litera dixerunt quod orientales possunt contrahere in sacris ordinibus?* "Upon occasion of this text many men have said that the priests of the east church may marry, notwithstanding they be within holy orders?" And do not I from syllable to syllable say the same? Ye deal uncourteously, M. Harding. Ye are to blame, with such upbraidings and outcries so much to abuse your simple reader. But you say the gloss is directly against me. So is the same gloss directly against the ancient council of Ancyra before alleged[4]. Will you therefore say the council was impudent? Compare them well together. You shall find them plain contrary; the gloss directly against the council. Now judge you, M. Harding, whether of these ye will believe, either the council or your gloss. Howbeit, let the council give place, and let glosses prevail. Yet, not long after, the same gloss saith thus: *Dicunt quod olim sacerdotes poterant contrahere, ante Siricium*[5]: "They say that in old times, before the time of pope Siricius, it was lawful for priests to marry." And pope Siricius was well-near four hundred years after Christ. To conclude, I have not any way corrupted one syllable of your gloss. The words thereof be clear: "Upon occasion of this text many men have said that the priests of the east ☞ church may marry, notwithstanding they be in holy orders." ☜

Concil. Ancyr. cap. 10.

Dist. 34. Cum in præterito, in Gloss.

[1 Concil. Ancyr. can. 10. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1460.]

[2 Steph. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxi. can. 14. col. 154; where *earum* (*i. e. orientalium ecclesiarum*), and *atque subdiaconi.*]

[3 Gloss. ibid.]

[4 See above, note 1.]

[5 Ibid. Dist. lxxxiv. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 404.]

And of the priests of the west church cardinal Cajetane saith: *Papa potest dispensare cum sacerdote occidentalis ecclesiæ, ut uxorem ducat, nulla existente causa publicæ utilitatis*[6]: "The pope may dispense with a priest of the west church to marry a wife, although there be no manner cause of profit growing thereby to the commonweal[7]." Marriage in Holy Orders. Catharin. contr. Error. Cajet. Error. 103.

Athanasius saith: *Multi quoque ex episcopis matrimonia non inierunt. Monachi contra parentes liberorum facti sunt*[8]: "Many of the bishops (he saith not all, but many) have not married. (By which words he giveth us to understand that some have married.) Contrariwise monks have become fathers of children." Athanas. ad Dracont. p. 518.

Cassiodorus writeth thus: *In illo ... tempore ferunt martyrio vitam finisse ... Eupsychium Cæsariensem (episcopum) ... ducta nuper uxore, dum adhuc quasi sponsus esse videretur*[9]: "At that time they say Eupsychius (the bishop) of Cæsaria died in martyrdom, having married a wife a little before, being as yet in manner a new-married man." Cassiod. Lib. vi. cap. xiv.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Fie upon such shameless falsifiers. O lamentable state: such false prophets: this shameless lie, &c. The truth is, good reader, neither Cassiodorus wrote thus, nor Eupsychius was ever bishop of Cæsaria, nor of any other place, nor so much as a priest, deacon, or subdeacon. The writer of the said story which we have of this blessed martyr Eupsychius is Sozomenus the Greek, who, with the ecclesiastical story of Socrates and Theodoretus, was translated into Latin by one Epiphanius Scholasticus; out of which three Cassiodorus gathered the abridgment that we have under the name of the Tripartite History. The place truly repeated hath these words: *In illo ... tempore ferunt vitam finisse martyrio*[10] *Basilium ecclesiæ Ancyranæ presbyterum, et Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ, ducta nuper uxore, cum adhuc quasi sponsus ... videretur*[9]. Here is no mention made that Eupsychius was the bishop of Cæsaria. The story as we have it in Latin, of Epiphanius' turning, calleth him only *Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ*, that is to say, 'Eupsychius, a man of Cæsaria that is in Cappadocia.' For thus he reporteth of him in the Greek: Εὐψύχιον Καισαρέα Καππαδῶκον τῶν εὐπατριδῶν[11]: *Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ patricium:* as much to say, 'Eupsychius of Cæsaria in Cappadocia, a nobleman, or one of the lords of the city.' Thus is Eupsychius, whom M. Jewel hath made a bishop (as much as he is himself), found to be a lay-gentleman, or nobleman of the city of Cæsaria. Because M. Jewel knew thus[12] much right well, contrary to the custom he useth at other times, he dissembled the Greek original, and thought he might better father this shameful lie upon Cassiodorus, meaning the Latin translation of Epiphanius. And, to help the matter, he sticked not to put in this word *episcopum*, 'bishop,' of his own, and so calleth him boldly 'Eupsychius the bishop of Cæsaria.' Let these men have leave thus to corrupt and falsify the fathers, and by them they shall be able to prove what they list." *The answer.* Fie, M. Harding! why should you thus fear and torment[13] yourself without greater cause? Take your own demand: let it be that Eupsychius was no bishop; yet is it such impudency, or false prophecy, to think that he was a bishop? Why more than that one of your fellows of Lovain saith, that "Oza the poor Levite was a king[14]?" An error ye may say it was; but false prophecy ye cannot call it. Albeit, whether Eupsychius were a bishop or no, I will not strive: they were both wise and learned, that so have thought. And, if I may be so bold, M. Harding, to tell you the truth, he hath neither wit nor learning that maintaineth the contrary. The words of Cassiodorus, or Epiphanius Scholasticus, seem very plain: *Ferunt vitam finisse martyrio Basilium ecclesiæ Ancyranæ presbyterum, et*

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 302. a. [Detect.]

Hist. Trip. Lib. vi. cap. 14.

Soz. Lib. v.

Dorman, fol. 24.

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[6] Ambr. Catharin. Annot. in Excerpt. de Comm. Card. Caietan. Par. 1535. Error. Index, fol. b. iiii. 2. Conf. p. 196.]

[7] Cause of common profit, 1567.]

[8] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Dracont. Epist. 10. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 268.]

[9] Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. L. 7.]

[10] Matrimonio, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xi. p. 496; where Καππαδόκην.]

[12] This, 1570.]

[13] The editions have, *thus fare, and torment:* but in the Errata of ed. 1609. is the following perplexing direction: "read far for feare, or and to be out."]

[14] ...by the terrible examples of the two kings Ozias and Oza.—Dorman, Proufe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Juell. Ant. 1564. fol. 24.]

Marriage in Holy Orders.

Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ, &c. Howsoever it were, Eupsychius, for ought that you know, M. Harding, might well have been a bishop; but Oza could in no wise be a king.

Cæsariensis.

As for the reasons ye bring to the contrary, to prove that Eupsychius was no bishop, they weigh but little. Thus you say: "He is called *Eupsychius Cæsariensis*, 'Eupsychius, one of Cæsaria':" you say, "he is called a nobleman, born of an ancient house, and of noble parentage." What then, M. Harding? Will you therefore conclude he was no bishop? What logic may this be? We say commonly, Augustinus Hipponensis, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Hosius Cardubensis, Ambrosius Mediolanensis. As for Nicephorus, whom you so unadvisedly say I have "foully belied," as he in this place saith, Eupsychius Cæsariensis, not naming him bishop, so in another place he saith, Protogenes Sardicensis, Marcellus Ancyranus, Gregorius Perinthius, Narcissus Irenopolitanus, Acacius Cæsariensis, Gregorius Laodicensis, &c.[1], never calling any of them by the name of bishop; and yet, I trow, ye will not deny but they were bishops, this manner of writing notwithstanding. Again, St Ambrose was a nobleman, of consular dignity, yet was he the bishop of Millaine. St Gregory was *senatorius*, a nobleman of the dignity or degree of a counsellor; yet was he the bishop of Rome. And, not to seek far abroad for examples[2], Osmund was the earl of Dorset, Robert Nevill, Richard Beauchampe, and Edmund Audley, were noblemen of noble parentage, and lords' brethren; yet were they all bishops of Sarisbury. The pope himself of late years hath been called Lord of lords, and King of kings: shall we therefore think he was no bishop? I weigh not the[3] matter, M. Harding: I weigh only your reasons. If this example of Eupsychius like you not, we have others sufficient to prove that good men have married within holy orders. St Hierome saith: *Hodie quoque multi sacerdotes habent matrimonia*[4]: "Even now-a-days many priests live in wedlock." And, to answer you with like order and form of words, as Epiphanius saith, *Eupsychius Cæsariensis Cappadociæ, ducta nuper uxore, dum adhuc quasi sponsus videretur, &c.*; even so saith Vincentius of Phileas, a bishop in Egypt: *Phileas de civitate Thmui, nobili genere, et non parvis opibus, suscepto episcopatu, [uxorem habuit et liberos]*[5]: "Phileas of the city of Thmuis, a nobleman, and of great riches, being consecrate bishop, had wife and children." He was a nobleman, and had wife and children, and yet, that notwithstanding, was a bishop.

Niceph. Lib. ix. cap. xii.

Patritius.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

Vincent. Lib. xiii. cap. xxv.

But you will say: "It appeareth not hitherto, by any thing that is yet alleged, that Eupsychius was a bishop." What of that, M. Harding? You know there have been many bishops in the world, of whom it would be hard for you to make certain proof that they were bishops[6]. Yet notwithstanding, for your pleasure, and for some satisfaction of your friends, that you may the better understand your error, and know that this Eupsychius was a bishop indeed, I pray you read the first Oration of Athanasius against the Arians. There shall you find these words among others: *Scripta Sylvestri et Protogenis episcoporum Daciæ, et Leontii et Eupsychii episcoporum Cappadociæ*[7]: "The writings of Leontius and Eupsychius, bishops of Cappadocia." Mark well these words, M. Harding, "Eupsychius a bishop of Cappadocia." Athanasius saith "Eupsychius was a bishop," and sheweth the country of his see. You say "Eupsychius was a nobleman, of ancient parentage;" and therefore you tell us "he was no bishop." Athanasius knew Eupsychius, or might have known him; for they lived both in one age. And Athanasius wrote an epistle specially unto him, as it may appear in the second council of Nice; in which council he is called *Eupsychius presbyter Cæsariæ*[8], "Eupsychius a priest of Cæsaria," as at that time as yet being no bishop, but only a priest. But you, M. Harding, neither knew him ever, nor could ever have

Athanas. contr. Arian. Orat.

Eupsychius was a bishop.

Eupsychius a priest. Concil. Nicen. ii. Act. 6. p. 82. Coloniæ.

[1 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. ix. cap. 12. pp. 696, 7; where the names somewhat differ.]

[2 For a examples, 1570.]

[3 1570 repeats *the*.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. i. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 165. See before, p. 393.]

[5 Vincent. Bellov. Biblioth. Mund. Duac. 1624. Specul. Hist. Lib. xii. cap. xxv. Tom. IV. p. 464. Conf. cap. xxiv. ibid.; where...*suadebatur...uxoris, et liberorum respectum habere.*]

[6 Were no bishops, 1570.]

[7 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Episc. Ægypt. et Lib. adv. Arian. 8. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 278.]

[8 Concil. Nic. ii. Act. vi. Refut. &c. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 582. Conf. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 500.]

known him: and yet will you look to have more credit herein than that godly and learned father Athanasius, that wrote unto him, and either knew him familiarly, or might have known him? Athanasius spake the truth: you go only by guess. Athanasius spake in simplicity: you speak of affection, as a party. Now may your indifferent reader judge whether of both he may better believe, either you or the ancient father Athanasius. You say "Eupsychius was no bishop:" Athanasius saith "Eupsychius was a priest." Again he saith "Eupsychius was a bishop." And, lest your reader should think there lieth some error in the name, and that Athanasius meant one Eupsychius and you another, he sheweth you also of the place of his bishoprick, and saith he was bishop[9] of Cappadocia. Now the same Eupsychius of whom we speak was the bishop of Cæsaria; and Cæsaria was the chief city of Cappadocia. Marriage in Holy Orders.

"Thus have we found," say you, "that Eupsychius was a lay-gentleman, or a nobleman of Cæsaria, but neither priest nor bishop." But indeed we have found that Eupsychius was both a nobleman and a martyr, and a priest and a bishop too. The name, the time, the country, the see, and the city do all agree. And this same Eupsychius, being a bishop, married a wife, and at the time of his martyrdom "was a new-married man." "As good a bishop," say you, "as M. Jewel." This is your pleasure, M. Harding. Would God M. Jewel were as good as he! Take heed for your credit's sake: your friends will espy you. There wanteth consideration and sobriety in your doings. Ye avouch over boldly before you know. You say, "Fie upon such shameless falsifiers:" "O lamentable state:" "such false prophets:" "such shameless lies." These be your own words: ye have pleasure in them. Beware lest your friends turn them over upon yourself.

Likewise M. Harding might have found it noted in his own gloss: *Dicunt quod olim sacerdotes poterant contrahere, ante Siricium*[10]: "They say that in old times, before pope Siricius (which was about four hundred years after Christ), it was lawful for priests to marry." Dist. 84. Cum in præterito, in Gloss.

But we shall have occasion to speak hereof more hereafter. In the mean season, good christian reader, by these few, as by a taste, thou mayest easily judge how true it is that M. Harding telleth thee, that marriage in them that had received holy orders was never thought lawful in the catholic church.

The Apology, Chap. viii. Division 2.

And as Sozomenus saith of Spiridion[11], and as Nazianzene saith of his own father[12], we say[13] that a good and diligent[14] bishop doth serve in the ministry never the worse for that he is married, but rather the better, and with more ableness to do good.

M. HARDING.

Were it not that the weight of these matters required an upright and plain dealing, for civility's sake I could be content sometimes to spare you, and, where ye make manifest lies, to use a softer word, and term them fittons. But now, if I tell you that you use your accustomed figure pseudologia, *which is "lying" in plain English, I trust you will bear with my plainness, amend your own fault, and consider the power of truth, that causeth me to be so bold with you. This I* [a] *am sure of, that neither Sozomenus, nor Gregory Nazianzene, nor Eusebius, Lib.* x. *cap.* 5, *as you have caused your books, both Latin and English, to be noted in the margent, (where ye mistake Eusebius for Ruffinus*[15],) [b] *nor Nazianzene either in* Monodia, *as you note also in the margent, nor in the funeral oration that he made of his father, hath any such saying as ye report of them. For how could they say that a bishop serveth in his ministry never the worse, but rather the better, and with more ableness to do good, for that he is married, the*

Sozomenus, Gregory Nazianzene, Eusebius, belied by the author of the Apology.

[a] M. Harding is assured before he know.

[b] An unadvised untruth: read the answer.

[9 Was a bishop, 1570.]

[10 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxiv. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 404.]

[11 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 338.]

[12 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xviii. 8. Tom. I. p. 335.]

[13 These two words do not appear, Conf.]

[14 And diligent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15 Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. v. foll. 106, 7.]

scripture being so plain to the contrary? What, ween ye they were either so ignorant, or so forgetful, or so much inclined to promote your carnal doctrine of priests' marriages, as to say so, notwithstanding that St Paul writeth to the Corinthians? Saith he not of them that be married, that such shall have tribulation of the flesh? Saith he not, "he that is without a wife careth for the things of our Lord, how he may please God?" Of him that hath a wife saith he not, that he "careth for the things that be the world's, how he may please his wife," and is divided? Finally, saith he not, "I tell you this thing for your profit, not to tangle you in a snare, but for that which is honest and comely unto you, and that which may give you readiness to pray to God without let?" Wherefore recant for shame that foul error, that a bishop serveth the better in his ministry, and is the more able to do good, for that he is married....

St Paul writeth thus, not of priests and bishops, but of all other christian men.

Such men, such doctrine: fleshly men, fleshly doctrine....

M. Harding's modesty.

Now, therefore, see you not how great is your impudency, in that you lie yourself, and father such a foul lie upon Sozomenus, and that light of the world in his time, Gregory Nazianzene?... The words of Sozomenus be these: ἐγένετο γὰρ οὗτος ἄγροικος[1], γαμετὴν καὶ παῖδας ἔχων· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεῖα χείρων[2]· *that is to say: "Spiridion was a husbandman, having wife and children, and yet for all that he was never the worse about God's service." Of this place we grant ye may*[3] *say with Sozomenus, that Spiridion served God never the worse for that he was married. But how and whereof gather ye that he served God the better, and was more able to do good, because of his marriage?... Spiridion obtained that privilege through* [c]*especial grace by his exceeding virtue, which is granted to few. And the privileges of a few make not a law for all in general, ye know, as Nazianzene saith.*

Lib. i. cap. xi.

Never the worse.

c Untruth. For Chrysostom maketh the case general.

Furthermore, if the words of Sozomenus that ye build your carnal doctrine upon be well examined, ye shall find that he maketh more against you than with you. For, signifying that he had wife and children, he addeth: ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεῖα χείρων: *"Yet for all that he was never the worse about God's service." This revocation or exception negative, 'yet for all that,' &c., implieth a confession affirmative to*[5] *the contrary.....*

The place of Sozomenus alleged by the defenders maket against them.

Neither maketh the place of Gregory Nazianzene any whit for you more than this of Sozomenus doth, whose words be these, after the translation of Raphael Volateranus, varying much from the Greek: [d]Hic...Basilii pater, Basilius item appellatus, etsi matrimonio se vinxit, ita tamen in eo vixit, ut nihil propterea ad perfectam virtutem ac philosophiam consequendam impediretur[6]: *"Basil's father, who was named also Basil, although he put himself in bonds of matrimony, yet he lived so herein, as he was letted no whit from the attaining of perfect*[8] *virtue and holy knowledge." Were not marriage a let and hindrance to perfection requisite in a bishop, this learned man could not rightly have said:* Ita tamen in eo vixit, &c.: *"Yet for all that he*[9] *lived so," &c....*

Nazianzene's words returned upon the defender.

d An error. M. Harding taketh one place for another. Nothing hindereth[7].

Right so it is easy to put him from the hold he taketh of St Chrysostom[10] *by Chrysostom himself. For, lest any man should think, whereas St Paul saith a bishop ought to be the husband of one wife, that the same order continueth still in the church, thereto he saith in his second homily,* De Patientia[11] Job: Non ea ratione, quod nunc id[12] in ecclesia observetur. Oportet enim omni prorsus castitate sacerdotem ornatum esse[13]: *"St Paul," saith he, "required this, not in consideration that the same be now observed in the church. For it behoveth a bishop to be garnished with all manner of chastity*[14]*."*

Tit. i.

Read the answer.

[1 Οὗτος ὁ ἄγροικος, Conf.]

[2 Soz. in. Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 338.]

[3 1609, 1611 repeat *may*.]

[4 Defender maketh, Conf.; defenders maket, Def. 1567.]

[5 Of, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6 Basil. Op. Lat. Basil. 1540. Gregor. Naz. Monod. Tom. I. p. 3. Conf. Gregor. Naz. Par. 1778-1840. Op. Orat. xliii. 10. Tom. I. p. 776. There is nothing in the Greek text answering to the expressions here used from the version of Volaterranus.]

[7 Hindered, Def. 1567.]

[8 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 The, Conf.]

[10 Chrysostom, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Pœnitentia, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[12 Id nunc, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Job. Serm. ii. Tom. VI. pp. 585, 6. This is spurious.]

[14 Manner a chastity, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here cometh M. Harding in aloft with *Io triumphe*, as having beaten down all the world under his feet; and, as being already in sure possession of the victory, he crieth out, "Impudencies," "lewd lies," "foul faults and pretty fittons;" and full terribly chargeth us, like a conqueror, to render ourselves, and to "recant for shame." This new courage is suddenly blown upon him, for that he thinketh we have intruded upon his office, and, as he saith, have corrupted and falsified the holy fathers. But it were a worthy matter to know wherein. Forsooth we say, by the report of Sozomenus and Gregorius Nazianzenus, that Spiridion and Gregory father unto Nazianzene, being both married bishops, notwithstanding their marriage "were never the worse" able to do their ecclesiastical offices, but "rather the better." Marriage helpeth.

Here M. Harding of himself and freely confesseth these holy fathers were "never the worse" able to do their offices. For so much the words of Sozomenus do report[15]: οὐδὲν τὰ θεῖα χείρων. But that they were the better able to do their offices because of their wives, that he denieth utterly; and herein he saith we are "corrupters and falsifiers of the fathers." And thus the whole difference that is between M. Harding and us touching this matter standeth only in these two poor words, "rather the better," and "never the worse."

Now, gentle reader, that thou mayest be the better able to judge between us, I beseech thee indifferently to weigh these words.

Gregory Nazianzene hereof, that is, of the help that his father, being the bishop of Nazianzum, had by his wife, writeth thus: *Illa quæ data est Adamo, &c.*[16]: "Eva, that was given to Adam for an[17] helper, forasmuch as it was not good for man to be alone, instead of a helper became his enemy." It followeth: *Meo autem patri mater mea, data illi a Deo, non tantum adjutrix facta est, (id enim minus esset mirum,) sed etiam dux et princeps, verbo factoque inducens illum ad res optimas. Et aliis quidem in rebus quamvis optimum esset subditam esse viro, propter jura conjugii, tamen in pietate non verebatur seipsam illi magistram exhibere:* "My mother, being given to my father of God, became not only his helper, (for that had been no great wonder,) but also was his leader and captain, both by word and by deed, training him unto the best. And albeit in other things it were best for her to be subject unto her husband for the right of marriage, yet in religion and godliness she doubteth[18] not to become his mistress[19]." Nazianz. in Epitaph. Patris: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γίνεται, ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ πρὸς τὰ κράτιστα δι' ἑαυτῆς ἄγουσα... τῆς εὐσεβείας...οὐκ αἰσχυνομένη παρέχειν ἑαυτὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον.

These words, M. Harding, be plain and clear and without fitton. Gregory Nazianzene saith, that his own mother was unto his father, the bishop of Nazianzum, "a helper and a director, both by word and deed, to lead him to the best;" and that, in all other things being his inferior, yet in "religion and godliness she was his mistress[19]." And yet must all these words, so open, so plain, so clear, be drowned with your simple distinction of "rather the better," and "never the worse?" May we not now allow you with favour to take all these that ye call "fittons," "lies," "corruptions, and falsifyings," home again unto yourself? διδάσκαλος.

If you never read these things before, it is no great marvel. You must remember, all truth may not be measured by[20] your reading.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "How make you not all men witnesses of your falsehood and impudency?" "The store of your note-books, which Illyricus, friar Bale[21], and certain others of that cut have made to your hand." "You allege out of Gregory Nazianzene, that his mother was to his father an helper, a guide, a leader, a captain, by word and by deed training him to the best: yea further, that in religion and godliness she was not ashamed to become his mistress[22]. All this is true, M. Jewel, I confess; and yet it proveth not your purpose at all. How so? Mark, reader, and consider of it well, how M. Jewel beguileth thee. Here Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 313. a. fol. 313. b. [Detect.]

[15 Sozomenus import, 1567; Sozomenus report, 1570.]

[16 Gregor. Naz. Op. Orat. xviii. 8. Tom. I. pp. 334, 5.]

[17 A, 1567, 1570.]

[18 Doubted, 1567, 1570.]

[19 Maistresse, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Be, 1611.]

[21 Ball, 1609, 1611.]

[22 Maistresse, 1570.]

Marriage helpeth.

lieth the deceit, in that he maketh St Gregory, Nazianzene's father, bishop of Nazianzum, when he had such help of his mother, &c. It is a weak flock, they say, of sheep, where an ewe[1] beareth the bell, &c. Thus then is it. Gregory the elder, St Gregory Nazianzene's father, was a married man long before he was a bishop; and before he was married to his wife, and also long after, he was an infidel. She, St Gregory's mother, contrariwise was a christian woman, born of christian parents, &c. Hereby it is made clear to all men how his father was holpen by his wife, not as being a bishop, as M. Jewel doth untruly say, but as yet being an infidel." *The answer.* It is true indeed. Nazianzene uttereth these things as done by his mother before his father was converted. Therefore you say: "They pertain nothing to the time that followed afterward, when his father was a bishop." And why so, M. Harding? Is this your best logic of Lovaine? Or will you teach us to reason thus: Gregory Nazianzene's wife was a helper unto him before his conversion; *ergo*, afterward she did not or could not help him? But this is one of your greatest graces: whatsoever you imagine may serve you to any advantage, ye take it, and hold it as your own, either as sufficiently proved because you speak it, or else as confessed by your adversary. Then you spread out your banner, and blow up your triumph, and make yourself merry. Nazianzene, declaring the time of his father's infidelity before his conversion, saith that "his wife, being a christian woman, watched, fasted, sang psalms, and prayed for her husband, and was careful for him[2]." Will you therefore say, that after he was once converted she gave all over, and watched, and fasted, and sang psalms and prayed no more? Verily, as she prayed for her husband, so was she a helper to her husband, not only while he was an infidel, but also all[3] the time of his life. And why not? What wanted there in her? Good-will, or understanding? As touching good-will, Nazianzene compareth her with Sara, the mother of all faithful women[4], and saith that "in godliness she passed all others[5]." Touching her skill and understanding he saith: "As the sun-beams are fair and clear in the morning, and grow brighter and warmer towards[6] noon, even so my father's wife, shewing forth the pleasant first-fruits of godliness at the beginning, afterward shined out with greater light[7]." Thus we see her light and ability grew more and more, and increased daily. And therefore Nazianzene saith unto her in the end of the same oration: "You take it not well, mother, thus to be counselled at my hands. I blame you not. For you yourself have given counsel unto many, whom long time hath led to seek your wisdom[8]." So saith St Paul: "I beseech thee, faithful yoke-fellow" (by which words Ignatius[9], Clemens Alexandrinus[10], and Eusebius[11], think he meant his wife), "help those women that have laboured with me in the gospel." Thus did Gregory Nazianzene's wife: she was godly herself, and holp others, both men and women, with her godly counsel. She converted her husband from infidelity: she converted others: she[12] brought up her children in the fear of God: "her husband gave her the charge in delivering his money unto the poor[13]." And yet will you tell us that she was no helper to her husband? Or that her husband by her means was not the better able to do his office? It shameth me, M. Harding, to see these follies. Whereas Nazianzene saith "she was a helper to his father," he meaneth not only the time

Fol. 305. a.

1 Pet. iii.

Ignat. ad Philad. Clem. Stromat. Lib. vii. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx.

Totas matri habenas dimisit.

[1 A yewe, 1570.]

[2 ... προσπίπτουσαν μὲν τῷ Θεῷ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰτουμένην ἐν πολλαῖς νηστείαις καὶ δάκρυσι.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xviii. 11. Tom. I. p. 337. Conf. p. 336.]

[3 At, 1570.]

[4 Id. Orat. ii. 103; viii. 4; xviii. 41. pp. 59, 220, 361.]

[5 ...ἀμφοτέροις [οἰκωφελείᾳ, εὐσεβείᾳ] ἁπάσας νικήσασα.—Id. Orat. xviii. 8. p. 335.]

[6 Toward, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Καὶ καθάπερ ἥλιος ἥδιστον ταῖς ἐωθιναῖς προσβάλλων ἀκτῖσι, ταῖς μεσημβριναῖς θερμότερος ἵσταται καὶ φαιδρότερος, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη, οὐ μικρὰ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑποφαίνουσα, τῷ τελευταίῳ φωτὶ πλέον ἐξέλαμψεν.—Id. ibid. 11. p. 337.]

[8 Ἀγανακτεῖς νουθετουμένη; τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς νενουθέτηκας, ὅσους ὁ πολὺς χρόνος ὑπὸ σὴν ἤγαγε συνέσιν.—Id. ibid. 43. p. 362.]

[9 Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philad. cap. iv. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 77.]

[10 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. VII. 6. Tom. I. p. 535.]

[11 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695–1700. Lib. III. cap. xxx. p. 82.]

[12 See, 1570.]

[13 ...τῆς ἐπιδόσεως δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τῇ ἐκείνης χειρὶ παρῆκεν, κ. τ. λ.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Orat. xviii. 21. Tom. I. p. 343.]

of his infidelity, but generally the whole course of all his life. Five and forty years he lived a bishop; and all that while she was his helper. Marriage helpeth.

"A weak flock," you say, "where an ewe[1] beareth the bell." This proverb might better become a sheep of Cotswould with his bell; for the help[14] that we speak of importeth no such sovereignty, "nor bearing of bells." God himself saith: "Let us make Adam a helper meet for him." This helper was his wife Eva: yet did not Eva "bear the bell." St Paul saith: "Salute you Priscilla, and Aquila her husband, that are my helpers in Christ Jesus[15]." And, as I have alleged before, he saith to his own wife: "Help those women that have laboured with me in the gospel, together with Clemens and others my helpers." Yet, I trow, ye will not say that St Paul shall come behind; or that Clemens, or Aquila, or Priscilla, or his own wife, or any other woman shall "bear the bell." God said unto Abraham: "Hear the voice of Sara thy wife, whatsoever she shall say to thee." She shall give thee good counsel: she shall help thee. Yet the sovereignty was in Abraham, and not in Sara: neither was it Sara, but Abraham, that "bare the bell."

Gen. ii. Rom. xvi. Phil. iv. Gen. xxi.

Thus to cavil at God's institution, M. Harding, was the manner of the old condemned heretics, Marcion, Valentinus[16], Tatius, and such others, in whose steps you cannot tread without great danger.

To be short, the resolution hereof is this: "Better it is to marry than to swelter inwardly with filthy affections." St Paul saith: "I would wish all men to be as I am myself[17]. But every man hath his gift:" one of chastity, and another of marriage. Though chastity be a singular gift of God, yet is it not good for him that hath not the gift of chastity. St Augustine saith: *Aliquando hoc expedit, aliquando illud. Nam illis qui se non continent, utique expedit nubere*[18]: "Sometime chastity is good, sometime marriage. But to them that contain not (that is to say, that have not the gift of chastity) it is better to marry." Howbeit in such as have vowed chaste life he saith "it is neither lawful to marry nor expedient." But, alas! what availeth a vow of chaste life without chastity?

1 Cor. vii. Ad Pollent. Lib. i. cap. xv.

Indeed marriage, as also other[19] like outward things, of itself is neither good nor ill, but as it is used. St Paul saith: "If the virgin marry, she sinneth not: he that marrieth out his virgin sinneth not." Therefore Gregory Nazianzene saith: *Neutrum horum, nec matrimonium nec cœlebs vita, prorsus aut Deo nos mundove conciliat, aut a Deo aut a mundo alienat; ut alterum natura sua omnino fugiendum sit, alterum absolute laudandum. Animus est qui et virginitati et nuptiis recte imperat*[20]: "Neither of these two, nor matrimony nor single life, doth either join us to God or to the world, or withdraw us from God or from the world; that the one ought to be refused, and the other absolutely and of itself ought to be praised. It is the mind that ruleth both marriage and virginity."

1 Cor. vii. Nazianz. in Epitaph. Gorgon. μηθ' ἕτερον τούτων ἢ Θεῷ πάντως ἢ κόσμῳ συνδεῖ, καὶ διΐστησι πάλιν.... Ὁ νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ καὶ γάμῳ καὶ παρθενίᾳ καλῶς ἐπιστατῶν.

I grant there be more occasions of let and hindrance in matrimony than in virginity, and specially in times of persecution. The natural affection of wife and children often mollifieth and melteth the heart, and causeth a man to look backward.

St Ambrose saith: *Bona ... vincula nuptiarum; sed tamen vincula: [etsi vincula, tamen vincula caritatis:] bonum conjugium; sed tamen a jugo tractum*[21]: "Good are the bands of matrimony; yet are they bands. And, although they be bands, yet are they bands of charity. *Conjugium*, 'wedlock,' is good; yet it taketh his name of the yoke."

Ambros. de Virg. Lib. iii.

This is that tribulation of the flesh that St Paul speaketh of.

And, albeit these cares withdraw and oppress the mind, as I have said, and oftentimes be great lets to godly purposes; yet, as it well appeareth by these

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[14 For then the help, 1570.]

[15 Jesu, 1570.]

[16 Valentius, 1570.]

[17 Meself, 1570.]

[18 ...hoc aliquando, aliquando illud expedit. Nam illis quæ se &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Conj. Adult. Lib. I. cap. xv. 16. Tom. VI. col. 396.]

[19 Also all other, 1567.]

[20 Gregor. Naz. Op. Orat. viii. 8. Tom. I. p. 222.]

[21 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Virgin. cap. vi. 33. Tom. II. col. 221. The words in brackets are not admitted by the Benedictine editors into the text, but are mentioned in a note as sanctioned by MS. authority.]

Marriage helpeth.

examples of Gregory Nazianzene and Spiridion, in a godly man they hinder nothing. Neither was this any such singular privilege, as M. Harding imagineth, granted only to these two bishops, Gregory and Spiridion, and to none other.

Chrysost. in 1 Epist. ad Tim. Hom. 10.

St Chrysostom saith, not only generally of all men, but also specially of priests and bishops: *Quamvis*[1] *nuptiæ plurimum difficultatis in se habeant, ita tamen assumi possunt, ut perfectiori vitæ impedimento non sint*[2]*:* "Notwithstanding marriage have much trouble in itself, yet may it so be taken (and used) that it shall be no hindrance to perfect[3] life."

Chrysost. contr. Jud. et Gent. et Hæret. Tom. III. p. 363.

Again he saith: *Ne excuses te propter nuptias: Dominus tuus nuptiis interfuit, et nuptias cohonestavit: et tu nuptias arguis; et dicis nuptias esse impedimentum ad pietatem? Nullum enim ad pietatem est obstaculum. Vis cognoscere, quod nihil obsit habere uxorem et liberos? Moses nonne uxorem habuit et liberos? Vide et Petrum*[4] *columnam ecclesiæ, quod et ipse uxorem habuit. Ne accuses nuptias*[5]*:* "Excuse not thyself[6] by thy marriage. Thy Lord was at the marriage-feast, and honoured marriage with his presence. And yet dost thou blame marriage? And sayest thou that marriage is an hindrance unto godliness? I tell thee marriage is no manner hindrance unto godliness. Wilt thou know[7] that it hindereth not to have wife and children? Had not Moses wife and children? Behold Peter, a pillar of the church: he had a wife. Therefore find no fault with marriage."

Chrysost. in Esai. in illa verba, Vidi Dominum. Tom. I. Hom. 4.

Again, writing upon these words of the prophet Esay, *Vidi Dominum, &c.*, he saith thus: *Quis ista loquitur? Esaias ille spectator cœlestium seraphim, qui cum conjuge*[8] *commercium habuit, nec tamen extinxit gratiam*[9]*:* "Who speaketh these words? Esaias, the beholder of the celestial seraphims, who, notwithstanding he had company with his wife, yet he quenched not the grace of God." Again: *Filium habebat et uxorem; ut intelligas non esse malas nuptias, sed malam esse scortationem*[10]*:* "Esay had a son and a wife; that thou mayest understand that marriage is not ill, but that fornication is ill." And again: *Num*[11] *obstabat matrimonium? Adjutrix tibi data est uxor, non insidiatrix:* "What, did marriage hinder thee? No. Thy wife is given to thee[12] to be thy helper, and not to deceive thee."

August. in Quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. Quæst. 127.

Likewise saith St Augustine: *Sanctissimus Samuel filios genuit: non tamen justitiæ suæ merita minuit:.... Zacharias sacerdos, vir justus, in senectute sua... genuit filium.... Qua ergo ratione accusatur, quod minime obesse probatur*[13]*?* "Most holy Samuel begat children, and yet nothing abated the merits of his righteousness. Zacharias the priest in his old age begat a child. Wherefore then is that thing accused that is proved to do no manner hurt?"

Niceph. Lib. xi. cap. xix.

Nicephorus, writing of Gregory, St Basil's brother, the bishop of Nyssa, saith thus: *Quamvis haberet conjugem, aliis tamen in rebus non cessit fratri*[14]*:* "Although he had a wife, yet in other things he was nothing inferior to (St Basil) his brother."

August. de Bon. Conjug. cap. xi.

St Augustine saith, as he is alleged before: *Sancta sunt... etiam corpora conjugatorum fidem sibi et Domino servantium*[15]*:* "Where[16] married people keep their faith, both to themselves and to God, their bodies be holy."

Nazianz. in Funer. Gorgon.

Likewise Nazianzene: *Etiam illa quæ nupsit, et de iis quæ sunt mariti, et de iis quæ sunt Domini, sollicita est, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu*[17]*:* "Even she that is married is careful, both for the things that pertain to her husband, and also for the things that pertain to God, that she may be holy both in body and spirit."

[1 Saith generally of all men: Quamvis, 1567.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In I. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. XI. pp. 599, 600. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Tom. IV. col. 1480.]

[3 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Petram, 1609.]

[5 Id. Contr. Jud. et Gent. et Hær. Hom. Tom. I. p. 821. This homily is spurious.]

[6 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Knew, 1570.]

[8 Conjugio, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Id. in illud, Vidi Dom. Hom. iv. Tom. VI. p. 123.]

[10 Id. ibid.]

[11 Non, 1570.]

[12 Given thee, 1567.]

[13 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex utroq. mixt. Quæst. cxxvii. Tom. III. Append. col. 142.]

[14 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. 1630. Lib. XI. cap. xix. Tom. II. p. 137.]

[15 August. Op. De Bon. Conj. cap. xi. 13. Tom. VI. col. 327.]

[16 Whereas, 1567.]

[17 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. viii. 8. Tom. I. p. 222. It is the sense of the passage, and not precisely the words, that is here given.]

Likewise St Ambrose: *Videmus virgines de seculo cogitare; et matrimonio junctos dominicis studere operibus*[18]: "We see both virgins careful for the world; and married men careful for the works of the Lord." Marriage helpeth.

There be troubles in marriage: it cannot be denied. But so be there also troubles in single life; specially to them that fear the judgments of God, and have not the gift of chastity. Ambros. in 1 Cor. vii.

But Chrysostom saith: *Matrimonium non solum nihil nobis obstat ad philosophandum Deo, si voluerimus esse sobrii, sed et magnam adfert consolationem: comprimit enim insanum naturæ impetum; nec turbari sinit, quasi mare, sed efficit ut scapha feliciter in portum appellat. Et ideo Deus consolationem hanc tribuit humano generi*[19]: "Marriage not only hindereth nothing towards the knowledge and service of God, if we will be sober, but also bringeth us great comfort. For it oppresseth the raging fury of nature, and suffereth us not to be dashed and tossed as the waves of the sea; but causeth that our ship may luckily arrive into the haven. And for that cause hath God given this comfort unto mankind." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 21.

Therefore Gregory Nazianzene saith: *Nuptiæ sunt laudabiles propter eam quæ in nuptiis est animi tranquillitatem*[20]: "Marriage is worthy of praise, for the quietness and contentation of mind that is in marriage." Nazianz. in Funere Gorgon. διὰ τῆς ἐν γάμῳ εὐαρεστήσεως.

To be short, Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Habet, ut castitas, ita etiam matrimonium, propria munera et ministeria, quæ ad Dominum pertinent*[21]: "As well matrimony as also chastity[22] hath either of them their peculiar offices pertaining unto God." Clement. Stromat. Lib. iii.

And Chrysostom saith: *Ne quis prætexat uxorem, vel liberos, &c. Hæc excusatio, hic prætextus, diaboli sunt insidiæ*[23]: "Let no man make his excuse by his wife, or children, &c. This excuse and this pretence is the craft and deceitfulness of the devil." Thus, M. Harding, to conclude with Chrysostom's words, the ground and foundation of your doctrine in this behalf "is the craft and deceitfulness of the devil."

These things considered, I doubt not but of your courtesy ye will take back your fittons unto yourself. The conclusion and sum of your whole talk is this: "Spiridion served God never the worse notwithstanding he had a wife; and marriage is no let or hindrance to perfect[24] godliness."

The Apology, Chap. viii. Division 3.

Further we say that the same law, which by constraint taketh away this liberty from men, and compelleth them against their wills to live single, is "the doctrine of devils," as Paul saith; and that, ever sithence[25] the time of this law, a wonderful uncleanness of life and manners in God's ministers, and sundry horrible enormities, have followed, as the bishop of Augusta[26], as Faber[27], as Abbas Panormitanus[28], as Latomus, as the Tripartite work[29], which is annexed to the second tome of the councils, and other champions of the pope's band, yea, and as the matter itself and all histories do confess. Doctrine of Devils.

For it was rightly said by Pius the Second, bishop[30] of Rome, "that he saw many causes why wives should be taken away from priests; but that

[18 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in I. Epist. ad Cor. cap. vii. v. 35. Tom. II. Append. col. 137; where *junctas*.]

[19 Chrysost. Op. In iv. cap. Gen. Hom. xxi. Tom. IV. pp. 186, 7.]

[20 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Gorg. Orat. viii. 8. Tom. I. p. 222.]

[21 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. III. 12. Tom. I. p. 546.]

[22 As chastity, 1567.]

[23 Chrysost. Op. Cont. Jud. et Gent. et Hær. Hom. Tom. I. p. 821.]

[24 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[25 Since, Conf.]

[26 See below, pages 424, 6, 7.]

[27 J. Fabr. Stapul. Comm. in Paul. Epist. Par. 1531. Lib. x. cap. iii. fol. 160. See Vol. II. page 993, note 13.]

[28 Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Cleric. Conj. Tit. iii. cap. 6. fol. 16. See below, page 423.]

[29 Opusc. Tripart. Lib. III. cap. vii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1002. See below, page 426.]

[30 A bishop, Conf.]

Doctrine of Devils.

he saw many more and more weighty causes why they ought to be restored to them[1] again[2]."

M. HARDING.

[a] Manifest untruth. For all priests are restrained from marriage; and priests be men.

There is [a]*no law in the church that by constraint taketh away from men liberty to marry. For St Paul's words be plain: "If thou take a wife, thou sinnest not." And likewise: "If a virgin marry, she sinneth not." But, if any persons have of their own will and devotion vowed to God chastity, the same have imbarred themselves of this general liberty, and by their voluntary promise have bound themselves never to marry. And in such, not only marriage itself, but also a will to marry is damnable; as St Paul saith of widows which have vowed to live chaste, that they "have their damnation (not for that they marry, but) for that they will marry." If the gospellers allege against this doctrine the words of St Paul, "If a virgin marry, she sinneth not;" we answer with Chrysostom and other fathers, that "a virgin by a vow of chastity dedicated to God, if she marry, doubtless she sinneth much, for that beside Christ she hath surmarried an advouterer[3]." If they object, "It is better to marry than to burn;" let St Ambrose answer, who saith that "this saying pertaineth to her that hath not promised, to her that is not yet veiled[4]." ... And by restraining them from marriage, the church useth no tyranny; nor, if it teach that such ought to forbear marriage, is that to be accounted the doctrine of devils, but of the Holy Ghost, whereby men are kept from wilful damnation. To forbid marriage wholly, universally, and altogether, that is the doctrine of devils. But to judge marriage for some state and order of less convenience than the single life, or after vow of chastity made to require perpetual continency, this is not the doctrine of devils: for St Paul himself did both. If these defenders will not admit this answer, and, being loth to forsake their fleshly pleasure, pretend to be moved with the authority of St Paul, who calleth the forbidding of marriage the doctrine of devils; I send them to St Augustine for an answer, in his thirteenth[5] book, and sixth chapter, against Faustus the Manichee; where, for a sufficient solution of their objection, they shall find these plain words:* Ille...prohibet, qui hoc malum esse dicit; non qui huic bono aliud melius anteponit[6]: *that is to say: "He forbiddeth (marriage) which saith it is evil; not he which preferreth another better thing before this good thing."...*

1 Cor. vii.

Voluntary vow imbarreth liberty of the contrary.

1 Cor. vii.

Ad Virg. Laps. cap. v.

The doctrine of devils.

Now, that I may shew in what time, and by what persons, this law of single life was ordained, for brevity's sake I will content myself with witness of one only council, which is the second council of Carthage, holden in the time of Valentinian and Theodosius the emperors; where we find that this order was taken [b]*by the apostles themselves, and that the antiquity observed and kept the same. The words of the council be these,* canone 2.

[b] Untruth. For these be the words of the apostles' canons[7]: *Episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus, uxorem suam pretextu religionis ne abjiciat; aut si abjecerit, a communione segregetur.* Can. 5.

Aurelius episcopus dixit, &c.[8]: "*Aurelius the bishop said: Whereas in the council before this it was treated of the rule of continence*[9] *and chastity, these three degrees through their consecrations be annexed to chastity by a certain decree written, to wit, bishops, priests, and deacons; whom it is thought good, as it becometh the holy prelates and priests of God, and likewise Levites, or such as attend upon holy sacraments, to be continent and chaste in every condition, to the intent they may simply obtain that they pray to God for; that we keep and observe that which* [c]*the apostles have taught, and the antiquity hath kept." Lo, sir defender....*

[c] Untruth: read the answer. M. Harding boldly mistaketh the council.

[1 Restored them, Conf.]

[2 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Pius II. p. 295.]

[3 ...ἡ παρθένος, μετὰ τὴν τῆς παρθενίας ἐπαγγελίαν διαφθαρεῖσα, μοιχείας χεῖρον ἐτόλμησεν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De non iterand. Conj. Tom. I. p. 353. See before, page 386, note 8.]

[4 Hoc dictum ad non pollicitam pertinet, ad nondum velatam.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Laps. Virg. cap. v. 21. Tom. II. col. 310.]

[5 Thirtieth, Conf.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xxx. cap. vi. Tom. VIII. col. 448.]

[7 Can. Apost. 5. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[8 Aurelius episcopus dixit: Quum in præterito concilio de continentiæ et castitatis moderamine tractaretur, gradus isti tres, conscriptione quadam castitatis, per consecrationes annexi sunt. Episcopos, inquam, presbyteros, et diaconos ita placuit, ut condecet sacrosanctos antistites, et Dei sacerdotes, necnon et Levitas, vel qui sacramentis divinis inserviunt, continentes esse in omnibus, quo possint simpliciter, quod a Deo postulant, impetrare, ut quod apostoli docuerunt, et ipsa servavit antiquitas, nos quoque custodiamus.—Concil. Carth. II. cap. 2. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 424.]

[9 Continency, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

What if the bishop of Augusta find fault with priests' lives? (Which Augusta and which bishop there ye mean I know not, neither well can I know, except I saw your note-book.) What if the abbat Panormitane, what if one Faber, and one Latomus, men of our time, I trow, and that zealous man which wrote the little tripartite treatise annexed to the Lateran council, whatsoever he was—what if all these, I say, moved with a zeal, and being desirous of the clergy's reformation, lamentably complain of their loose life? What then?...

Doctrine of Devils.

Get you fairer painted and better filled boxes than these be, or else shall ye all be taken for poor pothecaries....

Touching Pius,... *in Platina ye shall find these words for one of that pope's sayings:* Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri[10]: *as much to say in English, "that marriage was taken from priests with great reason, and that it seemed it were to be restored again with greater." This saying reporteth not that wives were taken away from priests, as you report, neither that wives ought to be restored to priests again.* [d]*It speaketh only of marriage, which, as before a man enter into holy orders, no vow being made, is lawful; so by orders taken, a vow of chastity being solemnly made, is utterly unlawful. If this saying had made so much for your pretensed marriage as ye would men to believe,* [e]*ye would never have falsified it by such change of words. Whether it be more expedient such as come to the clergy to be required to lead the single life, and to bind themselves thereto by vows, or to enjoy the common liberty of marriage,* [f]*that we leave to the church to discuss an*[11] *order....*

[d] A sage exposition. What had this been to Pius' meaning?
[e] Untruth. For if we had falsified the words, ye would not so simply have touched it.
[f] Now at last the doctors stand in doubt.

If Pius saw many weightier causes for priests to have wives than for their single life, as ye pretend he did, why did not he, or you in his stead, shew us what and how substantial they be? If they be no better than you and your fellows have uttered in your sermons and writings hitherto, they are not worth [g]*a pipped nut. This saying of Pius is well to be weighed and scanned....*

[g] *Mira vero militi quæ placeant.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whosoever shall well consider the fruits that have grown of this tree, may easily judge by whom it was planted. Certainly St Paul, when he had given rules touching the clergy, that bishops and deacons should be the husbands of one wife, immediately afterward, in the same tenor and course of speech, saith thus: "The Spirit saith plainly that in the later[12] times some shall depart from the faith, giving ear unto lying spirits, and to the doctrine of devils, uttering lies under hypocrisy, having their conscience burnt with a hot iron (and thereby made unsensible), forbidding marriage," &c. Here we are taught by the Spirit of God that "forbidding of marriage is the doctrine of devils[13]."

1 Tim. iv.

But M. Harding saith "there is no law in the church to restrain marriage: and that marriage is not now condemned by him and others[14] of that side, and thought unlawful universally in all men (for that, he saith, was the heresy of Valentinus, Marcion, Montanus, and others), but only forbidden and thought unlawful in a few." By this answer M. Harding may seem to make himself somewhat better than was Valentinus and Marcion and other old heretics. But further to help him, and thoroughly to clear his doctrine, it will not serve. It is a common known rule in the schools: *Magis et minus non mutant speciem.* Verily, as he that killeth but a few men is called a man-killer; even so he that condemneth marriage in a few must likewise be called a condemner of marriage. Neither doth St Paul, when he prophesieth hereof, say that some should condemn all kind of marriage universally in all manner of men; but only he saith "there shall be some that shall forbid marriage;" as the bishops of Rome have done[15].

Neither did all heretics condemn marriage in one sort. For some of them condemned it generally, and thoroughly, and altogether; some others of them condemned it only in a few, even as M. Harding and his fellows do. For thus St Augustine writeth of the heretics named the Manichees: *Auditores... qui appel-*

August. Epist. 74.

[10 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Pius II. p. 295.]
[11 And, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[12 Latter, 1609.]
[13 This sentence is not in 1567.]
[14 Other, 1567.]
[15 These seven words are not in 1567.]

lantur apud eos, et carnibus vescuntur, et agros colunt, et, si voluerint, uxores habent. Quorum nihil faciunt [illi] qui vocantur electi[1]: "They that among them be called the hearers[2] do both eat flesh, and till the ground, and marry wives too, if they list. But no such thing may they do that be called *electi*." The auditors or hearers among the Manichees were as the lay-people: the *electi* or chosen were as the clergy. These heretics the Manichees condemned marriage, not generally in all sorts and degrees of men, but only, as M. Harding doth, in a few. Yet were they heretics notwithstanding, and their doctrine was the "doctrine of devils."

August. de Mor. Manich. Lib. ii. cap. xviii.

St Augustine saith unto them, as he would also say unto M. Harding: *Non... concubitum, sed, ut longe ante ab apostolo dictum est, Vere nuptias prohibetis*[3]: "Ye forbid not copulation (or concubines), but even as the apostle prophesied long before, Verily and indeed ye forbid marriage" (albeit it were but in a few).

All this, M. Harding, notwithstanding, that it may plainly appear whose doctrine ye teach, it shall be good, and not from the purpose, briefly to disclose some part of it. And here, to pass over these words of Chrysostom, *Hæc ipsa conjunctio maritalis*[4] *malum est ante Deum*[5]; "This very copulation of man and wife is evil before God;" and these of St Hierome, *Quamdiu impleo mariti officium, non impleo officium Christiani*[6]; "As long as I do the duty of a husband, I do not the duty of a Christian;" and other like sayings and authorities before alleged; pope Innocentius, in the condemnation of marriage, saith thus: *Qui... in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt*[7]: "They that be in the flesh (that is to say, in marriage) cannot please God." And to this purpose he allegeth these words of St Paul: "To the clean all things are clean; but to the filthy and infidels (whereby the same pope Innocentius[8] understandeth married people) nothing is clean; but both their mind and their conscience is defiled." Pope Siricius calleth marriage *vitium, luxuriam, fœdas cupiditates*[9], "vice, lechery, and filthy lusts." One of your late English doctors of Lovaine saith that the whole east church, maintaining the lawful marriage of priests, evermore continued there from the apostles' time until this day, maintaineth and continueth a school of filthiness[10].

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. I.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

Dist. 32. Proposuisti.

Rom. viii. Tit. i.

Dist. 32. Plurimos. Copus Dial. I. p. 159. Græcos solos in hac impudicitiæ schola magistros sequuntur. Const. Othon. Licet ad profugandum, in Gloss.

Further, you may remember that this rule is written in a book of your own doctrine, and is given in secret, as a special lesson unto your clergy: *Si non caste, tamen caute*[11]: "If thou deal not chastely, yet deal charily."

From whence had you this doctrine, M. Harding? Who set it first abroach? Who taught it? Who confirmed it? Who allowed it? If ye can say it is not the "doctrine of the devil," yet verily I believe ye cannot say it is in any point like the "doctrine of God." St Hierome, having occasion to speak of antichrist, saith thus: *Simulabit castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat*[12]: "He shall make a counterfeit shew of chastity, that he may deceive many." Even so St Paul saith: *Habentes speciem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes*: "Having a colour of godliness, but the power thereof denying utterly."

Hieron. in Daniel. cap. xi. 2 Tim. iii.

But, somewhat to relieve yourself, ye allege these words of St Augustine: *Ille ... prohibet matrimonium, qui illud malum esse dicit; non qui huic bono aliud melius anteponit*[13]: "He forbiddeth marriage that saith marriage is evil; and not he that before this thing, being good, setteth another thing that is better." Here, M. Harding, I beseech you of your indifferent judgment, he that useth your words, and saith, as you say, "They that live in matrimony cannot please God:" "they be filthy:" "they be infidels:" "unto them nothing is clean:" "their whole

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxx. cap. vi.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Deuter. Epist. ccxxxvi. 2. Tom. II. col. 848.]

[2 Called hearers, 1567.]

[3 Id. de Mor. Manich. Lib. II. cap. xviii. 65. Tom. I. col. 739.]

[4 Martialis, 1570.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. i. ex cap. i. Tom. VI. p. xxiv.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 150. See before, page 390, note 1.]

[7 Innoc. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxii. can. 2. col. 396.]

[8 Same Innocentius, 1567.]

[9 Plurimos sacerdotes...de conjugibus propriis... sobolem didicimus procreasse....Dicat mihi nunc, quisquis ille est sectator libidinum, præceptorque vitiorum &c.—Syric. in eod. ibid. can. 3. col. 397. Conf. can. 4. col. 398.]

[10 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. xxiii. p. 159; where *Græcis ipsis quos solos.*]

[11 Const. Othon. ad calc. Gul. Lyndwood, Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. in Annot. p. 44.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Comm. in Daniel. Proph. cap. xiii. Tom. III. col. 1131; where *simulet.*]

[13 August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. xxx. cap. vi. Tom. VIII. col. 448. See before, page 418.]

mind and conscience is defiled;" he that saith "matrimony is vice, lechery, and filthy pleasure;" saith he not "matrimony is an evil thing?" Thus you say: thus you write: these words be apparent and allowed in your books, even in those books whereby ye would have us to order and to direct our lives and manners. Briefly, this is the very substance of your doctrine in this behalf. Therefore, even by St Augustine's judgment, your doctrine is "the doctrine of devils." The Apostles' Doctrine.

And, whereas ye would seem not utterly to condemn the state of matrimony, "but only to set single life before it, as a better thing before a good;" it may please you to understand that, notwithstanding a thing in itself be best, yet is it not therefore universally best for every man. For notwithstanding scarlet be the fairest of all colours, and the face the fairest part of all the body, yet I reckon, M. Harding, to make yourself fair, ye would not have your face died in scarlet.

Single life, for many causes, is the best, I grant. Yet is it not best for every body, but only for him that hath the gift of chastity, and can with quiet mind and upright conscience live single; otherwise matrimony is much better. And therefore God hath left us indifferently free to both; that whosoever cannot use the one may choose the other. St Paul saith: *Volo omnes esse sicut meipsum:* "I would every man would live single, as I do." But he addeth withal a special *proviso: Unusquisque proprium donum habet a Deo; alius sic, alius autem sic:* "Every man hath his own gift of God; one this, another that." And therefore he saith further: Although single life be the better state, "yet whosoever is not continent, let him marry. Better is it[14] to marry than to burn." Although otherwise he weigh single life before marriage, yet in this case he saith it is better to marry than so to live[15] single. 1 Cor. vii.

M. Harding hereto replieth: "They that have vowed have lost this liberty, and, by St Ambrose and St Augustine's judgment, may not marry." Hereof I have partly spoken before; and partly shall have occasion offered to say more hereafter. In the mean season, we are taught here by M. Harding to take St Paul's words by the top, and to turn them quite backward[16], and thus to frame a new rule of life, and to say, contrary to St Paul: *Melius est uri quam nubere:* "It is better to burn in concupiscence than to marry."

Yet St Augustine saith, even of them that have vowed, as it is before alleged: *Quæ*[17] *nubere volunt, et ideo non nubunt, quia impune non possunt, . . . melius nuberent quam urerentur, id est, quam occulta flamma concupiscentiæ in ipsa conscientia vastarentur*[18]: "They that have a mind to marry, and yet marry not, because they cannot marry without reproach, better were it for them to marry than to burn; that is to say, than with the privy flame of their concupiscence to be wasted in their conscience." August. de Sanct. Virgin. cap. xxxiv.

Further M. Harding saith: "This order of single life was taken by the apostles themselves; and therefore," saith he, "it is not the devil's, but the apostles' doctrine." If this be true indeed, then is this matter thoroughly concluded. But where was this order[19] taken by the apostles? By what writing, by what record, by what tradition may it appear? Or how is it likely that the apostles, being married men themselves, would force other men to live single?

I have already shewed by Ignatius, by Clemens, by Eusebius, and by St Ambrose[20], that the apostles, St John only excepted, were all married. Clemens saith that Peter saw his own wife carried by the officers to suffer death for Christ's sake, and cried unto her comfortably by her name, "O woman, remember the Lord[21]." Ignatius, St John's disciple, saith: *Opto Deo dignus inveniri, . . . sicut Petrus, et Paulus, et reliqui apostoli, qui nuptiis fuerunt sociati, qui non libidinis causa sed posteritatis surrogandæ gratia conjuges habuerunt*[22]: "I wish to be found meet for God, as was Peter, and Paul, and the other apostles that were married, and not for pleasure, but for posterity's sake, had wives." Ambros. 2 Cor. xi. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. ὦ αὕτη μέμνησο τοῦ Κυρίου. Ignat. ad Philad.

[14 It is, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15 Than to live, 1567.]

[16 Backwards, 1567.] [17 Qui, 1609, 1611.]

[18 August. Op. De Sanct. Virgin. cap. xxxiv. 34. Tom. VI. col. 357.]

[19 Was order, 1570.]

[20 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. II. ad Cor. cap. xi. v. 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 198. See before, page 392.]

[21 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxx. p. 82; where μέμνησο ὦ αὕτη.]

[22 Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philad. cap. iv. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 77.]

The Apostles' Doctrine.

Chrysostom saith: *Cur non ait, Oportet episcopum angelum esse, nulli humanæ perturbationi vitiove subjectum? ... Ne ecclesiæ negotia fructusque perirent. Idcirco moderatam virtutem proposuit, non supremam illam atque cœlestem*[1]: "Why saith not St Paul, A bishop ought to be an angel, subject neither to any worldly affection nor to any vice? Lest the affairs and fruits of the church should perish (being without a governor). Therefore he required of bishops a moderate and a reasonable kind of virtue (willing them to be husbands of one wife), and not that other virtue, so high and so heavenly" (that is to[2] say, utterly to live unmarried).

Chrysost. in Prior. ad Tim. Hom. 10.

Again he saith: *Idcirco ait, Unius uxoris virum, ... ne nimis in angustum*[3] *rem eam concluderet, si exactissimam virtutem expetisset: idcirco moderatiori admonitione maluit uti, ne ex desperatione perfectæ illius inveniendæ virtutis ecclesiæ sine episcopis essent*[4]: "Therefore St Paul saith, 'Let a bishop be the husband of one wife,' lest he should shut up the matter into too great a strait, if he had required that most perfect[5] purity; therefore he would rather use a reasonable moderation or mean (that a bishop should be the husband of one wife), lest of despair of finding that excellency of virtue (to live unmarried) the churches should be left without bishops."

Chrysost. in ead. Hom.

St Paul saith: "Touching virgins I have no commandment of the Lord:" "Better it is to marry than to burn:" "Let a bishop be the husband of one wife." Which last words pope Leo expoundeth thus: *Is episcopus ordinetur, quem unius uxoris virum fuisse aut esse constiterit*[6]: "Let him be consecrate a bishop, of whom it may well appear that either he is or hath been the husband of one wife."

1 Cor. vii.
1 Tim. iii.
Tit. i.
Leo, Epist. 87.

St Ambrose, expounding these words of St Paul, "Touching virgins I have no commandment of the Lord," saith thus: *Si doctor gentium non habuit, habere quis potuit*[8]? "If the doctor of the gentiles had no commandment of the Lord touching virgins, what man else then could ever have it?"

Ambros. in 1 Cor. vii.[7]

Among the rules which commonly are called the Apostles' Canons it is written thus: *Episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus, uxorem suam prætextu religionis ne abjiciat; aut si abjecerit, a communione segregetur; et si perseveret, deponatur*[9]: "Let not either bishop, or priest, or deacon, put away his wife under colour of religion: or, if he so do, let him be put from the communion (of the faithful); and, if he so continue, let him be utterly deposed from his office."

Canon. 5.

St Hierome, expounding these words of St Paul, "Let every man remain in the vocation wherein he was called," saith thus: *Ex hoc habentibus uxores tollit licentiam dimittendi eas*[10]: "Hereby St Paul forbiddeth married men to put away their wives."

Hieron. contr. Jovin. Lib. i.

In the sixth council holden at Constantinople it is written thus: *Antiquum sequentes canonem apostolicæ diligentiæ, et constitutiones sanctorum virorum, legales nuptias posthac valere volumus, nullo modo cum uxoribus suis eorum connubia dissolventes*[11]: "Following the old order of the apostles' diligence, and the constitutions and laws of the holy fathers, from henceforth we will that the lawful marriage (of bishops and priests) shall stand in force, not in any wise dissolving the wedlock that they have with their wives." And herein they say they follow the old canon or order of the apostles.

Dist. 31. Quoniam.

Gratian saith, as he is before alleged: *Copula ... sacerdotalis ... nec legali, nec evangelica, nec apostolica auctoritate prohibetur*[12]: "The marriage of priests is not forbidden by any authority either of the law, or of the gospel, or of the apostles."

xxvi. Quæst. 2. Sora.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In I. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. XI. p. 600. In part of this and the following quotation Jewel has given the sense and not the words of Chrysostom.]

[2 So, 1570.] [3 Augustum, 1570.]

[4 Id. ibid. p. 601.]

[5 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Episc. Aphr. Epist. lxxxvii. 1. col. 457.]

[7 The latter part of this reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Virg. Lib. I. cap. v. 23. Tom. II. col. 152.]

[9 Can. Apost. 5. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[10 Et sicut habentibus &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 154.]

[11 Synod. 6. c. 13. Lib. 8. c. 19. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxi. can. 13. col. 153; where *sacrorum virorum*, and *nuptias amodo*.]

[12 Ibid. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXVI. Quæst. ii. can. 1. col. 1456; where *vel apostolica*.]

Cardinal Cajetane saith: *Dominus discipulis suis nullum indixit votum*[13]: "Our Lord appointed unto his disciples no manner of vow." The Apostles' Doctrine.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith, as it is said before: *Epistolæ apostoli . . . nusquam honestum moderatumque matrimonium prohibuerunt*[14]: "The epistles of Paul the apostle never forbade honest and sober marriage." Catharin. contr. Error. Cajetan. Error. 112. Clement. Stromat. Lib. iii.

All these things well considered, I beseech thee, gentle reader, indifferently to weigh M. Harding's words; and to demand of him, with what countenance he could thus tell thee that the order of single life was taken by the apostles themselves, and therefore must be holden as the apostles' doctrine.

If he happen to tell thee, "It is written[15] in the council of Carthage;" tell him again, he is deceived. I say, tell him that the apostles of Christ never neither made any law nor gave any order for the single life of the ministers: and therefore tell him hardly, he is deceived. He will say, the words of the council be plain: *Quod apostoli docuerunt, et ipsa servavit antiquitas*[16]: "Which thing the apostles have taught, and the antiquity itself hath observed." These words be plain indeed, if they were not perversely glossed. Therefore tell him again, he should better have learned both the manner of the apostles' teaching, and also the scope and reach of this antiquity. Certainly thus much his own gloss could have told him: *Apostoli nihil instituerunt de non utendo* [*matrimonio*] *jam contracto*[17]: "The apostles took no order touching the not using of matrimony already contracted." Concil. Carthag. II. cap. 2. Dist. 34. Cum in præterito, in Gloss.

And, whereas the council saith, *Apostoli docuerunt*, "The apostles taught;" the same gloss saith, *Apostoli docuerunt exemplo, . . . non institutione vel constitutione*, "The apostles taught it by their example;" but "not by appointment nor by commandment." Perhaps M. Harding will say, "The apostles' example is sufficient." Thereto I will answer, as Clemens Alexandrinus sometime answered certain of the old heretics in like case: *Dicunt gloriosi isti jactatores, se imitari Dominum, qui uxorem non duxit. Illis dicit scriptura, Deus superbis resistit; humilibus autem dat gratiam*[18]: "These glorious braggers say they will follow the example of our Lord, that married no wife. Unto them the scripture saith, 'God withstandeth the proud; and giveth grace unto the humble'." Clement. Stromat. Lib. vii.

And to like purpose St Ambrose saith: *Præceptum quidem* [*apostolus*] *non habuit; at habuit exemplum*[19]: "Indeed the apostle St Paul had no commandment to give of virginity; but example he had to give[20]." Ambros. de Virgin. Lib. i.

Again, whereas the council allegeth antiquity, *Quod ipsa servavit antiquitas*, the same gloss expoundeth it thus: *A tempore Siricii* [*papæ*] *hic vocat antiquitatem*[21]: "By this word 'antiquity' the council meaneth the time after pope Siricius" (which was four hundred years after Christ). And again, as it is alleged before: *Ante tempora Siricii papæ sacerdotes poterant contrahere matrimonium*[22]: "Before the time of pope Siricius it was lawful for priests to contract matrimony."

Such good luck M. Harding hath to his doctors and councils. By his own gloss he hath lost four hundred years of his antiquity.

Panormitane, after he had said, "The commandment of single life is not of the law of God," he addeth[23] further: *Quia alias Græci peccarent; non enim excusaret eos consuetudo; quia illa non valet contra legem Dei*[24]: "Otherwise the Græcians were offenders. For no custom could excuse them; forasmuch as custom prevaileth not against the law of God." Extr. de Cleric. Conj. Cum olim.

Now touching this council of Carthage, notwithstanding it had been truly

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[13 Ambr: Catharin. in Excerpt. de Comm. Card. Caietan. Par. 1535. Error. Index, fol. b. v.; where *Dominus suis* and *votum indixit*. Conf. p. 241.]

[14 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. III. 12. Tom. I. p. 550.]

[15 Is so written, 1567.]

[16 Concil. Carthag. II. cap. 2. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 424. See before, page 418, note 8. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxiv. can. 3. col. 404.]

[17 Gloss. ibid.; where *non instituerunt*.]

[18 Clement. Alex. Op. Stromat. Lib. III. 6. Tom. I. p. 533.]

[19 Ambros. Op. De Virg. Lib. I. cap. v. 23. Tom. II. col. 152; where *sed habuit*.]

[20 1567 omits *to give*.]

[21 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxiv. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 404.]

[22 Ibid. See before, page 411, note 10.]

[23 Added, 1567, 1570.]

[24 ...nec de jure divino quia &c. nec excusaret &c. quia illa valet contra legem divinam ut in c. fi. de consue. &c.—Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Cleric. Conj. Tit. iii. cap. 6. fol. 16.]

The fruits of single life.

construed, yet the authority thereof must needs seem so much the less, for that it decreeth of set purpose quite contrary to the council of Nice. For the fathers in the Nicene council durst not to remove priests and bishops from their wives; for that it was written, "Whom God hath joined, let no man sunder." But these other fathers in the council of Carthage, without any sticking or doubting at the matter, only with one word utterly removed them; and so by force and violence, and contrary to the commandment of Christ, sundered and divided them whom God had joined. Which thing holy Paphnutius saith "was not lawful for man to do[1]."

Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xxiii.

Touching bishop Hulderichus, Panormitanus, Latomus, and Jacobus Faber, and such others as have spoken or written in the behalf of priests' marriage, M. Harding thinketh it sufficient for him to answer: "What if they complain of the loose life of the clergy? What then?" (that is to say) What if the clergy live in professed shame and open filthiness? What then? As if such simple authorities were worthy of none other answer.

Yet was Hulderichus sometime bishop of Augusta in Germany, well-near six hundred years ago, and for his virtue and holiness was counted a saint. Abbas Urspergensis in his story writeth of him in this sort: *Hiltinus Augustanus episcopus obiit; cui sanctus Udalrichus* (*qui idem est Hulderichus*) *successit*[2]: "Hiltine the bishop of Augusta died; to whom succeeded St Hulderichus."

Abbas Ursperg. Anno 925. p. 214.

Abbas Panormitanus was a famous canonist, in judgment equal with any other. Faber and Latomus both in our time were accounted learned; and either of them a special champion of M. Harding's side. Verily the worst and vilest of all these is a great deal both sounder in judgment and deeper in learning than either Amphilochius, whom M. Harding so highly esteemeth, or Abdias, or Hippolytus, or Leontius, whom they have lately raked out of the dust, or Clement of Rome, whom he so often calleth the apostles' fellow.

Neither did these writers only complain of the looseness of priests' lives, as M. Harding telleth us; but also, for removing of public shame and slander out of the church of God, wished that the liberty of marriage might be restored; which thing M. Harding so closely dissembleth.

Plat. in Pio II.[3]

Touching that pope Pius was commonly wont to say, "As marriage was taken away from priests upon great considerations, even so now upon other greater considerations it were to be restored to them again[4];" M. Harding, after much other needless talk, saith thus: "Why did not he, or you in his stead, shew us what and how substantial considerations they be?"

Good christian reader, loth I am to disclose and publish any thing that may sound to the shame of any one man, much less that may turn[5] to the open shame of so great a number. But M. Harding over-heavily presseth us with his importunity, and requireth us upon our credit to shew these causes. Therefore, if the report hereof shall seem unpleasant, the fault is M. Harding's: it is not mine. I will only shew forth simply and truly that I find written in sundry both of the ancient learned fathers, and also in others of his own side; which nevertheless, had not M. Harding been, might much better have been concealed.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 24.

First of all, the ancient father Origen for his time, which was well-near fourteen hundred years ago, hereof complaineth thus: *Non solum quæ docent non faciunt, sed etiam crudeliter et sine misericordia, non secundum æstimationem virium uniuscujusque ... injungunt; ut ... qui prohibent nubere, et ab eo quod expedit ad immoderatam mũnditiem compellunt.... Alligant ... onera gravia, et faciunt homines cadere sub eis. Et frequenter videmus, eos qui talia docent contraria facere sermonibus suis.... Castitatem docent; et castitatem non servant, &c. Omnia faciunt propter personas hominum et glorias vanas, ... ut videantur ab hominibus. Et plerunque ... sunt tales, qui diligunt primos accubitus in conviviis, et salutationes in foro, et vocari ab hominibus rabbi; ... qui volunt vocari episcopi, ... presbyteri,*

[1 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. pp. 356, 7.]

[2 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 214; where *Hiltine Augustensis*.]

[3 This reference does not appear in 1567.]

[4 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Pius II. p. 295.]

[5 These three words are not in 1567.]

...*diaconi*[6]: "Not only they do not that they teach, but also cruelly and without mercy they lay their injunctions upon others, not considering each man's ability. Such be they that forbid men to marry, and from that thing that is lawful to be done drive and force men to an unreasonable purity. They bind and lay on heavy burdens, and cause men to fall under them. And oftentimes we see them that teach such things themselves[7] to do contrary to their own sayings. They teach chastity, and yet keep not chastity, &c. They do all things for the commendation of men and vain-glory, that they may be seen and noted of the people. And commonly they be such as love the highest places at feasts and banquets, and to be saluted and honoured in the market-places, and of the people to be called rabbi; that will be called bishops, priests, and deacons."

The fruits of single life.

At the very first attempt hereof Dionysius the bishop of Corinth wrote thus unto Pinytus the bishop of Gnosus: *Noli grave illud onus necessariæ castitatis imponere fratribus*[8]: "Lay not that heavy burden of the necessity of chaste life upon the brethren;" meaning thereby, that it was too heavy a burden for all men to carry[9].

Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. xxiii. Μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἁγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι.

Neither was it for nothing that St Cyprian in his time wrote thus: *Ut quid sibi adhibuit mulierem, qui ducere contempsit uxorem?... Pejus est quam mœchari, continentiam ducere criminosam*[10]: "Wherefore took he a woman unto him, that disdained to marry a wife? To live a continent life with reproach is worse than advoutry."

Cypr. de Sing. Cleric.

It is not for nothing that Epiphanius writeth: *Repudiant nuptias, at non libidinem.... In honore enim est apud illos, non castitas, sed hypocrisis; quam tamen appellari volunt castitatem*[11]: "They refuse marriage, but not lust or pleasure. For they esteem not chastity, but hypocrisy; and yet the same hypocrisy they will have to be called[12] chastity."

Epiph. contr. Orig. Hær. 63. Πεφιλοτίμηται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἡ ἁγνεία, ἀλλὰ ὑποκρίτικη,...ἁγνεία τῷ ὀνόματι καλουμένη.

It is not for nothing that Chrysostom writeth of the vowed or chaste women in his time: *Nuptias magis dicere beatas liceat*[13], *&c. Posthac melius esset, ne virgines quidem esse, &c. Perseverat adhuc nomen et appellatio rei; at negotium totum in corpore sublatum est, &c. In deliciis magis vivunt quam mulieres in fornice, &c. Frequens et quotidianus est concursus obstetricum ad virginum domos, &c. Virginitas ista cum viris plus ab omnibus arguitur quam stuprum ipsum*[14]: "We may say that marriage is a great deal better (than such virginity). Hereafter it were better there were no virgins at all. The name (of virginity) continueth still; but virginity itself in their body is quite gone. They live more in pleasure than harlots in the stews. There is often and daily running of midwives to virgins' houses. This manner of virginity, of women amongst men, is more reproved of all men than fornication itself."

Chrysost. Tom. v. quod regulares feminæ cum viris cohabitent.

It is not for nothing that Sulpitius Severus saith of St Hierome: [*Hieronymus*] *de familiaritatibus virginum, et monachorum et clericorum, quam vera, quam fortia disputavit! Unde a quibusdam, quos nominare nolo, dicitur non amari*[15]: "How truly and how stoutly hath St Hierome written of the familiarity that these virgins have with monks and priests! And therefore it is said that of some men, whom I will not name, he is the less beloved."

Sulp. Sev. Dialog. 3.

Neither is it for nothing that Salvianus saith of his time, which was about a thousand years ago: *Sub specie religionis vitiis secularibus mancipantur*[16]: "Under the colour of religion and holiness they are made slaves to worldly vices." And again: *Novum prorsus conversionis genus: licita non faciunt: illicita committunt*[17]: Ibid.

Salv. de Provid. Lib. v.

[6 ...non solum &c. existimationem &c. munditiam &c. gravia...cadere facientes sub pondere...Et frequenter videre est eos &c. contraria agere &c. Castitatem enim multi docentes castitatem non servaverunt &c. omnia facientes &c. discubitus &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 10. Tom. III. p. 836.]

[7 *Themselves* is not in 1567.]

[8 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. p. 117.]

[9 This clause does not appear in 1567.]

[10 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Singul. Cleric. Append. pp. 6, 7; where *mœchia* for *mœchari*. This treatise is spurious.]

[11 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxiii. 1. Tom. I. pp. 520, 1.]

[12 Have called, 1567.]

[13 Licet, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Quod Reg. Fem. Vir. Cohab. &c. Tom. I. pp. 248, 9, 50, 1, 4.]

[15 Sulp. Sev. Dialog. I. 9. in Galland. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. VIII. p. 405; where *atque etiam clericorum.*]

[16 Salv. De Gub. Dei, Lib. V. 10. in eod. Tom. X. p. 31; where *mancipati.*]

[17 Id. ibid.; where *et inlicita.*]

The fruits of single life.

"A very strange kind of conversion: that they may do they do not, and do that they may not do."

All these and other like things were written long ago, in the old times, before the fruits of single life were thoroughly known.

Aventin. in Hildebrand.

But, after that pope Hildebrand by cruelty and tyranny had fully established the matter and brought it to perfection, Aventinus saith, many godly-learned men utterly forsook the ministry; *Et falsi prophetæ, falsi apostoli, falsi sacerdotes emerserunt, qui simulata religione populum deceperunt. Maxima pars sub honesto nomine castimoniæ stupra, incestus, adulteria, passim et impune committunt*[1]: "False prophets, false apostles, and false priests sprang up, which under a counterfeit religion deceived the people. The most part of them under the honest name of chastity commit whoredom, advoutry, incest, and that[2] commonly and without punishment."

Bernard. in Conc. Remens.

St Bernard saith: *Episcopi et sacerdotes hujus temporis castitatis sanctimoniam, sine qua nemo videbit Deum, tam in corde quam in corpore, quomodo student observare?... Traditi in reprobum sensum, faciunt quæ non conveniunt. Quæ enim in occulto fiunt ab episcopis turpe est dicere*[3]: "The bishops and priests of this time, how do they endeavour to keep either in heart or in body the holiness of chastity, without which no man shall see God? They are given over into a reprobate mind, and do those things that are not convenient. For it were shame to utter what these bishops do in secret."

Bernard. de Convers. ad Cler. cap. xxix.

Again he saith: *Abstinentes a remedio conjugali, postea in omne flagitium effluunt*[4]: "Abstaining from the remedy of marriage, afterward they flow over into all kind of wickedness."

In Opere Tripart. Lib. iii. cap. vii.

He that wrote the little book called *Opus Tripartitum*, joined with the council of Lateran, saith thus: *Tanta immunditia luxuriæ notoria est in multis partibus mundi, non solum in clericis, sed etiam in sacerdotibus, imo, quod horribile est audire, in prælatis majoribus, &c.*[5]: "Such notorious filthiness of lechery there is in many parts of the world, not only in the inferior clerks, but also in priests, yea, and in[6] the greater prelates too[7]: which thing is horrible to be heard," &c.

De Conc. Cler. Rem. Licet ad profligandum.

And in the gloss upon the Constitutions Legantine of England it is written thus: *Clerici hujusmodi concubinas tenent communiter apparatu honesto, nomine appellationis sororiæ*[8]: "Clerks commonly hold and have such concubines in honest haviour, under the name of their sisters."

Paraleip. Ursperg. p. 403.

Nicolaus de Clavengiis, complaining hereof, saith thus: *Capellani et canonici similes episcopis, indocti, ebrii, scortatores*[9]: "The chaplains and canons are like to the bishops, unlearned, drunken, and fornicators."

R. Holcot, in Lib. Sapient. Lect. 182.

Robert Holcot saith: *Sacerdotes moderni sunt dæmones incubi per luxuriam,... [et] sacerdotes Priapi, vel Beelphegor,... [et] angeli abyssi*[10]: "The priests of our time by their lechery are like the spirits called *incubi*, the priests of Priapus, or Beelphegor, and the angels of the pit of hell."

Huld. Episc. August.

Hulderichus, in old times the bishop of Augusta in Germany, wrote sharply hereof against pope Nicholas in this wise: *Decreta tua super clericorum continentia... a discretione inveni aliena:... multos consilii tui assentatores hominibus, non Deo, sub falsa specie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora vides committere*[11]: "I have found thy decrees touching the single life of priests to be void of discretion. Thou seest that many followers of thy counsel, willing under a feigned colour of continent life rather to please man than God, commit heinous acts."

[1 ...falsi prophetæ nebulas effundunt, fabulis, miraculis exempla vocant, a veritate plebem Christi avertunt...maxima &c. honesto castimoniæ nomine stupra, &c.—Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. v. p. 565.]

[2 1567 omits *and that*.]

[3 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Remens. Serm. 7. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 738.]

[4 ...abstinentes remedio nuptiali, et in omne deinceps flagitium effluentes.—Id. de Convers. ad Cler. cap. xx. 36. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 493.]

[5 Opusc. Tripart. Lib. III. cap. vii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1002.]

[6 Yea in, 1567.]

[7 1567 omits *too*.]

[8 Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Gloss. p. 44.]

[9 De capellanis et canonicis qui similes sunt episcopis &c.—Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 403.]

[10 R. Holkoth in Lib. Sapient. 1586. Lect. clxxxiii. in cap. xvi. p. 604.]

[11 Cum tua...decreta super &c. continentiam &c. invenirem &c. multos ejusdem consilii assentatores &c. pro falsa &c.—Epist. Huld. in Rer. Mem. Paraleip. p. 436.]

In the end he concludeth thus: *Qua nosti discretionis disciplina, Pharisaicam ab ovili Dei extirpa doctrinam*[12]: "By such discipline of discretion as you know best root this Pharisaical doctrine out of God's fold." The fruits of single life.

But, forasmuch as M. Harding hath no skill in this epistle of Hulderichus, he may understand that his own pope Pius, otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, maketh evident mention of the same[13]. Notwithstanding, I have seen the same epistle written in parchment, in old hand, of good record, under the name of Volusianus Carthaginensis[14]. Wolph. Wissen. in Præf. in Antiol. Papæ.

Further Mantuanus the poet saith:

> Petrique domus polluta fluenti
> Marcescit luxu: nulla hic arcana revelo.....'
> Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara cynædis
> Servit, honorandæ divum Ganymedibus ædes[15].

The matter hereof is such as it is[16] not worthy to be Englished.

But what pleasure can it be to stand so long in so unsavoury a place? They themselves say thus: *Fornicatio simplex non est digna depositione*[17]: "Simple fornication (in a priest) is no just cause of deprivation." The cause thereof in another gloss is alleged thus: *Quia pauci sine illo vitio inveniuntur*[18]: "Because there be few priests found without that fault." ii. Quæst. 7. Lator. in Gloss. Dist. 81. Maxim. in Gloss.

To be short, Polydorus Vergilius saith: *Nullius delicti crimen majus ordini dedecus, plus mali religioni, plus doloris... bonis... attulit*[19]: "No kind of crime ever brought either more shame to the order of priesthood, or more hindrance to religion, or more grief to the godly, than the life of single priests." Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rer. Lib. v. cap. iv.

These, these, M. Harding, were the causes that moved pope Pius commonly to say, as it is before alleged: "As marriage upon good and great considerations was taken from priests, so now upon better and greater considerations it were to be restored to them again." And therefore he saith in his discourse of the council of Basil: *Fortasse non esset pejus, sacerdotes complures uxorari; quoniam multi salvarentur in sacerdotio conjugato, qui nunc in sterili presbyterio damnantur*[20]: "Perhaps it were not worst that many priests were married. For many might be saved in married priesthood which now in barren priesthood are condemned." If the former of these two sayings be so doubtful, yet this latter[21] is plain, and clear, and void of doubt. In like sense and sort he writeth upon good advice and deliberation to his friend: *Quoniam huc ventum est, ut legi carnis resistere nequeas, melius est nubere quam uri*[22]: "Forasmuch as the matter is grown so far that ye cannot withstand the law of the flesh, better it is[23] to marry than to burn." Æn. Sylv. de Concil. Basil. Lib. ii. Æn. Sylv. Epist. 321. ad Johan. Fontem.

So saith Panormitane: *Credo, pro bono et salute animarum, quod esset salubre statutum, ut... non valentes... continere possint contrahere; quia, experientia docente, contrarius prorsus effectus sequitur ex illa lege continentiæ; cum hodie non vivant spiritualiter, nec sint mundi; sed maculentur illicito coitu, cum ipsorum gravissimo peccato; ubi cum propria uxore esset castitas.... Unde deberet ecclesia facere sicut bonus medicus; ut si medicina, experientia docente, potius officiat quam prosit, eam tollat. Et utinam idem esset in omnibus constitutionibus positivis*[24]! "I believe it were a good law, and for the wealth and safety of souls, that such as cannot live chaste may contract matrimony. For we learn by experience that of the law of continent or single life the contrary effect hath followed: forasmuch as now-a-days they live not spiritually, nor be clean and Extr. de Cler. Conj. Cum olim.

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[12] Id. ibid. p. 439; where *extirpes*.]

[13] Antilog. Pap. Basil. 1555. In Præf. Wolf. Wissenb. fol. β 3.]

[14] This sentence is not in 1567. Cave, Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Vol. II. p. 52, mentions such a MS., perhaps the one Jewel means, in the possession of archbishop Parker. Cave considers the epistle to be falsely ascribed to Volusianus.]

[15] Bapt. Mant. Op. Par. 1513. De Calam. Temp. Lib. III. Tom. II. fol. 61. 2.]

[16] As is, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. Not. in can. 44. col. 705.]

[18] Ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 386; where *cum pauci*, and *inveniantur*.]

[19] Polyd. Verg. de Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. v. cap. iv. p. 314; where *attulerit*.]

[20] Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. II. p. 59; where *quam plures* and *qui sterili in presbyteratu*.]

[21] Later, 1567, 1570.]

[22] Id. ad Joan. Frunt Epist. cccvii. p. 809; where *quando huc*.]

[23] Better is, 1570.]

[24] Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Cleric. Conj. Tit. iii. cap. 6. fol. 16; where *maculantur, eorum gravissimo*, and *officit*.]

The fruits of single life.

chaste, but with their great sin are defiled with unlawful copulation; whereas with their own wives they should live chastely. Therefore the church ought to do as the skilful physician useth to do, who, if he see by experience that his medicine hurteth rather than doth good, taketh it clean away. And would God the same way were taken with all positive constitutions!"

Durand. de Mod. Celeb. Concil. Tit. 46.

So saith Durandus: *Utile esset, ut in concilio matrimonium sacerdotibus remittatur. Frustra enim hactenus coacti sunt ad castitatem*[1]: "It were good that in a council priests' marriage were set at liberty. For hitherto it hath been in vain to force them to chastity."

Mart. Peres.

So saith Martinus Peresius: *Multis ... piis ... visum est, ... ut leges de cœlibatu tollerentur propter scandala*[2]: "Many godly men have thought it good that the laws of single life should be abolished, for avoiding the offence of the people."

M. Harding will say: "The priest hath vowed, and must keep his vow." But pope Pius, as it is said before, gave counsel of marriage unto a priest that had made a vow, his vow and priesthood notwithstanding[3].

It appeareth right well, both by that hath been already alleged, and also by the common experience and practice of the world, that a vow importeth not always a chaste life. Optatus Milevitanus saith: *In mitella signum est voluntatis, non castitatis auxilium*[4]: "In the apparel there is a token of the will, not a help towards chastity." St Hierome saith: *Quid ... prodest corporis pudicitia, animo constuprato*[5]? "When the mind or heart is deflowered, what availeth the chastity of the body?"

Optat. contr. Parmen. Donat. Lib. vi. Hieron. in Jer. Lib. ii. cap. vii.

Ambros. de Virg. Lib. i.

St Ambrose saith: *Non ... imperari potest virginitas, sed optari. Nam quæ supra nos sunt, in voto magis sunt quam in magisterio*[6]: "We may wish for virginity, but command it we cannot. For the things that be above us, and out of our power, are rather of desire than of commandment."

Epiph. Lib. ii. Hær. 60.

Hereof Epiphanius maketh this conclusion: *Ut ne confundantur apud homines, occulte scortantur; et sub solitudinis aut continentiæ specie libidinem exercent.... Melius est itaque lapsum a cursu palam sibi uxorem accipere secundum leges*[7]: "Lest they should be shamed before men, they keep harlots privily; and, under the colour of solitary or continent life, they practise their filthy pleasure. Better it is[8] therefore for a man, being fallen from his course and breaking his vow[9], openly to take unto himself a wife, according to the law." So saith St Hierome, as I have before alleged: *Hujusmodi virginibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere; aut contineant, si nolunt nubere*[10]: "To such virgins we must say plainly, that either they marry, if they cannot contain; or else that they contain, if they will not marry."

Hieron. ad Demetr.

Bernard. ad Soror. de Mod. Ben. Vivend. Serm. 62.

So saith St Bernard unto his sister: *Quod incaute vovisti, ne impleas: impia est promissio quæ scelere adimpletur*[11]: "That thou hast unadvisedly vowed, see thou keep it not. It is a wicked promise that is performed with wickedness."

iv. Sent. Dist. 36. Quæst. 1.

To be short, Johannes Scotus saith: *Si votum continentiæ est annexum ordini sacro solum ex præcepto ecclesiæ, sequitur, quod non simpliciter illegitimat ad contrahendum*[12]: "If the vow or promise of chastity be annexed unto holy orders only

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[1 Perhaps the following is the passage intended: ...cum...pene in omnibus conciliis...super cohibenda et punienda clericorum incontinentia...emanaverunt constituta...et nullatenus ipsorum reformari quiverit correctio morum &c. videretur pensandum an expediret et posset provideri quod in ecclesia occidentali quantum ad votum continentiæ servaretur consuetudo ecclesiæ orientalis &c.—Tractat. G. Durand. de Mod. Gen. Concil. Celebr. Sec. Pars, Rubr. xlvi. in Tractat. ex var. Jur. Civil. Interpr. Lugd. 1549. Vol. II. fol. 101.]

[2 Multis &c. sacram cœlibatus legem debere relaxari, ut evitarentur multa scandala.—Mart. Peres. De Div. Apostol. atque Eccles. Tradit. Col. 1549. Tert. Pars, De Vot. Contin. fol. 181. 2.]

[3 These five words are not in 1567.]

[4 Optat. De Schism. Donat. Lut. Par. 1700. Lib. VI. 4. p. 97; where *indicium est*.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Jerem. Proph. cap. vii. Tom. III. col. 565.]

[6 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Virg. Lib. I. cap. v. 23. Tom. II. col. 152; where *sunt* follows *magisterio*.]

[7 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxi. 7. Tom. I. p. 512.]

[8 Is it, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 The preceding four words are not in 1567.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Ad Demetr. Epist. xcvii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 796. See before, pages 399, 400.]

[11 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Lib. ad Soror. lxii. 148. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 880; where *non impleas*. This treatise is not by Bernard.]

[12 J. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xxxvii. Quæst. Unic. Tom. IX. pp. 768, 9.]

by force of the constitution or commandment of the church, then doth it not of necessity and fine force unable a man to contract matrimony."

Howbeit, hereof we have said already so much as to a reasonable man may seem sufficient. Thus far concerning marriage of ministers[13].

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 1.

We receive and embrace all the canonical scriptures, both of the old and new testament, giving thanks to our God, who hath raised up unto us that light which we might ever have before our eyes; lest either by the subtlety of man, or by the snares of the devil, we should be carried away to errors and lies. Also we profess[14], that these be the heavenly voices whereby God hath opened unto us his will; and that only in them man's heart can have settled rest; that in them be abundantly and fully comprehended all things whatsoever be needful for our health[15], as Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyrillus have taught[16]; that they be "the very might and strength of God to attain to salvation;" that they be "the foundation[18] of the prophets and apostles," whereupon is built the church of God; that they be the very sure and infallible rule whereby may be tried whether the church do swerve or err[19], and whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account; and that against these scriptures neither law, nor ordinance, nor any custom, ought to be heard; no, though Paul himself[20] or an angel from heaven should come and teach the contrary. Rom. i. 17

M. HARDING.

But why do ye not here plainly declare which be the books of the scriptures that ye allow, and which be they [a] *that ye reject? In general, ye say that ye embrace all the canonical scriptures. Yet if a man press you with the place of the Maccabees for prayer to be made for the dead, and with the words of St James' Epistle against your justification of faith only, and likewise with certain other places of the scriptures, which be accounted in the canon of the church, against certain other your false doctrines; in this case* [b] *your wont is to deny those scriptures to be canonical. Yet here ye bear the world in hand ye allow all. Would God there were in you either more truth or less craft! Well, ye give thanks to God for the scriptures, for that having them before your eyes ye are stayed in truth, assured that by the subtlety*[21] *of man, or snares of the devil, ye be not carried away into errors and lies. And is it so indeed? I pray you, sirs, of what sect be ye, or of which sect is each one of you? For I dare boldly say, and so the world seeth, that ye agree not all in one. If ye say ye be Lutherans, then must I further demand of you, of which sort of Lutherans? For that puddle runneth out by many sinks. Be ye Zuinglians, Arians, Osiandrines, Libertines, Adiaphorists, Anabaptists, Calvinists, or Satanists? ... What privilege have ye before your fellows? A match being made between you (I mean that new clergy of England) and the other sects of our time, &c. ... If ye have this light of the scriptures before your eyes, how is it that ye agree not within yourselves? Yea, how is it that each one of you oftentimes disagreeth with himself? How is it that* [c] *so many times ye have changed your communion-book, the order of your service, your doctrine of the blessed sacrament, your homilies, &c.? Who knoweth not how, in the matter of the sacrament, your chief captains*[22] *have shewed themselves inconstant, and mutable, and contrary to themselves,—I mean Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and that great rabbin Peter Martyr himself? As for the rest, they be not worthy to be named....*

2 Macc. xii.

James ii.

[a] Untruth. For we reject no part of all the scriptures.

[b] Untruth. For we deny no more than St Augustine, St Hierome, and other holy fathers have denied.

[c] Childish and fond untruth. For the communion-book was never but once changed. But see the often changes of the mass.

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[13] This marginal note does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

[14] Conf. and Def. 1567 omit *we profess.*]

[15] Salvation, Conf.]

[16] See Vol. II. pages 688, 96.]

[17] This reference is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[18] Foundations, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] Church doth stagger or err, Conf.]

[20] His own self, Conf.]

[21] By subtlety, Conf.]

[22] Capitains, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

But what say ye? Be these "the heavenly voices whereby God hath opened unto us his will?" Then how dare ye to transgress his will declared in these voices, where ye read expressly that he [d]*which heareth not the church is to be taken for no better than a heathen and a publican?... As ye proceed, ye say that only in the scriptures "man's heart can have settled rest, and that in them be abundantly and fully comprehended all things whatsoever be needful for our salvation, as Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyrillus have taught." Either you know not what you say, sir defender, nor the things of which you make affirmation, as St Paul said of such as ye are, writing to Timothy; or you are foully overseen. If the heart of man have settled rest in the scriptures only, as you say, then in nothing else but in the scriptures. By this you seem to trouble and disquiet many hearts: for, if this be true,* [e]*then had good Abel no better rest in his heart than wicked restless Cain....*

[d] St Cyprian saith: "Non jungitur ecclesiæ, qui ab evangelio separatur[1]." De Laps. Serm. 5.

1 Tim. i. Man's heart hath not settled rest in scriptures only.

[e] Untruth. For Abel heard the word of God: read the answer.

When the holy book of scriptures[2] *was lost, which God restored by Esdras, were there none in all that time whose hearts had settled rest? What foolish and absurd doctrine is this?* [f]*What if it had pleased God there had never been letter written of the old or new testament? Should not God's friends have found his "peace, that passeth all sense," as St Paul saith? Had Paul, Antony, Hilarion, Pambus, and many other holy men living in wilderness* [g]*without letters, no rest ne quiet at their hearts? Nay, who had the like? And, whereas you say that all things needful for our salvation be abundantly and fully comprehended in the scriptures, this is also as false as sundry other parts of your doctrine. For, if all things necessary to salvation be contained in the scriptures, then whatsoever is not in them contained, the same is not necessary; if not necessary, why should we be laden with unnecessary burdens? Then away with all traditions at a clap, be they never so apostolic, never so ancient, never so healthful, never so long time in the church continued. Remember you not what the most renowned fathers have written of the necessity of traditions? Or, if you remember them, what thought you when you wrote thus? Let learned and holy Basil be heard instead of many, if not to revoke you from your error, yet to discredit you, and stay others in the truth. His words be these: "Of the doctrines which be preached in the church, certain we have out of the scripture written, certain we have received in secret mystery by tradition of the apostles;* [h]*which both be of equal force to godliness: neither concerning these any man gainsayeth, be he of never so small knowledge. For, if we go about to reject the customs that be not set forth in writing, as being of little regard, then shall we condemn those things also which we have in the gospel necessary to salvation. Yea rather, we shall bring the preaching of the faith but to a bare name*[4]*."*

Phil. iv.

[f] A worthy doubt.

[g] Untruth. For St Augustine saith: "Antonius scripturas divinas memoriter audiendo tenuit[3]," &c.

Lib. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. xxvii.

[h] Yet now the very same necessary traditions be quite forgotten and abolished, yea, even in the church of Rome.

...[5] *For so they were taken for heretics which regarded not the solemn fast of Lent* [i]*received at the apostles, as we read in St Augustine,* De Hær. ad Quodvultdeum, cap. liii.[6], *and in the council of Gangra in an epistle to the bishops of Armenia*[7]. *Even so they which denied the* [k]*distinction of a bishop and a priest were condemned of heresy, as we find in St Augustine, in the book and chapter aforesaid; and in Epiphanius,* Lib. III. cap. lxxv.[8] *In the council of Constance the same is to be found*[9].

Fast of Lent.

[i] Untruth. Read the answer.

[k] Untruth. For hereby both St Paul, and St Hierome, and other good men, are condemned of heresy.

Again, if all things necessary to salvation be [l]*expressed in the scriptures, to what*

[l] Untruth. For we say not all things are there expressed.

[1 Nec ecclesiæ jungitur, qui &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. p. 129.]

[2 Scripture, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3 ...qui...scripturas divinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse, et prudenter cogitando intellexisse prædicatur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Prolog. 4. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 3.]

[4 Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεδεξάμεθα· ἄπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, οὔκουν ὅστις γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λάθοιμεν ἂν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια ζημιοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιϊστῶντες τὸ κήρυγμα.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. xxvii. 66. Tom. III. p. 54.]

[5 Harding also refers to Irenæus Lib. III. cap. iv. and Lib. IV. cap. xliii. Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Lib. III. cap. iv., IV. cap. xxvi. pp. 178, 261, 2; and to Tertull. Lib. de Cor. Militis. Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Cor. 3. p. 121.]

[6 August. Op. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. liii. Tom. VIII. col. 18.]

[7 Epist. ad Episc. Armen. in Concil. Gang. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. cols. 413, 6. Conf. can. 19. ibid. col. 424.]

[8 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxv. 3, &c. Tom. I. pp. 906, &c.]

[9 Artic. Wicleff. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Art. xxviii Tom. II. p. 1170. Conf. p. 1173.]

1 Cor. xi. *purpose said St Paul, concerning order and manner to be used at the celebration of the holy sacrament,* Cetera cum venero disponam; "*As for other things, I will take order for them when I come?*" *What meaneth St John to say,* "*Having other things to write to you of, I would not (write them) in paper and ink; for I trust to be with you, and speak to you mouth to mouth?*" *To conclude much that might be objected in few words, for brevity's sake, what say you, sir defender, shall we find all things necessary to salvation in the scripture?* [m]*How think you of the scripture itself? How know you this to be the scripture? How know ye the gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John to be theirs whose names they bear? This can you not find in all the scripture,* [n]*and yet is the same necessary to be believed. What scripture have you to admit these, and to refuse the book bearing the name*[10] *of* [o]*Peter, the gospel of Thomas, of Bartholomew, of Nicodeme? Why admit you not the prophets that Basilides would to be allowed, but only the four great, and the twelve lesser? What authority have you to stay yourself by concerning these, but only that of the church? For scripture have you none for proof hereof. Then hath not scripture all things in it necessary for a christian man. Is it not necessary to believe the Son of God to be* homousion, *that is to say,* "*of the same substance with the Father?*" *which if you deny, you restore the old condemned heresy of the Arians:* [p]*the same can you not find in the scripture. Where in all the bible find you that God the Father is* ingenitus? *Where find you that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son? That the blessed virgin Mary continued in her virginity? That such as be baptized of heretics ought not to be*[12] *baptized again? That infants ought to be baptized? That the four books of the gospel*[13] *were written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, by what scripture can you prove it? To end, where find you expressly in all the scriptures three Persons to be one God?...*

Epist. ii.

m Stale and fond questions.

n Untruth. For it is not necessary to salvation.

o They were written by heretics in derogation of the truth.

Homousion.

p Untruth. For Epiphanius saith: "Sensus ejus nominis ubique est[11].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, to weigh down the authority of God's holy word, M. Harding hath brought in a heap of ordinary stale quarrels, of the difference between priests and bishops; of Lent; of the communion-book; of the homilies; of the order of service; and of the perpetual virginity of our lady. His whole drift herein is to bear us in hand, that there is very little or none authority in the scriptures; and that the whole credit and certainty of our faith resteth only in the church of Rome. He seemeth to take it in scorn that the word of God should be called light[14]. Yet notwithstanding the prophet David saith: "Thy word, O Lord, is[15] a lantern to my feet." And again: "The commandment of the Lord is lightsome, giving light unto the eyes." And Theophylact saith: *Verbum Dei est lucerna, qua fur deprehenditur*[16]: "The word of God is the candle whereby the thief (or false teacher) is espied."

Psal. cxix.

Psal. xix.

Theoph. in Luc. cap. xvi.

Whereas M. Harding demandeth of us so pleasantly, "What scriptures we allow, and what we reject," he troubleth himself with an idle and a needless question. For we embrace and reverence every parcel and tittle of the scriptures without exception, not refusing any part thereof that hath been allowed by the ancient learned catholic fathers of the church of God.

Maccabees canonical.

Neither do we so scornfully call God's holy word "a nose of wax," "a shipman's hose," or "a dead letter," as sundry of that side have delighted to call it[17].

Albert. Pigh. Lib. iii. cap. iii. Hierarch. Joh. Sleid. Lib. xxiii.

Touching the book of the Maccabees we say nothing but that we find written by St Hierome, St Augustine, and other holy fathers. St Hierome saith: *Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia; sed* [*eos*] *inter canonicas scripturas non recipit*[18]: "Indeed the church readeth the books of the Maccabees; but she receiveth them not among the canonical allowed scriptures."

Hieron. in Procem. in Prov. Salom.

[10 Bearing name, Conf.]

[11 Id. ibid. Hær. lxxiii. 12. Tom. I. p. 859.]

[12 Ought to be, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[13 Gospels, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[14 Called the light, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Thy word is, 1567.]

[16 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Luc. Comm. cap. xvi. Tom. I. p. 421.]

[17 Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. III. cap. iii. fol. 80.

Jo. Sleidan. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XXIII. fol. 290. 2.]

[18 ...Judith, et Tobi, et Machabæorum &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. In Libr. Sal. Præf. Tom. I. cols. 939, 40.]

Maccabees canonical.

M. Hard. fol. 321. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "St Hierome speaketh of such canonical scriptures of the old testament as the very Jews allowed for canonical. Such indeed the books of the Maccabees are not. But St Augustine's words condemn you. He saith: *Machabœorum libros, non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet:* 'As for the books of the Maccabees, not the Jews, but the church accounteth them for canonical,' &c. Now see, good reader, what loud lies M. Jewel made when he said he would deny no more than St Augustine, St Hierome, and other fathers have denied." *The answer.* Loud lies, M. Harding? Your words are too smart. Much better were it for you to be sober. I say now again, as I said before: "The books of the Maccabees are not reckoned among the canonical scriptures." And therein we deny no more than by St Augustine, St Hierome, and other holy catholic fathers hath been denied. For trial whereof I pray you consider what St Augustine saith. These be his words: *In Machabœorum libris etsi aliquid mirabilium numero inserendum conveniens fuisse ordini inveniatur, de hoc tamen nulla cura fatigabimur; quia tantum agere proposuimus, ut de divini canonis mirabilibus exiguam... expositionem... tangeremus*[1]: "Although there may something be found in the books of the Maccabees meet for this order of writing, and worthy to be joined with the number of miracles, yet hereof we will have no care, for that we have intended only to touch a short rehearsal of the miracles contained in the books of the holy canon." Mark well, M. Harding: here St Augustine telleth you that "the books of the Maccabees are no part of the canonical scriptures," and that therefore he will make none account of the miracles therein contained. St Hierome saith, as it is alleged before: "The church readeth the story of Judith, the book of Toby, and the books of the Maccabees; but the same church receiveth not these books as the canonical scriptures[2]." Mark once again, M. Harding: St Hierome telleth you, even as St Augustine told you before, that "the books of the Maccabees are not canonical." And he speaketh not of the Jews' canon, as you imagine, but of the canon of the church. Forget not his words: *Ecclesia eos libros inter canonicas scripturas non recipit.*

August. de Mirabil. Sacr. Script. Lib. ii. cap. xxxiv.

Hieron. in Præf. in Salom.

Likewise St Cyprian saith: *Alii libri sunt qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici,... appellantur, &c. Hujus ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Machabœorum libri*[3]: "Other books there be that are not called canonical, but only ecclesiastical, for that they be allowed to be read in churches. Of this sort are the books of Toby, of Judith, and of the Maccabees." Behold, M. Harding: these holy fathers agree all together in that they say: "The books of the Maccabees are no part of the canonical scriptures." Much more might be said. But by these few the reader may learn where to find the "loud lie."

Cypr. in Expos. Symb.

Howbeit, by your report St Augustine saith: "The church accounteth the books of the Maccabees as canonical scriptures." What answer may here be made? Shall we set St Augustine against St Augustine? One St Augustine saith: "The book of the Maccabees is not canonical." Another St Augustine saith: "The book of the Maccabees is canonical." "Is" and "is not" is a plain contradiction. If the one be true, the other is false. Whether of these two St Augustines may we believe? Why do you thus trifle, M. Harding? Or why do you so guilefully conceal St Augustine's meaning? I will seek no further for other sentences. Even in the self-same place by you alleged St Augustine saith: "The book of the Maccabees is not canonical." These be St Augustine's words, M. Harding: thus he saith: *Hæc supputatio non in scripturis sanctis, quæ appellantur canonicæ, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Machabœorum libri*[4]: "This reckoning is not found in the holy scriptures that are called canonical, but in certain other books, among which are the books of the Maccabees." Here it is evident, by the judgment of St Augustine, that "the books of the Maccabees are not canonical." These words, M. Harding,

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xviii. cap. xxxvi.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mirab. Sacr. Script. Lib. II. cap. xxxiv. Tom. III. Append. col. 26. This work is not by Augustine.]

[2 See above, page 431, note 18.]

[3 Expos. in Symbol. Apostol. ad calc. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. p. 26; where *appellati sunt*, and *ejusdem ordinis*. This exposition is ascribed to Ruffinus.]

[4 ...quorum supputatio temporum non &c. canonicæ appellantur, sed &c.—August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. xxxvi. Tom. VII. col. 519.]

ye would not have dissembled, if ye had meant to deal plainly. Therefore it may like you to consider how you may better bestow this "loud lie."

Maccabees canonical.

Notwithstanding, St Augustine saith further: *Hos libros ecclesia habet pro canonicis:* "These books the church alloweth as canonical." This is true: I deny it not. But here you seek to beguile your reader by the misunderstanding of this word "canonical." For in the former place canonical books are such as may be alleged in proof of faith: in the second such books are called canonical as, although they bear no such authority, yet may they be allowed for certain causes only to be read openly in the church. If you had alleged St Augustine's words fully and truly as they lay, the whole matter had been evident. For thus saith St Augustine: [*Libros Machabæorum*] *ecclesia habet pro canonicis propter quorundam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles*[5]: "The church accounteth the books of the Maccabees as canonical (not for the authority and weight of truth, but) for the great and marvellous passions and persecutions of martyrs therein contained."

Thus, to be alleged in proof of faith they are not canonical; but to be read unto the people in the church, for example of life, in this sense, saith St Augustine, "they are canonical." To like purpose St Augustine writeth to Gaudentius: *Scriptura, quæ appellatur Machabæorum,... recepta est ab ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur, maxime propter illos Machabæos, qui pro Dei lege... tam indigna... perpessi sunt*[6]: "That scripture, that so is called and beareth the name of the Maccabees, is received not unprofitably of the church, so that it be read and heard with sobriety; specially because of those Maccabees that suffered so cruel torments for the law of God." So saith St Cyprian: *Hæc omnia*[7] *legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt; non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei* [8]*confirmandum*[9]: "All these writings our fathers have allowed to be read in the church; yet not to be alleged for authority to confirm the doctrine of our faith." Likewise saith St Hierome touching the same books of the Maccabees: *Hæc... volumina legit* [*ecclesia*] *ad ædificationem plebis; non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* [8]*confirmandum*[10]: "These books the church readeth for the edifying of the people, but not as matter of authority, whereby to prove ecclesiastical doctrine." Now I beseech you, M. Harding, what canonical scriptures are these, that may not be alleged in confirmation of doctrine, or in proof of faith? If ye had discreetly foreseen these things, I think ye would not so vainly have charged us with loud lying.

August. contr. Secund. Epist. Gaudent. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

Cypr. in Expos. Symb.

Hieron. in Præfat. in Salom.

Of prayer for the dead we shall have place more convenient to speak hereafter.

St James.

The place of St James touching the justification of faith and works is answered before[11]. Neither do we discredit any part either of the authority or of the doctrine of that whole epistle; notwithstanding Eusebius saith it was written by some other, and not by St James. His words be these: *Istius Jacobi, qui Justus et Oblias vocabatur, dicitur esse epistola, quæ prima scribitur inter canonicas. Sciendum autem est illam epistolam esse spuriam*[12]: "The opinion is that the epistle which is reckoned the first among the canonicals is of this James, which was called Justus and Oblias. But we must understand that it is a bastard epistle, and not written by St James." Likewise St Hierome saith: *Epistola Jacobi ab alio quopiam sub ejus nomine edita asseritur*[13]: "It is said that the epistle of St James was set forth by some other man under his name." This therefore is no new fantasy, but the judgment of the ancient learned fathers. Nevertheless we do both receive the same epistle, and also

In the first part, chap. x. Div. I. Euseb. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι νοθεύεται.

Hieron. in Catalog. Eccles. Script.

[5 Id. ibid.; where *pro canonicis habet.*]

[6 Id. contr. Gaudent. Donat. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. 38. Tom. IX. cols. 655, 6; where *scripturam.*]

[7 Omnis, 1570.]

[8 Confirmandam, 1570.]

[9 Expos. in Symbol. Apostol. ad calc. Cypr. Op. p. 27; where *quæ omnia,* and *confirmandam.*]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. In Libr. Sal. Præf. Tom. I. cols. 939, 40; where *legat,* and *confirmandam.*]

[11 See before, pages 244 &c.]

[12 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xxiii. pp. 52, 3.]

[13 ...quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur.—Hieron. Op. Catalog. Script. Eccles. 2. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 101.]

Word written.

read it in our churches, and allow every clause and sentence that therein is written, even as the word of God[1].

M. Harding saith: "If ye have this light of the scriptures before your eyes, how is it that ye agree no better amongst yourselves?" And here he reckoneth up by rote a many of names of his own making, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Arians, Osiandrians, Libertines, Adiaphorists, Anabaptists, Calvinists, and Satanists. In which his so pleasant fancy he may have leave to sport himself while he listeth. God be thanked, we agree thoroughly together in the whole substance of the religion of Christ, and altogether with one heart and one[2] spirit do glorify God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Certainly St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and Theophilus, as it appeareth by their writings, agreed no better together in their time than we do now. Yet had they and every of them the word of God; and the same word of God was a "light unto their feet."

It was not for any great store of better matter, I trow, that M. Harding thus chargeth us with so often changing the communion-book. For of more than of one only change he cannot tell us; and if there had been less than that, there had been no change at all. And yet for that one change he himself in the mean season hath changed thrice. But the holy communion-book and the order of the holy ministration standeth, and, by God's mercy, shall stand still, without any further change.

Plat. in Sixt. I. Polyd. Virgil. De Invent. Rer. Lib. v. cap. x.

Howbeit, gentle reader, if thou wilt know the often alterations and changes of the mass, read, I beseech thee, Platina[3] and Polydore Vergil[4] touching the same: there shalt thou find how, and by whom, and upon what occasion, and in what process of time, all the parts of the mass were pieced and set together; and that in the space of seven hundred whole years scarcely and with much ado it was made up at last and brought to some perfection.

August. de Fid. et Symb.

Christ's commandment of "hearing the church" is answered before. St Augustine saith: *Credimus... sanctam ecclesiam:* [*non credimus in sanctam ecclesiam:*][5] "We believe that there is a holy church; but we believe not *in* the holy church." For the church is not God, nor is able of herself to make or alter any one article of the faith.

Isai. viii.

The prophet Esay saith: *Ad legem potius et ad testimonium. Si non responderint secundum verbum hoc, non erit illis lux matutina:* "To the law rather and to the testimony of God[6]. If they answer not according to this word, they shall have no morning light."

M. Harding saith further: "If quietness of conscience come of the word of God only, then had Abel no more quietness of conscience than wicked restless Cain. Then should Paul the eremite, and Antony, and Hilarion, and Pambus, and other holy men, living in wilderness without letters, have had no rest ne quiet at their hearts." And why so? Because they had no word written.

Who would think that M. Harding, bearing such a countenance of divinity, would thus go about to deceive himself with a point of sophistry? Chrysostom saith: *Deus Conditor humani generis ab initio per seipsum hominibus loquebatur*[7]: "God the Creator of mankind from the beginning spake unto men by himself in his own person." And St Paul saith: *Deus olim multifariam multisque modis patribus loquutus est:* "In old times God spake many ways and in sundry sorts unto the fathers." And doth M. Harding think, when God himself in his own person and presently spake unto Abel, that Abel heard not then the word of God? We speak not so precisely and nicely of God's word written in paper: for so it is a creature corruptible, and shall consume and perish, as other corruptible creatures do: "but the word of God" which we speak of "endureth for ever."

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 2.

Heb. i.

[1 The preceding six words are not in 1567.]

[2 On, 1611.]

[3 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Sixt. I. p. 16.]

[4 Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. v. cap. xi. pp. 349, &c.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. et Symb. cap. x. 21. Tom. VI. col. 161. Conf. Serm. de Symb. cap. xii. Tom. VI. Append. col. 282. But this last is spurious.]

[6 1567 omits *of God.*]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. ii. Tom. IV. p. 8.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "We also in Christ's church have as well God's word in our hearts as in our books; whence also, to wit, out of our hearts, we may resolve the doubts which arise upon our books." *The answer.* "In your hearts," M. Harding? And is your heart the only oracle of all the world? Or must we leave God's holy word, that endureth for ever, and resort to your hearts to learn God's will? The prophet Zachary saith: "They have beaten their hearts as hard as the adamant, lest they should hear the law of God, and the words which the Lord of Sabaoth hath sent in his Spirit by the ministry of his prophets." St Paul saith: *Obscuratum est insipiens cor illorum: dicentes se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt:* "Their foolish heart was blinded with darkness: whereas they boasted themselves to be wise men, they became fools... They turned the truth of God into lies, and fell down and worshipped a creature, forsaking the Creator, which is God blessed for ever." God grant, M. Harding, that the day-star may rise up and shine in our[8] hearts, that we may see your light, and walk safely in your ways! ☞

Word written.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 324. b. [Detect.] Zech. vii.

Rom. i.

2 Pet. i. ☞

St Hierome saith: *Quomodo æternæ erunt scripturæ divinæ, si mundus certo fine... est terminandus?... Verum est quidem, quod librorum pelliculæ cum ipsis literis abolendæ sunt; sed, quia subjungit Dominus, Verba vero mea non præteribunt, proculdubio quod illis apicibus pollicetur erit æternum*[9]*:* "How shall the holy scriptures be everlasting, seeing the world shall have an end? True it is, that the parchment or leaves of the books with the letters and all shall be abolished; but, forasmuch as our Lord addeth, 'My words shall never pass,' doubtless (though the papers and letters perish, yet) the thing that is promised by the same letters shall last for ever." So Chrysostom saith: *Paulus prædicationem non scriptam appellat evangelium*[10]*:* "Preaching not written Paul calleth the gospel."

Hieron. in Job. cap. xxxvii.

Chrysost. 2 Cor. Hom. 18.

That M. Harding addeth of Antonius, and Paulus, and Hilarion, and other eremites, that they lived in wilderness "without letters," and therefore presumeth they lived "without the word of God," it is very unadvisedly spoken, and utterly untrue. For proof whereof, to name only one instead of the rest, St Augustine saith that Antonius the eremite was notably learned, and perfect[11] in the scriptures. His words be these: [*Antonius*], *sine ulla scientia literarum, scripturas divinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse et prudenter cogitando intellexisse prædicatur*[12]*:* "It is reported that Antonius, without knowledge of letter, both learned the holy scriptures, and bare them well in mind by hearing, and also by wisdom and study understood them." St Augustine saith not, as M. Harding saith, that Antonius "lived without the word of God," but the contrary, that he was "ready and perfect[13] in the word of God[14]."

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. i. in Prolog.

And, whereas M. Harding would seem to make such an account of "prayer and holiness without knowledge," St Augustine saith: *Lectio sine meditatione arida est: meditatio sine lectione erronea* [*est*]*: oratio sine meditatione tepida* [*est*][15]*:* "Reading without meditation or study is dry and barren: meditation or study without reading is erroneous; and prayer without cogitation or study is half cold and unfruitful." Thus we see by St Augustine's judgment that the force and substance both of prayer and of meditation dependeth of reading. And therefore Nicolaus Cusanus saith: "The soul that will fly[16] into the wilderness of contemplation must have two wings, the one of devotion, the other of knowledge or [17]understanding[18]."

August. de Scal. Parad. cap. xi.

Nicol. Cusan. Exercit. Lib. ii.

Howbeit, what comfort and peace of conscience we have by hearing the word of God, St Paul can tell us somewhat better than M. Harding. Thus he saith: *Quæcunque scripta sunt, &c.:* "Whatsoever things are written, they are

Rom. xv.

[8 Your, 1570, 1609.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Job. cap. xxxvii. Tom. V. col. 761; where *eisdem apicibus.* This commentary is spurious.]

[10 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 564.]

[11 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[12 August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Prolog. 4. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 3.]

[13 Perfite, 1570.]

[14 This last sentence is not in 1567.]

[15 Id. Scal. Parad. cap. xi. Tom. VI. Append. col. 166. This treatise is not by Augustine.]

[16 Flee, 1570.]

[17 ... quando tibi datæ sunt alæ duæ aquilæ magnæ, affectus et intellectus, ut volares in desertum contemplationis et pœnitentiæ.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Exercit. Lib. II. Tom. II. p. 401.]

[18 This sentence and the marginal reference do not appear in 1567.]

Traditions.

written for our learning, that by patience and comfort of the scriptures we may have hope." Even so saith Christ himself: "O Father, this is the everlasting life, that they may know thee, the only and very God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."

John xvii.

2 Thess. ii. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. xxvii.

But St Paul saith: "Keep the traditions which ye have received, either by epistle, or by word." And St Basil reckoneth "traditions to be one and equal with the word of God." First, that St Basil wrote those words rather of zeal than of judgment, it may easily appear by that the self-same "traditions," that he there specially nameth and so highly commendeth, are for the greatest part already abolished and quite forgotten, yea, and that even in the church of Rome. Yet the word of God endureth still, and shall endure for ever. For example, by one of St Basil's "necessary traditions," it is not lawful for any man to "kneel in the church" upon the Sunday; but every man is bound by the same "tradition," at sermon, at prayer, and at the communion, to stand upright. "And this," he saith, "was given unto us in secret charge by the apostles of Christ[1]." This so necessary and so "apostolic tradition" is now dissolved and broken, and utterly forgotten, not only in Lovain, but also in Rome.

ὀρθοὶ... ποιοῦμεν τὰς εὐχὰς ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων.

August. ad Casul.

St Augustine saith: "By tradition of the apostles, between Easter and Whitsunday it was not lawful for any man to fast[2]." Yet now we fast within the same days so forbidden; and the same kind of fast is thought lawful, the apostles' tradition to the contrary notwithstanding.

The rest of St Basil's traditions stand in hallowing of water, in blessing of oil, in praying towards the east, in uttering "certain words of invocation at the shewing forth of the bread of thanksgiving unto the people[3]." These things, I believe, M. Harding himself never thought to be equivalent with the word of God.

τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας.

But, if these and other like traditions be so weighty and so necessary as he seemeth to make them, then let him tell us in good sooth, and without fable, what were these mystical solemn words of invocation that St Basil saith were spoken by the priest at the opening or shewing forth of the sacrament? If they be so necessary to be used and continued in the church of God, why hath he and his whole Roman clergy quite forgotten them? If he and his clergy have forgotten them, and use them not, and care not for them, how can he say, or may we think, they are so necessary to salvation?

This is the simplicity and plainness of M. Harding's dealing. He telleth us many tales of the apostles' traditions, being himself the manifest despiser and breaker of the same traditions. Touching the words of St Paul, I marvel that M. Harding could so easily be deceived. For St Paul himself, even in the same words, and in the self-same line, would have told him that by the name of traditions he meant not unwritten verities and lifeless ceremonies, as he supposeth, but the self-same substance of religion and doctrine that he had uttered unto the Thessalonians before, either by epistle or by preaching.

2 Thess. ii.

These be his words: "Hold the traditions which ye have received, either by epistle, or by word." He calleth them traditions, although they were contained in his epistles, and declared[4] to them by writing: for the apostle's preaching and writing in ground and substance were all one. Nicephorus saith: *Paulus, quæ præsens oratione sua dilucide docuerat, eadem absens per compendium in memoriam scripta epistola revocare voluit*[5]: "Paul, what things, being present, he had plainly taught by mouth, the same things afterward, being absent, he shortly called to their remembrance by writing an[6] epistle." The like he writeth also of St Matthew: *Matthæus discedens* (*alio prædicatum*) *absentiam suam scripto præsenti compensavit*[7]: "St Matthew, departing (to preach in other places), recompensed his absence by present writing."

Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. xxxiv.

Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. xlv.

Phil. iii.

St Paul unto the Philippians saith thus: *Eadem scribere mihi quidem non*

[1 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. xxvii. 66. Tom. III. p. 56; where πληροῦμεν. See before, page 430, note 4.]

[2 ...dies illi quinquaginta post Pascha usque ad Pentecosten, quibus non jejunatur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Casul. Epist. xxxvi. 18. Tom. II. col. 75.]

[3 Basil. Op. Lib. de Spirit. Sanct. ubi supr. pp. 54, 5.]

[4 Delivered, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. II. cap. xxxiv. Tom. I. p. 189.]

[6 Writing of an, 1567.]

[7 Id. ibid. cap. xlv. p. 213.]

pigrum; vobis autem necessarium: "To write unto you the self-same things, unto me it is not painful; but in your behalf it is necessary." These words St Hierome expoundeth thus: *Eadem ... scribere, ... [hoc est], eadem repetere, quæ præsens dixeram*[8]: "To write the same things, that is to say, to make rehearsal of the same things that I told you by mouth when I was present." Traditions. Hieron. in Epist. ad Phil. cap. iii.

So saith Theophylact, speaking in the person of St Luke: *Prius te sine scripto institui: nunc scriptum tibi trado evangelium; atque ita mentem tuam munio, ut ne obliviscatur eorum quæ prius sine scriptis tradita sunt*[9]: "Before this time I have instructed thee without writing. Now I deliver unto thee a written gospel. And so I furnish thy mind, that it forget not the things that were delivered thee before without writing." Theoph. in Luc. cap. i.

So saith Irenæus: *Apostoli tunc evangelium præconiaverunt. Postea vero per Dei voluntatem [illud] in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum*[10]: "Then the apostles preached the gospel. And afterward by God's will they delivered the same to us in writing, to be a foundation and a pillar unto our faith." Iren. Lib. iii. cap. i.

And therefore Chrysostom saith: *Paulus etiam non scriptam prædicationem vocat*[11] *evangelium*[12]: "St Paul calleth his preaching not written by the name of the gospel." Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. 18.

But methinketh M. Harding, so stoutly striving for the bare name of traditions, should better have learned St Hierome's lesson touching the same. Thus he writeth upon these words of St Paul, "Hold the traditions which ye have learned, either by our epistle, or by our word:" *Quando sua vult teneri, non vult extranea superaddi*[13]: "Whereas St Paul will have his own things to be kept, he will have no strange things thereto to be added." Hieron. in 2 Thess. ii.

And that St Paul by this word "traditions" meant not ceremonies, or certain secret unknown verities, but the very substance of the gospel of Christ, as it is said before, if M. Harding will not believe us, yet let him believe St Paul himself. Thus he writeth: *Tradidi vobis in primis, quod etiam accepi, quod Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum scripturas:* "First, I have delivered to you (or given to you by tradition) the same thing that I received;" that is, "that Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures." Here, by St Paul's words, the death of Christ is called a tradition. 1 Cor. xv.

So saith St Basil: *Hoc palam impugnat salutaris baptismatis traditionem: ...baptismus noster, juxta ipsam Domini traditionem, est in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti: ... per ipsam baptismi traditionem habemus confessionem fidei*[14]: "This thing is plainly against the tradition of healthful baptism: our baptism, according to the tradition of our Lord, is in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: by the very tradition of baptism we have the confession of faith." Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος παραδόσεως. cap. x.

St Cyprian saith: *Unde est ista traditio? Utrumne de dominica et evangelica auctoritate descendens, an de apostolorum mandatis atque epistolis veniens? &c. Si igitur aut in evangelio præcipitur, aut in apostolorum epistolis et Actis continetur, ... observetur etiam hæc sancta traditio*[15]: "From whence have we this tradition? Whether cometh it from the authority of our Lord, and of the gospel, or else from the commandments and epistles of the apostles? &c. Therefore if it be either commanded in the gospel, or contained in the epistles, or Acts of the Apostles, let us keep the same tradition." Likewise Eusebius saith: *Polycarpus, cum recepisset ea ab illis, qui ipsi viderant vitam Verbi, nuntiavit eadem omnia scripturis consona*[16]: "Polycarpus, when by tradition he had received these Cypr. ad Pomp. contr. Epist. Steph. Euseb. Lib. v. cap. xx. πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς.

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[8] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Philip. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1096.]

[9] Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Luc. Comm. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 270.]

[10] ... evangelium...tunc præconiaverunt, postea &c.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Lib. III. cap. i. 1. p. 173.]

[11] Prædicationem ut vocat, 1570.]

[12] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 564.]

[13] Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. II. ad Thess. cap. ii. Tom. V. col. 1084.]

[14] Basil. Op. Lib. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. x. 24, &c. Tom. III. pp. 20, &c.; where ἐν τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος. Jewel has not exactly given Basil's words.]

[15] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pompei. Epist. lxxiv. p. 211; where *si ergo aut, epistolis aut actibus,* and *observetur divina hæc et sancta traditio.*]

[16] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xx. p. 153.]

Lenten Fast.

things of them that had seen the life of the Word, uttered and shewed the same, being all agreeable unto the scriptures."

Of such tradition[1] it is plain St Paul speaketh. Now therefore judge thou, gentle reader, how truly and handsomely M. Harding allegeth these words of St Paul against St Paul's express words and undoubted meaning[2], to serve his purpose.

As for Lenten fast, the superstition only excepted, we condemn it not, but use it still. But how can M. Harding say either that Lent is so necessary as he maketh it, or else that it is the tradition of the apostles? Verily St Augustine saith: *Quibus... diebus non oporteat jejunare, et quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum non invenio definitum*[3]: "Upon what days we ought not to fast, and upon what days we ought to fast, I find it not appointed or limited by any commandment either of our Lord or of the apostles."

August. Epist. 86.

So saith Socrates: *Evangelia non imposuerunt jugum servitutis:... sed homines ipsi, suis quisque locis, propter remissionem et memoriam passionis, pascha et alios dies festos sicut voluerunt ex consuetudine quadam celebrarunt. Non enim hoc vel Servator vel apostoli lege aliqua observandum esse mandaverunt*[4]: "The gospel hath laid upon us no yoke of bondage; but men themselves, in the countries where they dwelt, for release of labour and remembrance of the passion of Christ, of a certain custom kept the Easter and other holy-days, each man as he would. For neither our Saviour nor the apostles by any law commanded these things."

Socrat. Lib. v. cap. xxii.

Likewise saith Cassiodorus: *Alii... pisces solummodo comedunt: alii una cum piscibus utuntur etiam volatilibus:... alii, usque ad nonam jejunantes,... sine discretione ciborum reficiuntur.... Puto apostolos singulorum hoc reliquisse sententiæ, ut unusquisque operetur non timore aut necessitate quod bonum est*[5]: "Some men (in the time of the Lenten fast) eat only fish; others use both fish and fowl too; some others, when they have fasted until three of the clock in the afternoon, afterward they refresh their bodies without difference or choice of meats. I think the apostles left this matter to every man's discretion, that every man may do good without fear, or superstition, or necessity."

Cassiod. Lib. v. cap. xxxviii.

Tertullian likewise saith: *De cetero indifferenter jejunandum, ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque. Sic et apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum*[6]: "Henceforth we must fast without compulsion, of free-will, not by commandment of this new discipline, accordingly as every man shall see time and cause. For so it appeareth the apostles kept it, laying on none other yoke of certain appointed fasts, to be observed in common of all men altogether."

Tertull. de Jejun. contr. Phys.

Therefore St Augustine saith: *Per quadragesimam fere omnes abstinent, non solum a carnibus, verum etiam a quibusdam fructibus, quanto magis quisque vel minus seu voluerit seu potuerit*[7]: "In the Lent season all men for the most part abstain, not only from flesh, but also from certain fruits, as every man either will or is able to do, more or less." All men, he saith, do abstain for the most part, but not all indeed[8].

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxx. cap. v.

All these things being true and certain and out of question, how can M. Harding thus assure us that the Lenten fast is the undoubted tradition and commandment of the apostles?

Certainly, whereas they so often tell us we ought to fast forty days, for that Christ himself did the like, and gave us example so to do; Chrysostom

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[1 Traditions, 1567.]

[2 The clause from *St Paul* does not appear in 1567.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Casul. Epist. xxxvi. 25. Tom. II. col. 78.]

[4 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 232.]

[5 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IX. cap. xxxviii. fol. T. 7; where *quidam cum piscibus vescuntur et volatilibus*, and *non necessitate.*]

[6 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Jejun. 2. p. 702; where *differenter.*]

[7 ... non solum &c. a quibusdam etiam terræ fructibus abstinent...sicut per quadragesimam fere omnes, quanto &c.—August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. XXX. cap. v. Tom. VIII. col. 447.]

[8 This sentence does not appear in 1567.]

saith: *Christus non jubet, ut jejunium suum imitemur*[9]: "Christ commanded[10] us not to follow his fasting, or to fast as he fasted." Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 47.

And, touching the number of the days, Eusebius saith: *Quidam putant jejunare oportere unum tantum diem; alii duos; alii plures; alii quadraginta horas diurnas nocturnasque*[11]: "Some think they ought to fast only one day; others two days; others more; some others, forty whole hours, both night and day together." Euseb. Lib. v. cap. xxiii.

But what meant M. Harding here to come in with the difference between priests and bishops? Thinketh he that priests and bishops hold only by tradition? Or is it so horrible an heresy as he maketh it, to say that by the scriptures of God a bishop and a priest are all one? Or knoweth he how far and unto whom he reacheth the name of an heretic? Priests and Bishops.

Verily Chrysostom saith: *Inter episcopum et presbyterum interest ferme nihil*[12]: "Between a bishop and a priest in a manner there is no difference." Chrysost. in 1 Tim. Hom. 11.

St Hierome saith, somewhat in rougher sort: *Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est, episcopis anteferret: ... cum apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos*[13]: "I hear say there is one become so peevish that he setteth deacons before priests, that is to say, before bishops; whereas the apostle plainly teacheth us that priests and bishops be all one." Hieron. ad Evagr.

St Augustine saith: *Quid est ... episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos*[14]? "What is a bishop, but the first priest, that is to say, the highest priest?" So saith St Ambrose: *Episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est; uterque enim sacerdos est. Sed episcopus primus est*[15]: "There is but one consecration of priest and bishop; for both of them are priests. But the bishop is the first." August. in Quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. Quæst. 101. Ambros. in 1 Tim. cap. iii.[16]

All these, and other more holy fathers, together with St Paul the apostle, for thus saying, by M. Harding's advice, must be holden for heretics.

But St Paul saith to the Corinthians: *Cetera, cum venero, disponam*: "For the rest I will take order when I come." And St John saith: "I will not write by paper and ink; but I trust to be with you myself[17], and to speak unto you." Upon these few words M. Harding is able to build up his dimi-communion, his private mass, and whatsoever he listeth besides. 1 Cor. xi. 2 John.

St Augustine saith: *Omnes ... insipientissimi hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum, quas maxime exhorret sensus humanus, [hac] occasione evangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, ubi Dominus ait, Adhuc multa vobis habeo dicere; sed [ea] non potestis portare modo*[18]: "All the most peevish heretics, that fain would be called Christians, go about to colour the bold vanities of their inventions, which the very sense and reason of man doth most abhor, with the pretence of this saying in the gospel, where as our Lord saith thus: 'I have many things to say unto you; but as now ye are not able to bear them.'" August. in Johan. Tract. 97.

Even so saith Tertullian: *Eadem dementia ... confitentur, apostolos quidem nihil ignorasse, nec diversa inter se prædicasse. [Sed] non ... omnia volunt illos omnibus revelasse; [sed] quædam palam, et universis; quædam secreto, et paucis demandasse*[19]: "By a like kind of madness they confess that the apostles indeed were ignorant of nothing; nor taught any contrary doctrine among themselves. But they say the apostles revealed not all things to all men; but shewed certain things openly and to all, and other certain things secretly and unto a few." Tertull. de Præscr. contr. Hær.

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VII. p. 486. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Tom. II. col. 405.]

[10 Commandeth, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 156.]

[12 Chrysost. Op. In 1. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. xi. Tom. XI. p. 604. Chrysostom goes on: τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι.]

[13 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 802.]

[14 August. Op. Quæst. ex Utroq. mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Append. col. 93.]

[15 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in 1. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. vv. 8-10. Tom. II. Append. col. 295.]

[16 Ambros. De Dignitate Sacerdotali, 1567, 1570.]

[17 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[18 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xvi. Tractat. xcvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 738; where *habeo vobis.*]

[19 Tertull. Op. De Præscr. Hær. 25. p. 240; where *quidem nihil apostolos*, and *quædam etiam palam.*]

Forged Scriptures.

By such right held sometime the great heretic Arius. For even so said he then, as M. Harding saith now: *Ex electis Dei secundum fidem, peritis Dei, rectigradis, qui sanctum Dei Spiritum acceperunt, ego ita didici*[1]: "These things have I learned (not of the scriptures, but) of the chosen of God, according to faith; of the skilful in godly understanding; of them that walked uprightly, and had received the Spirit of God;" that is to say, by tradition.

Athanas. contr. Arian. Orat. 2.

So Epiphanius saith, the heretics called *Caiani* avouched all their follies and heresies, not by the scriptures, but by tradition, as they said, from St Paul; and took upon them to know all those secret words that St Paul had heard in the third heaven[2].

Epiph. Lib. I. Hær. 38.

If M. Harding may have leave to handle the same weapons, I doubt not but he will soon be able to prove that both his holy bread, and his holy water, and whatsoever shall please him else, came by tradition directly from the apostles of Christ[3], and from Christ himself.

But St Paul, when he said, "I will come and take order," he meant not to devise any other scripture or new verities that they had not known before; but only to appoint them in what place, at what time, in what order, and with what other circumstances the holy ministration and other like ecclesiastical offices should be used.

I Cor. xi.

As for these fantasies, that M. Harding and his fellows have imagined, St Augustine saith: *Ista cum* [*Christus*] *ipse tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, ista vel illa sunt? Aut si dicere audeat, unde probat? Quis enim est tam vanus, aut* [*tam*] *temerarius, qui cum dixerit etiam vera, quibus voluerit, quæ voluerit, sine ullo testimonio divino, affirmet*[4] *ea esse quæ tunc Dominus dicere noluit*[5]? "Forasmuch as Christ himself hath not revealed these things, which of us will say they be these or these? Or if he so say, how can he prove it? For who is there either so vain or so rash, who, notwithstanding he speak the truth to whom he listeth, and what he listeth, will affirm without any testimony of the scriptures, that these be the things that the Lord then would not open?"

August. in Johan. Tract. 96.

Such things they be that, as St Hierome saith, "are cut off with the sword (that is to say, with the word) of God[6]."

Hieron. in Agg. cap. i.

M. Harding saith: "These express words, *persona, ingenitus, homousios*, are not found in the scriptures." So said the Arian heretics too as well as he. But what forceth that? Epiphanius saith: *Nomen substantiæ non ponitur nude, nec in veteri, nec in novo testamento; sensus autem ejus nominis ubique est*[7]: "This very word *substantia* is not plainly expressed, neither in the new nor in the old testament; but the sense and meaning of that word is every where."

Epiph. Lib. iii. Hær. 73. ὁ δὲ νοῦς πανταχοῦ.

So saith Athanasius: *Tametsi hæ voces in scriptura non reperiuntur, tamen habent eam sententiam quam scripturæ volunt*[8]: "Notwithstanding these words be not found expressed in the scripture, yet have they the same sense and meaning that the scripture willeth."

Athanas. Tom. II. Quod decreta Nicenæ synodi commodis et piis verbis sint exposita.

Touching the perpetual virginity of that blessed virgin the mother of Christ, which M. Harding saith cannot be proved by any scriptures, Gennadius writeth thus: *Helvidii pravitatem arguens Hieronymus libellum documentis scripturarum sufficienter factum adversus eum edidit*[9]: "St Hierome, reproving the wilful lewdness of the heretic Helvidius (denying the perpetual virginity of Christ's mother), set forth a book against him, furnished with sufficient testimonies of the scriptures." Gennadius saith the perpetual virginity of our lady is proved sufficiently by the scriptures: M. Harding, only to maintain his quarrel, saith it cannot be proved by any scriptures, but standeth only by tradition.

Gennad. in Catal. Illustr. Vir.

[1 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Contr. Arian. Orat. i. 5. Tom. I. Pars I. pp. 408, 9.]

[2 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Hær. xxxviii. 2. Tom. I. p. 277.]

[3 1567 omits *of Christ.*]

[4 Affirmat, 1609, 1611.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xvi. Tractat. xcvi. 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 734; where *quæ cum.*]

[6 ...alia, quæ absque auctoritate...scripturarum quasi traditione apostolica sponte reperiunt atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Agg. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1690.]

[7 Epiph. Op. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxiii. 12. Tom. I. p. 859; where ὁ νοῦς δέ.]

[8 Athanas. Op. De Decret. Nic. Synod. 21. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 227.]

[9 ...cujus pravitatem &c.—Gennad. Illust. Vir. Catalog. 33. in Hieron. Op. Tom. V. col. 34.]

Forged Scriptures.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "This is a loud lie. Try it out who will. Gennadius saith not so; but only that St Hierome's book, which he wrote against Helvidius, affirming that our lady bare children after she had borne Christ, was sufficiently furnished with testimonies of the scriptures." *The answer.* O M. Harding, why should there be so much folly in one man? Thus standeth the case: Helvidius the heretic said that "our lady had other children by Joseph her husband besides[10] Christ," and so denied her perpetual virginity. Against this heresy St Hierome wrote a book, and, as Gennadius saith, "furnished the same sufficiently with many testimonies of the scriptures, to prove that our lady continued still a pure virgin." For what thing else should he prove? And what is this else but the same that I say, that the perpetual virginity of our lady, by report of Gennadius, is proved sufficiently by the scriptures? The words of Gennadius are these: *Libellum testimoniis scripturarum sufficienter factum.* Therefore, M. Harding, for humanity's sake, spare this unmanly upbraiding of lewd lies, and bestow them rather among your fellows. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 327. b. [Detect.]

St Hierome himself in so vain a contention, moved by an heretic, thought it sufficient to answer thus: *Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus, quia non legimus*[11]: "We believe not that Mary was married again after her child-bearing, because we read it not."

Hieron. contr. Helvid.

Here M. Harding thinketh to oppress us with the old heretics' ordinary question: "How know you," saith he, "that the scriptures be the scriptures? How know you that the gospel of Thomas, Bartholomew, and Nicodeme are no scriptures?" Thus they labour to pull all credit from the word of God, and send us only to their traditions. Of God and his word they would evermore have us to stand in doubt; but of the pope and his word they say in any wise we may not doubt. Hosius, a special proctor of that side, saith: *Quod ecclesia docet, [id] est expressum verbum Dei*[12]: "Whatsoever the church teacheth (he meaneth the church of Rome), that is the very express word of God."

Hos. de Express. Verb. Dei.

A man might well demand the like question of M. Harding: How know you that the sun is the sun? Or that the moon is the moon? Or how know you that the church is the church? Or that the congregation of the wicked is not the church?

Such idle questions the old heretics the Manichees demanded of St Augustine. But St Augustine answered them: *Si quæratis a nobis, unde nos sciamus apostolorum esse istas literas, breviter vobis respondemus: Inde nos scire, unde et vos scitis illas literas esse Manichæi*[13]: "If you demand of us how we know that these be the apostles' writings, we make you this short answer: Even so we know that our writings are of the apostles, as you know that your writings are of the heretic Manichee."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxxii. cap. xxi.

But, for further answer, I reckon M. Harding cannot be ignorant that the gospels[14] of Thomas, Bartholomew, Nicodeme, and such others, were never written by them whose names they bear, but were wickedly and falsely counterfeited under their names by sundry heretics[15].

Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxv.

St Ambrose saith: *Erant...pseudoprophetæ, &c. Erat autem populi gratia discernere spiritus; ut cognosceret, quos referre*[16] *deberet in numerum prophetarum; quos autem, quasi bonus nummularius, reprobare... Sic et nunc in novo testamento multi evangelia scribere conati sunt, quæ boni nummularii non probaverunt*[17]: "There were false prophets, &c. But the people had a grace given them to discern spirits, and to judge whom they should receive into the number of the prophets; and whom, as skilful exchangers, they should refuse. Even so now in the time of the new testament many have taken in hand to write gospels; but the skilful exchangers and triers of coins have not allowed them."

Ambros. in Luc. in Proœm.

[10 Beside, 1570.]

[11 Hieron. Op. Adv. Helvid. de Perp. Virg. B. Mar. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 141.]

[12 Hos. Op. Col. 1584. De Express. Dei Verb. Tom. I. p. 643; where *Dei verbum est.*]

[13 August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. XXXII. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 462; where *nos unde.*]

[14 Gospel, 1567.]

[15 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxv. pp. 77, 8.]

[16 Referri, 1609, 1611.]

[17 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. I. 1. Tom. I. col. 1265; where *nummularius improbaret*, and *non probarunt.*]

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxii. cap. lxxx.

So saith St Augustine: *Manichæi legunt scripturas apocryphas, nescio a quibus sutoribus fabularum sub nomine apostolorum scriptas*[1]: "The Manichees read secret hidden scriptures, written I know not by what cobblers of fables under the name of the apostles."

Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xii.

So saith Eusebius of the gospel counterfeited under the name of St Peter: *Nos Petrum et reliquos apostolos sicut Christum recipimus. Sed pseudographia*[2] *rejicimus, veluti gnari eorum sensus et sententiæ; scientes quod talia non recipimus tradita ab apostolis*[3]: "We receive Peter and the rest of the apostles as we would receive Christ himself. But counterfeit writings (under their names) we refuse utterly, as having understanding of their sense and meaning; knowing well that we have received no such things delivered by the apostles."

οὐ παρελάβομεν.

Thus had the church of God the Spirit of wisdom, whereby to discern the true scriptures from the false.

Yet may we not gather hereof, that the authority of the church is over and above the scriptures. St Augustine saith: *In istis temporalibus legibus, quamvis de illis homines judicent, cum eas instituunt, tamen cum fuerint institutæ et firmatæ, non licebit judici de illis judicare, sed secundum eas*[4]: "In these temporal or worldly laws, although men be judges over them while they be a-making, yet, after the same laws be once made and established, it is no longer lawful for the judge to judge of them; only it is lawful to judge by them."

Dist. 4. In istis.

August. Confess. Lib. xiii. cap. xxiii.

Likewise again he saith: *Spirituales, . . . sive qui præsunt, sive qui obtemperant, spiritualiter judicant, non de cognitionibus spiritualibus, quæ lucent in firmamento (id est, de scripturis); non enim oportet de tam sublimi auctoritate judicare, &c. Homo enim, licet . . . . spiritualis, . . . factor tamen legis esse debet, non judex . . . De illis dicitur judicare, in quibus potestatem habet corrigendi*[5]: "Men spiritual, whether they rule or be ruled, judge according to the Spirit. But they judge not of the spiritual knowledge that shineth in the firmament (that is to say, of the scriptures); for it is not lawful for any man to be judge over so high authority. For, be the man never so much spiritual, yet must he be a doer, and not a judge of the law. There a man is said to be a judge, where he hath power and authority to correct."

The Apology, Chap. x. Division 1.

Moreover, we allow the sacraments of the church, that is to say, certain holy signs and ceremonies which Christ would we should use, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm the[6] faith which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts. And these[7] sacraments, together with Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, Basil, Dionysius, and other catholic fathers, we do call[8] figures, signs, marks, badges[9], prints, copies, forms, seals, signets, similitudes, patterns, representations, remembrances, and memories. And we make no doubt, together with the same doctors, to say that these[7] be certain visible words, seals of righteousness, and[10] tokens of grace.

M. HARDING.

a Untruth. For the things that we have left were not the sacraments of the church.

With what face say ye that ye allow the sacraments of the church? a Have ye not abandoned almost all the sacraments of the church? Retain ye any more by

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[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xxii. cap. lxxix. Tom. VIII. col. 409; where *Manichæi* follows *apocryphas, a nescio,* and *apostolorum nomine.*]

[2 Pseudepigrapha, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 173.]

[4 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. iv. can. 3. col. 11; where *quamquam de his, de ipsis,* and *secundum ipsas.*]

[5 Id. Op. Confess. Lib. xiii. cap. xxiii. 33, 4. Tom. I. cols. 236, 7; where *sic enim homo licet, debet esse,* and *de his enim judicare nunc dicitur in quibus et potestatem corrigendi habet.*]

[6 Our, Conf.]

[7 Those, Conf.]

[8 Do we call, Conf.]

[9 Marks or badges, Conf.]

[10 Conf. omits *and.*]

name of the sacraments than two, baptism and your supper of the Lord? Of which the one, after that doctrine as it is by you taught and ministered, availeth nothing but to your further condemnation....[11]

The sound and true doctrine of the sacraments.

The sound and true doctrine which the catholic church holdeth and believeth touching this point is this:... There be seven sacraments, in which, under cover of visible things, the [b]*power of God worketh man's health. They be these, baptism, confirmation, the sacrament of the altar, penance, extreme unction, order, wedlock. And these so we call sacraments, as nevertheless we acknowledge the name of sacrament may be extended to many other things. That it be known what a sacrament is, this word "sacrament" signifieth sometime a holy thing, sometime the sign of a holy thing, instituted by God. As it is taken for a sign only, so is it found generally not only in the new law, but also in the old law. But in the new law these*[12] *signs after a peculiar and special manner be called sacraments, which do not only signify a holy thing, but also do sanctify and make holy those to whom they be adhibited, being such as by institution of Christ contain grace in them, and power to sanctify. Whereof a sacrament is by the best-learned divines defined to be a visible sign of invisible grace, so as it bear the image of it,* [c]*and be cause of the same. For the plain understanding of this definition, how a sacrament beareth the form, sign, or image of invisible grace, it appeareth evidently in baptism, where washing of the body sheweth the cleansing of the soul: also in the sacrament of the altar,* [d]*where the forms of bread and wine outwardly present*[13] *the spiritual nourishing of the soul. The like appeareth in other sacraments.*

Seven sacraments.

Sacrament, what it signifieth.

Definition of a sacrament.

[b] Untruth. As shall appear.

[c] Untruth. For they are only certain late scholastical sophisters.

[d] Untruth, vain and childish. For no learned father ever said so.

Neither is it a new and strange doctrine to say that the sacraments of the gospel contain grace in them; for the fathers teach the same not seldom. Chrysostom, expounding the mystery of the pool called Bethesda in Hebrew, that was in Jerusalem, saith that sick folk were healed at the moving of the water, to the intent men might be brought to understand the virtue of baptism: "For then was it coming to pass," saith he, "that baptism should be full of power and grace[14]*." St Ambrose, in his book* De Sacramentis, *speaking of baptism, saith: "It is not every water that healeth; but that water healeth which hath the grace of Christ*[15]*." Cyrillus, upon the foresaid chapter of St John, saith that "in baptism it is not water simply that worketh, but when as it hath received the grace of the Holy Ghost*[16]*." St Augustine in a sermon saith that "water in baptism is enriched with a more gift in manner than was the virgin Mary. For she," saith he, "deserved chastity to herself; this hath given to us sanctification. She deserved that she sinned not; this that it might purge sins*[17]*." It is said universally by St Cyprian of all the sacraments, that "the fat of God's anointing poureth fulness of grace into the ministerial* [18]*sanctification*[19]*;" whereby he meaneth the sacraments..... Yet we mean that they contain grace, and power to sanctify, after such manner of speaking as we say of potions and drinks prepared for sick persons, that they contain health, to the working whereof they be effectual....*

Cap. v.

Sermone Dominicæ intra Octavas Epiphaniæ.

In Sermone de Baptis. Christ.

And, as it is said of the sacraments that they contain grace, so is it likewise said that through their virtue, which they have by God's institution, they do not only signify (as by these defenders' doctrine that seemeth to be their special office), but also with signification [e]*work and cause, as an instrumental cause, the effect of that which they signify....*[20]

Power given to sacraments to work that they signify by God's ordinance.

[e] Untruth. See the answer.

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[11] Here Harding goes on to admit that baptism in the church of England is "vailable and of force."]

[12] Those, Conf.]

[13] Represent, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[14] Τί οὖν ἐστιν ὁ ὑπογράφει; ἔμελλε βάπτισμα δίδοσθαι πολλὴν δύναμιν ἔχον καὶ δωρεὰν μεγίστην. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. VIII. p. 207.]

[15] ... non aqua omnis sanat, sed aqua sanat, quæ habet gratiam Christi.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. I. cap. v. 15. Tom. II. col. 352.]

[16] The words here quoted have not been found in Cyril; but they occur in Chrysostom, ubi supra: ...οὐχ ἁπλῶς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐργάζεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος δέξηται χάριν.]

[17] ... pene majori munere, quam Maria, unda ditata est. Illa enim sibi tantum meruit castitatem; ista nobis contulit sanctificationem. Illa meruit ne peccaret; ista ut peccata purgaret.—August. Op. Serm. cxxxv. 1. in Epiph. v. Tom. V. Append. col. 242. This would seem not to be genuine.]

[18] Sanctifications, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[19] ... plenitudinem gratiæ unctionis divinæ pinguedo sanctificationibus officialibus infundit.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Bapt. Christ. (Arnold.) p. 30.]

[20] Harding here adds that the sacraments are used by God to work that which they signify, as the bodily touch of Christ was used to work miracles.]

After which manner God hath given to the sacraments of the new testament, that they work the thing signified, through virtue given them by God's ordinance to special effects of grace....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Of the number of the sacraments we shall have more convenient time to speak hereafter. There, gentle reader, I trust thou shalt see M. Harding's great question easily answered, with what face we say we allow the sacraments of the church. In the mean season it may please thee to weigh these words of Cardinal Bessarion, the bishop of Tusculum, one of M. Harding's especial catholic doctors: *Hæc duo sola sacramenta in evangeliis manifeste tradita legimus*[1]: "These only two sacraments we read to be delivered us plainly in the gospel." Here Bessarion nameth not seven sacraments, as M. Harding doth, but only two. Certainly we refuse no sacrament that ever was either ordained by Christ or used and practised by the apostles.

Bessar. de Sacram. Euch.

"Your Lord's supper," saith M. Harding, "availeth you nothing but to your further condemnation." So must it needs be, because M. Harding saith it shall so be. These tragical terrors are fit only to fray children: in the day of the Lord each man's work shall appear. The simplest of our people understandeth the nature and meaning of the holy mystery of our Lord's supper; and therefore they receive the same together to their great consolation. But in your lady-mass the simple people understandeth nothing, heareth nothing, and, saving a few unseemly ceremonies, seeth nothing; and therefore they so seldom communicate, and that only of custom, without any zeal or comfort of conscience, as having no sense or feeling in all these doings. Origen saith: *Nisi....circumcisionis reddatur ratio, nutus est,...et opus mutum. Pascha et aliæ solemnitates nutus magis sunt quam veritas. Usque hodie populus* [*Israel*] *surdus et mutus est*[2]: "Unless the reasons or causes of circumcision be opened, circumcision is but a gesture, and a dumb kind of work. The Easter feast and other like solemnities are rather ceremonies than the truth itself. Even still until this day the people of Israel is deaf and dumb." St Ambrose saith: *Indignus est Domino, qui aliter mysterium celebrat quam a Christo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus esse, qui aliter præsumit quam datum est ab auctore*[3]: "He is unworthy of the Lord that ministereth this sacrament otherwise than Christ delivered it. For he cannot be devout that presumeth to use it otherwise than it was first delivered from Christ the author."

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 5.

Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi.

Baptism.

These words seem somewhat to touch M. Harding and his company. But here he is contented to allow us the very sacrament and true use of baptism, and that vailable and of force for the remission of sins. Whereby unadvisedly and unwares he confesseth that we have the very true catholic church of God. For St Augustine saith truly: *Baptismus ecclesiæ potest esse extra ecclesiam; munus autem beatæ vitæ non nisi intra ecclesiam invenitur*[4]: "The baptism of the church may be without the church; but the gift of blessed life is not found but within the church." But why he alloweth us this sacrament rather than the other, it were a hard matter to discuss. Neither may we justly require reason of him that speaketh so much without reason.

De Consecr. Dist. 4. Ecclesia.

Perhaps he will say, baptism is but a light sacrament, and may be ministered by any lay-person, even by an old woman, or by a girl, so that she speak Latin, and understand not what she say: for otherwise, I trow, her doing may not stand for good. Certainly, whereas M. Harding speaketh of the due form of words, according to Christ's institution, his own doctors tell us, and avouch it for great truth, that, if the priest say thus, [*Ego*] *te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et diaboli*[5]; that is, "I baptize thee in the name[6] of

De Consecr. Dist. 4. Si non.

[1 Bessar. De Sacram. Euch. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. p. 482.]

[2 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Luc. Hom. v. Tom. III. col. 937; where *ratio reddatur*.]

[3 Indignum dicit esse Domino, &c. quam ab eo traditum &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in I. Epist. ad Cor. cap. xi. v. 27. Tom. II. Append. col. 149.]

[4 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. iv. can. 45. col. 1999; where *ecclesiam reperitur*.]

[5 Ibid. Gloss. in can. 72. col. 2005; where *baptizo te*.]

[6 In name, 1570.]

the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the devil;" or if he say thus, as one ignorant priest sometime said, *Ego te baptizo in nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spirita Sancta*[7]; yet the form of baptism is very good. De Consecr. Dist. 4. Retulerunt.

But one great fault M. Harding findeth in our doings, for that we have left out a great many holy rites, his chrism, his oil, his salt, his spittle, and such other like things; and for that we minister this sacrament plainly and simply, as Christ commanded. This objection being of no greater weight may easily discharge itself, and therefore may pass well without farther answer.

M. Harding saith: "There be seven sacraments, which," as he saith, "do not only signify a holy thing, but also do sanctify and make holy those to whom they be adhibited, being such as by institution of Christ contain grace in them and power to sanctify." Here, to leave the rest, it might be demanded, How can matrimony sanctify a man and make him holy? Or by what institution of Christ containeth it grace in itself and power to sanctify? Or, if it cannot sanctify, nor have such grace, how then can it be called a sacrament? To contain Grace.

I grant, the ancient learned fathers, entreating of the sacraments, have often used vehement and great words. It is written in the council of Nice: *Vides aquam? Considera vim divinam quæ in aquis latet... Puta aquam esse plenam ignis divini*[8]: "Seest thou the water? Consider the divine power that lieth hid in the water. Imagine that the water is full of heavenly fire." So St Ambrose: *Spiritus Sanctus descendit, et aquam consecrat. Adest præsentia Trinitatis*[9]: "The Holy Ghost cometh down, and halloweth the water. There is the presence of the Trinity." So saith Tertullian: *In baptismo tingimur passione Christi*[10]: "In baptism we are washed with the passion of Christ." So saith Chrysostom, as M. Harding hath here alleged him: "Baptism is full of power and grace." So saith St Cyprian. So say others. Conc. Nic. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. i. cap. v. Tertull. de Baptism.

All these and other like vehement speeches M. Harding mitigateth and qualifieth in this wise: "We mean," saith he, "that sacraments contain grace after such manner of speaking as we say potions[11] and drinks contain health." That is to say, sacraments verily and indeed contain not the grace of God: for drinks and potions verily and indeed contain not the health of the patient. In this manner of speech the children of the prophets said to Elizæus the prophet: *Mors in olla, vir Dei*: "O thou man of God, death is in the pot." So Salomon saith: "Death and life are in the hands of the tongue." So Christ said[12] unto the Pharisees: "Search the scriptures; for in them you think to have everlasting life." And yet indeed neither was death in the prophet's pot; nor is life and death in the tongue; nor is life everlasting in the scriptures[13]. Therefore one of M. Harding's school-doctors saith: *In sacramentis ecclesiæ specialis virtus passionis Christi continetur, sicut virtus agentis in instrumento*[14]: "The special grace of the passion of Christ is contained in the sacraments of the church, as the power of the worker is contained in the instrument wherewith he worketh." 2 Kings iv. Prov. xviii. John v. Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. cap. ii.

But indeed it is the soul of man, and not the creature of bread or water, that receiveth the grace of God. We have need of God's grace: these corruptible elements need it not. Without faith of our part sacraments be not only unprofitable to us, but also hurtful. St Chrysostom saith: *Ubi est virtus evangelii? In figuris literarum, an intellectu*[15] *sensuum*[16]*?* "Where is the power of the gospel? In the forms of the letters, or else in the understanding of the meaning?" Chrysost. in Matt. Op. Imperf. Hom. 43.

Likewise Bonaventura saith: *Nullo modo dicendum est, quod gratia continetur in ipsis sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam aqua in vase, vel medicina in pyxide. Imo hoc intelligere est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere gratiam, quia eam sig-* Bonavent. in iv. Sent. Dist. 1. Quæst. 3.

[7 Zachar. Papa, ibid. can. 86. col. 2010; where *baptizo te*, and *Spiritu.*]

[8 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 233.]

[9 ...descendit...Spiritus sanctus...ut sanctificetur fons, et adsit præsentia Trinitatis.—Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. I. cap. v. 18. Tom. II. col. 353.]

[10 ...passio Domini, in quam tinguimur.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 19. p. 264.]

[11 Potion, 1611.]

[12 Saith, 1567, 1570.]

[13 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[14 Et illa sunt ecclesiæ sacramenta, in quibus &c. —Joh. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. ii. in Goldast. Monarch. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 110.]

[15 An in intellectu, 1567.]

[16 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiv.]

nificant[1]: "We may not in any wise say that the grace of God is contained substantially and verily in the sacraments, as water is contained in the vessel, or a medicine in the box. For so to say, it were erroneous. But we say the sacraments contain the grace of God, because they signify the grace of God."

Eodem loco[2]. Again he saith: *Gratia est in anima, non in signis visibilibus*[3]: "The grace of God is not in the visible signs, but in the soul." And again he saith: *Ad illud quod objicitur, quod remissio peccatorum latet in baptismo, dicendum* [*est*], *quod hoc intelligitur de latentia signati in signo; quod quidem habet ulteriorem rationem quam*[4] *rationem significandi; non tamen essentialiter continendi in se; sed quia ipsum quod signat continetur in anima*[5]: "To the objection that is made, that the remission of sins is hid in baptism, we must answer thus, that it must be taken of the thing signified hid in the sign. Which thing nevertheless hath a farther meaning than to signify; yet not to contain (the remission of sins) verily and substantially in itself, but that the grace that is signified thereby is contained in the soul."

Forms and Accidents.

The mystical signification that M. Harding hath imagined of his shews and accidents, that is[6], that the forms of bread and wine outwardly represent the spiritual nourishing of the soul, is vain and fantastical, without the witness of any ancient doctor or father, confirmed only by the authority of himself. For what manner of feeding is there in these accidents and holy forms? Or how can that thing that feedeth not the body represent unto us the spiritual feeding of the soul?

The matter is plain enough of itself, and needeth no cavil. The signification and substance of the sacrament is to shew us how we are fed with the body of Christ; that is, that, like as material bread feedeth our body, so the body of Christ nailed on the cross embraced and eaten by faith feedeth the soul. The like representation is also made in the sacrament of baptism; that, as our body is washed clean with water, so our soul is washed clean with Christ's blood.

August. Epist. 23. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Nisi sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent*[7]: "If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments.

Raban. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. This representation Rabanus Maurus expoundeth thus: *Quia panis corporis cor confirmat*[8], *ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur; et quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo refertur ad sanguinem*[9]: "Because (not the accidents or forms of bread, but) bread itself confirmeth the heart of the body[10], therefore it is conveniently called the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore it hath relation unto the blood."

Druthmar. in Matt. cap. xxvi. So likewise saith Druthmarus: *Vinum... lætificat, et sanguinem auget, et ideo non inconvenienter sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur*[11]: (Not the accidents or forms of wine, but) "wine itself rejoiceth the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ conveniently is thereby signified."

M. Harding, for that he cannot utterly deny it, the matter being so plain, is therefore contented to grant that the sacrament is the figure of Christ's body. But, to help out and to shift the matter, he hath devised such a strange kind of figure as seldom hath been heard before: notwithstanding the holy learned fathers speak plainly and simply, and use no kind of such glosses. St

Hieron. adv. Ruffin. Hierome saith: *Ad tropicam intelligentiam sermo referatur. Quando dico, tropicam, doceo verum non esse quod dicitur, sed allegoriæ nubilo figuratum*[12]: "Let

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[1 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. i. Pars I. Art. i. Quæst. 3. Tom. V. p. 7; where *non est aliquo modo dicendum, contineatur*, and *quia ipsam*.]

[2 This reference is inserted from 1567.]

[3 Id. ibid. p. 8; where *gratia sit*.]

[4 Quod, 1570.]

[5 Id. ibid.; where *latet remissio peccatorum*.]

[6 These two words are not in 1567.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See Vol. I. page 503, note 11.]

[8 Panis corpora confirmat, 1567.]

[9 ... quia &c. corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem &c. ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur.—Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626. De Inst. Cler. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 12.]

[10 Bread itself confirmeth the body, 1567.]

[11 Christ. Druthmar. Expos. in Matt. Argent. 1514. fol. 84; where *et idcirco*.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Ruffin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 381.]

that saying be expounded by a figure. When I say a figure, I say the thing that is spoken is not true indeed, but figured under the cloud of an allegory."

Forms and Accidents.

Likewise Chrysostom saith: *Audisti fuisse figuram. Ne ergo mirare, neque omnia require in typo. Neque enim typus esset, si omnia quæ veritati accidunt haberentur*[13]: "Ye have heard that it was a figure. Therefore marvel not; and, being a figure, require not all things to agree. For otherwise it were no figure." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 35.

So likewise St Augustine saith: *In principio cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad literam accipias... Ad hoc enim pertinet quod ait apostolus, Litera occidit.... Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur, tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur; neque ulla mors animæ congruentius appellatur*[14]: "First of all, thou must take heed that thou take not a figurative speech according to the letter or sound of the words[15]. For that is it whereof St Paul saith, 'The letter killeth.' For, when the thing that is spoken under a figure is so taken as if it were plainly spoken, there is a fleshly understanding. Neither is there any thing that may better be called the death of the soul." All this, and much more to like purpose, thou mayest find in my former reply to M. Harding[16]. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v. Art. 12.

St Hierome saith: "When I say it is a figure, then I say it is not the truth." Chrysostom saith: "If it were the truth itself, it were no figure." St Augustine saith: "Beware thou expound not a figurative speech according to the sound of the letter, as if it were the truth indeed. For that is the death of the soul." Thus the holy fathers have taught us to find a difference between a figure and the truth itself[17].

Sacraments, old, new.

Another fantasy M. Harding hath found[18], that "the sacraments of the new law work the thing itself that they signify through virtue," as he saith, "given unto them by God's ordinance to special effects of grace." This, as I said, is but a fantasy. For the sacraments of the old law and of the new in truth and substance are all one. St Paul saith: *Omnes eundem cibum comederunt*: "The fathers in the old law did all eat the same meat," that is to say, the same Christ that we eat. St Hilary saith: *Sub nube fuerunt*[19], ... *et Christo aquam Petra præbente potati sunt*[20]: "They were under the cloud, and were[21] drenched with Christ the Rock giving them water." Likewise saith Leo: *Mysteria pro temporum ratione variata* [*sunt*], *quum fides qua vivimus nulla fuerit ætate diversa*[22]: "The sacraments are altered according to the diversity of the times. But the faith whereby we live in all ages was ever one." 1 Cor. x. Hilar. in Psal. lxvii. Leon. de Nativ. Dom. Serm. 3.

Likewise St Augustine: *Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in signis diversa ... in rebus quæ significabantur paria*[23]: "These things were sacraments, in the outward tokens diverse; but in the things tokened all one with ours." August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

M. Harding will reply: St Augustine saith, *Sacramenta novi testamenti dant salutem*[24]: "The sacraments of the new testament give salvation." But who can better expound St Augustine's meaning than St Augustine himself? He addeth immediately: *Cum ergo jam teneas promissa, quid quæris promittentia ... Salvatorem? Hoc dico, teneas promissa; non quod jam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quod jam Christus venerit, qui per prophetas prænuntiabatur*[24]: "Wherefore, seeing thou hast the promises (of the coming of Christ) already performed, what seekest thou the things that promised the Saviour? I say, thou hast the promises already performed; not for that we have already received everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that was promised by the prophets." Therefore, when St Augustine saith our "sacraments give salvation," his meaning is this: Our sacraments teach us that salvation is already come into the world. August. in Psal. lxxiii.

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[13] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xiv. Gen. Hom. xxxv. Tom. IV. p. 357.]

[14] August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 47.]

[15] The preceding five words are not in 1567.]

[16] See Vol. II. pages 590 &c.]

[17] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[18] 1567 omits *found*.]

[19] Fuerint, 1611.]

[20] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. lxvii. 9. col. 195.]

[21] Wee, 1570.]

[22] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Nativ. Dom. Serm. iii. 3. col. 43.]

[23] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498; where *in re quæ significatur*.]

[24] Id. in Psalm. lxxiii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 769; where *sed quia jam venerit Christus*.]

Sacraments, old, new.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "So then *dare* is 'to teach,' and *salus* is 'salvation come into the world.' Here is gay gear, for wantons to dally with words in matter of our salvation."

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 330. b. [Detect.] Bonavent. in iv. Sent. Dist. 1. Quæst. 3. c. Dicuntur continere gratiam quia[2] ipsam significant.

The answer. O what proper sport ye make yourself with this gay gear, M. Harding! *Dare*, you say, is not Latin "to teach." I answer you, Neither is *dare* Latin "to contain." But thus I say: "Sacraments give grace so far forth as sacraments be able to give grace." Your own Bonaventura saith: *Non est aliquo modo dicendum, &c.*[1]: "We may not in any wise say that the grace of God is really contained in the sacraments, as water is contained in a vessel, or a medicine in a box. For so to take it, it were an error. But we say sacraments contain the grace of God, because they represent or signify the grace of God."

Thus far forth, M. Harding, sacraments are able to give grace. And therefore your school-doctors thus commonly define a sacrament: *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum:* "A sacrament is a visible sign of grace invisible." As for the meaning of St Augustine, I made it plain by other his words immediately following, which you guilefully have dissembled. For thus he saith: "Thou hast the promises already performed; not for that we have already received everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that was promised by the prophets." And, although the death of Christ be already past, yet is it laid lively and freshly before our eyes in the ministration of the sacraments. St Ambrose saith: *In baptismo crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei*[3]: "In baptism we crucify in ourselves the Son of God." St Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis mors Christi perficitur*[4]: "The death of Christ is wrought in the mysteries." Thus the grace of God is given unto us in the sacraments, because it is represented and laid before us in the sacraments. Thus saith St Augustine, thus saith St Chrysostom, St Ambrose, and other holy fathers. They were no wantons; neither did they nor do we dally, as you say, with these things. We use them humbly with obedience and reverence, as the instruments of the grace of God. ☜

Ambros. de Pœn. Lib. ii. cap. ii. Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 21.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xix. cap. xiv.

Thus St Augustine saith in another place: *Illa fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum; hæc sunt indicia completarum*[5]: "The sacraments of the old law were promises of such things as should afterward be accomplished; our sacraments of the new law are tokens that the same promises be already accomplished." Thus the holy fathers say: "The sacraments of the new law work salvation;" because they teach us that our salvation is already wrought. So Bonaventura saith of the sacraments of the old testament: *Mundare dicebantur, id est, mundatum ostendebant*[6]: "They were said to make a man clean because they shewed or signified that a man was made clean."

Bonavent. in iv. Sent. Dist. 1. In Procemio.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 330. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "What then? Will it follow that, because our sacraments do shew that Christ is already come, therefore our sacraments give no grace? &c. 'He that eateth Christ's flesh sheweth his death,' saith St Paul; and, 'He that eateth my flesh,' saith Christ, 'hath life everlasting.' Mark how our having of life goeth together with our shewing of Christ's death: you divide these matters, and make Christ's sacraments only to be shews."

The answer. You have misalleged St Paul, M. Harding: these are not his words: look better on your books, and see your error. If I had some part of your eloquence, I could cry out, as you do, "Falsifiers and corrupters of God's word." St Paul saith not: "He that eateth Christ's flesh sheweth his death." You deal untruly. Thus he saith: "As often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lord's death." The bread of the sacrament is one thing, M. Harding; and the flesh of Christ is another. The

1 Cor. xi.

[1 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. i. Pars i. Art. i. Quæst. 3. Tom. V. p. 7. See before, page 445, 6, note 1.]

[2 Qui, 1611.]

[3 ... baptismo ... in quo crucifigimus Filium Dei in nobis.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Pœn. Lib. ii. cap. ii. 10. Tom. II. col. 418.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xix. cap. xiv. Tom. VIII. col. 320; where *fuerint*, and *sint*.]

[6 ...mundare dicuntur, quia mundatum ostendebant.—Bonavent. Op. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. i. Dub. 6. Tom. V. p. 4.]

bread entereth only into the bodily mouth: Christ's flesh entereth only into the soul. Without eating of that bread of the sacrament we may be saved: without eating of Christ's flesh we can never be saved. St Augustine saith precisely: *Qui non sumit carnem Christi non habet vitam; et qui eam sumit habet vitam, et eam utique æternam*[7]: "He that receiveth not the flesh of Christ hath not life; and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that for ever." Again he saith: "The sacrament is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction; but the thing itself (that is, the flesh of Christ), whereof the sacrament is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it[8]."

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

In eod. Tract.

Thus you see, M. Harding, there is great difference between the bread of the sacrament and the flesh of Christ. Ye were to blame therefore so to falsify St Paul, and to place the one instead of the other. We divide these things, because God himself had[9] so divided them. But you undiscreetly mingle and confound these things together, whereas indeed they should be divided; and so ye wilfully deceive your simple reader.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 1.

And we do expressly pronounce, that in the Lord's supper there is truly given unto the believing the body and blood of our[10] Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, of grace[11], truth, and life; and that the same supper is the communion[12] of the body and blood of Christ; by the partaking whereof we be revived, strengthened, and fed[13] unto immortality; and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporate unto Christ, that we may abide in him, and he in us.

M. HARDING.

What ye pronounce of this high sacrament, the wise and careful tenderers of their souls will be right wary[14] *thereof. Of you and such as ye be, because your doctrine is* [a]*but of a corner of the world in respect of the universal church, Christ hath given us a watch-word,* Nolite credere, "*Believe them not.*" *In your the Lord's supper, celebrated by the ministers of your own creation,* [b]*there is not given the body and blood of our Lord, neither to the believing nor to the unbelieving. For at the celebration of your schismatical supper, no* [b]*consecration being done,* [b]*nor faith of the church,* [b]*nor*[16] *right intention had,* [b]*nor Christ's institution observed, what deliver ye to your communicates*[17] *but* [b]*a piece of bread and a sip of wine? Neither is it* [b]*your will it be more or better. At the supper of our Lord ministered in the catholic church by priests rightly consecrated, and as it hath been accustomed in Christ's church, there is the true and whole body of our Lord and Saviour given and received, be the receivers believing or* [b]*not believing.... For, when Christ gave this sacrament to his disciples at his last supper, after that he had consecrated the same, saying*[19], "*Take ye, eat ye; this is my body;*" *Judas the traitor, as the* [c]*fathers teach*[20], *received his true body no less than Peter, Andrew, John, or James did; though they to their salvation, he to his damnation.*

Matt. xxiv.

The sacramentaries' Lord's supper.

Judas received the[18] *true body of Christ no less than the apostles.*

Matt. xxvi. Chrys. Hom. de Prodit. Judæ. Aug. in Psalm. x.

[a] In respect of this corner the church of Rome were a simple corner.

[b] Untruth[15].

[b] Untruths joined with heathenish blasphemies.

[c] Untruth: read the answer.

[7 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500; where *qui eam non sumit non*, and *hanc utique*.]

[8 Hujus rei sacramentum...quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit.—Id. ibid.]

[9 Hath, 1570.]

[10 The, Conf.]

[11 Immortality, grace, Conf.]

[12 And the supper to be the communion, Conf.; and the same supper to be the communion, Def. 1567.]

[13 We be strengthened and be fed, Conf.]

[14 Ware, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15 This marginal note does not appear in 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16 Not, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17 Communicants, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[18 Christ's, Conf.]

[19 Saying, omitted 1611.]

[20 Chrysost. Op. In Prod. Jud. Tom. X. p. 739. This is spurious.

August. Op. In Psalm. x. Enarr. 6. Tom. IV. col. 62.]

Now it is to be noted, how this defender in this long sentence affecteth a certain holy (as it were) and solemn eloquence, and useth a religious amplification of words to set forth the sacrament, as though he had a reverent and a godly opinion of it; whereas indeed he taketh it [d] *but for a poor sign or token, as their doctor Zwinglius doth. But such is their craft to purchase them credit among the people.... Thus offer they to the unlearned their fair cups full of venom, anointing the brims with honey of sweet and holy words, the rather to poison them. Such complaint maketh the grave father St Hilary against the Arians of his time:* Ingerunt nobis primum nomina veritatis, ut virus falsitatis introeat. Bonum in ore est, ut de corde malum subeat: "*First,*" *saith he,* "*they thrust me forth words of truth, that the venom of falsehood*[1] *may enter in. Good is in their mouth, that out from the heart may evil proceed. And among all these words (he meaneth the Arians' confession of their faith) I hear no where by them said,* Deum Dei Filium[2], '*God the Son of God.*'" *Right so among all these fair words concerning the sacrament* [e] *we hear never a whit said of the real presence of Christ's body. Epiphanius noteth the like craft in Arius*[3]*; and so doth St Augustine in the Pelagians*[4]*. Nestorius likewise spake honourably in many places of Christ and his mother; but no where would he call her* Θεοτόκον, *that is,* "*the mother of God.*" *The Jews also, as we find in the gospel, called our Saviour Jesus* "*the carpenter's son,*" *confessed Mary to be his mother, James, Joseph, Simon, and Jude his brothers, and that his sisters were among them (by whom his kinsfolk are to be understanded); but the Son of God they would not acknowledge him, nor in that degree honour him. Better than to those Jews can I not compare these defenders, who speak honourably of our Lord's body and*[5] *blood in their supper;* [f] *but that his body is really, that is, verily*[6] *in the sacrament of the altār, that will not the devil, who reigneth in their hearts, suffer their mouths to utter.*

[d] Untruth. For we call the sign the sign, and the truth the truth.

[e] O marvellous horrible heresy! what doctor or father ever named your real presence?

[f] Neither did any doctor or father ever say that Christ's body is really and verily in the sacrament.

De Trinit. Lib. vi.

Contra Ariomanitas, Hæres. 69.

De Gratia Christi, contra Pelagium et Cœlest. Lib. i. cap. xxxii.

Matt. xiii.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Consecration.

M. Harding telleth us we deliver unto the faithful nothing else but a piece of bread and a sip of wine; that we have neither intention nor consecration; that our fair cups be full of venom; that our supper is schismatical, and[7] our eloquence is hypocritical; that our doctrine is heretical; that we are like to the Pelagians, to the Nestorians, to the Arians, and to the Jews; and that the devil reigneth in our hearts. If the truth of God were evermore joined with vain speech, then might M. Harding be able easily to win the price. He saith our doctrine is but in a corner of the world, and that therefore Christ hath given this watch-word of us, "Believe them not." Howbeit, if he would advisedly consider the matter, and look well about him, he should find that so many kingdoms, and countries, and commonweals as this day profess the gospel of Christ, would make a good large corner in the church of God. Certainly in respect thereof Rome itself were a very poor corner.

Unto whom Christ specially pointed when he said these words, "Believe them not," because it is a prophecy it is hard to judge. But it is very likely he meant antichrist, "that man of sin, the child of destruction, that advanceth[8] himself above all that is called God." Verily Chrysostom thereof saith thus: *Non dico, si dixerint vobis, Ecce in hæreticis ecclesiis illis vel in illis apparuit Christus; sed etiam si in ipsis veris ecclesiis, quæ... Dei sunt, id est, domus vestræ, dixerint vobis Christum apparuisse, nolite eis credere dicentibus ista de me; quia non est digna divinitatis meæ notitia hæc: ostendens per hæc, quomodo ex ipsis ecclesiis veris frequenter exeunt seductores. Propterea nec ipsis omnino*

2 Thess. ii.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 49.[9]

[1 Falshead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VI. 7. col. 882; where *ingeruntur enim nobis.*]

[3 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxix. 34. Tom. I. pp. 757, 8.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Grat. Christ. Contr. Pelag. et Cœlest. Lib. I. cap. xxxii. 35. Tom. X. col. 245.]

[5 An, Conf.]

[6 That it is verily, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 That, 1567.]

[8 Avanceth, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Chrys. in Matt. Hom. xlix. 1567.]

credendum est, nisi ea dicant vel faciant, quæ convenientia sint scripturis[10]: "I say not, if they tell you, 'Behold, Christ hath appeared in these or in these[11] churches of heretics;' but, if they shall say unto you that Christ hath appeared in the very true churches, that are of God, that is to say, that are your houses; believe them not, if they say thus of me; for this is no worthy knowledge of my divinity: by these he sheweth how that out of the very true churches oftentimes come forth deceivers. Therefore we may not believe, no not them, unless they speak or do those things that are agreeable to the scriptures." Consecration.

Verily, howsoever M. Harding will shift this matter, the plain words seem rather to touch him and his company than either Luther, or Zuinglius, or any other. For they can point with their fingers, and say, "Here is Christ," and, "There is Christ." Behold, in this pyx are three Christs, in that five, in that seven, in that more. Therefore it is likely that Christ giveth us this special watch-word of them and such others, "Believe them not."

Here M. Harding maketh much ado about consecration; and yet are not his fellows well agreed what to make of their own consecration. Gabriel saith: *Christus potuit sine verbo, tanquam verus Deus, substantiam panis et vini consecrare; vel potuit verba quædam secreto proferre, et per illa consecrare; vel per hæc verba, Hoc est corpus meum, consecrare potuit; vel potuit prius consecrare, et postea distribuere; vel primum distribuere, et postea consecrare. Quid autem horum fecerit, ex sacris scripturis non constat*[12]: "Christ, as being very God, might consecrate the substance of bread and wine without word; or else he might speak certain words in secret, and by them consecrate; or else he might consecrate by these words, 'This is my body;' or else he might first consecrate, and after deliver; or else first deliver, and after consecrate. But which of all these he did indeed, by the holy scriptures it appeareth not." Cardinal Bessarion saith, that in the Latin church consecration is wrought by the words of Christ; in the Greek church by other prayers that follow afterward[13]. Catharinus, entreating purposely hereof, saith: "Christ consecrated not with the same words that are now used in the mass, 'This is my body[14].'" Durandus saith: "Christ consecrated by his divine power, and after consecration said, 'This is my body[15].'" Petrus Alliacensis yieldeth this reason hereof: *Quia, nisi ante fuisset corpus Christi, Christus non vere dixisset, Hoc est corpus meum*[16]: "If it had not been Christ's body before, Christ could not have said truly, 'This is my body'." It is concluded in a book called *Antididagma*, lately set forth by the chapter of Colaine, that the bare words of Christ's institution, without the words of the canon of the mass, are not sufficient to work consecration[17]. Bonaventura saith: "To have the true form of consecration we must seek not to the gospel of Christ, but to the canon[18]."

Gab. Biel. Lect. 36.

Bessar. de Sacram. Euch.

Cath. de Consecratione.

Durand. Lib. iv. de Sexta Parte Canonis.

Pet. de Alliac. in iv. Sent. Quæst. 5.

Antididagma.

Bonavent. in iv. Sent. Dist. 8. Quæst. 2.

Howbeit, thereof groweth a great inconvenience, that Christ and his apostles, for that they had not the words of the canon, had therefore no consecration. Again, Bonaventura saith that these words, *novi et æterni testamenti*, are not

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[10 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. ccix.]

[11 Or these, 1567.]

[12 Jewel has compressed into this paragraph the substance of what is more largely stated, Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lugd. 1517. Lect. xxxvi. fol. 60. 2.]

[18 ...Latini...illa Domini verba id facere manifestissime asseverant, Hoc est &c. Græci vero...non illis Salvatoris nostri verbis Christi corpus et sanguinem confici putant, sed quibusdam quæ sequuntur precibus sacerdotum.—Bessar. De Sacram. Euch. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. p. 467.]

[14 This treatise has not been found.]

[15 Sane dici potest, quod Christus virtute divina nobis occulta primo confecit, et postea formam expressit, sub qua posteri benedicunt.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. xli. 15. fol. 164.]

[16 ...nisi corpus Christi fuisset ibi sub sacramento ante prolationem illorum verborum, Hoc est &c. non vere dixisset, Hoc corpus meum &c.—Pet. de Alliaco, Par. Quæst. sup. Prim. Tert. et Quart. Sentent. Lib. iv. Quæst. v. Art. 1. fol. 250. 2.]

[17 Jam vero qui canonem non habent, nec Deum invocant, nec verba ad dona proposita dirigunt, ac proinde non consecrant, sed legunt tantum historica apostoli Pauli verba, quibus narrat institutionem Christi, non autem quomodo Paulus ipse verba illa super panem et vinum solitus sit pronunciare, quando corpus consecravit et sanguinem Domini, quomodo dici queat istos consecrare?—Antididag. Par. 1545. De Sacrif. Miss. fol. 119. 2.]

[18 Accipienda est igitur forma a canone, quia ille traditur non per modum narrationis, sed institutionis. —Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. viii. Pars ii. Art. i. Quæst. 2. Tom. V. p. 96. Conf. p. 94.]

Consecration.

of the substance of consecration, but are used only as a furniture[1]. Johannes Scotus saith: *Quod ergo est consilium? Dico, quod sacerdos, intendens facere quod facit ecclesia, legens distincte verba canonis, a principio usque ad finem, vere conficit; nec est tutum alicui reputare se valde peritum in scientia sua, et dicere, volo uti præcise istis verbis pro consecratione*[2]: "The matter being so doubtful, what then is your counsel? I say that the priest, intending to do whatsoever the church doth, and reading the words of the canon distinctly and plainly from the beginning to the end, doth verily consecrate. Neither is it good for a man to reckon himself very skilful in his knowledge, and to say, I will use precisely these or these words to work consecration." Where also these words are specially noted in the margin: *Nota, quod de hac materia doctor nihil hic asserit, sed probabiliter aliquid dicens sub dubio relinquit*[3]: "Here mark that touching this matter (of consecration) the doctor avoucheth nothing; but, speaking somewhat by the way of likelihood, he leaveth the whole matter under doubt." In the end Scotus uncertainly and doubtfully concludeth thus: *Unde dicunt aliqui, quod forma Græcorum, et forma nostra, et quæcunque scripta in evangeliis, sufficiens est ad consecrationem*[4]: "Whereof some say thus, that the form of words that the Greeks use, and the form that we use, and any form else written in the gospel[5], is sufficient to consecration." The like certainty Bonaventura teacheth us; for thus he endeth: *De hoc est utilius dubitare; quis enim potest scire, utrum evangelistæ aut apostolus ipse intenderint describere formam? Igitur melius est hic pie dubitare quam præsumptuose definire*[6]: "Hereof it is best to stand in doubt. For who can tell whether the evangelists or the apostle Paul himself meant to write us the form of consecration? Therefore in this point it is better soberly to doubt than presumptuously to determine."

Scot. in iv. Sent. Dist. 8. Quæst. 2.

Scot. in iv. Sent. Dist. 8. Quæst. 2.

Bonavent. in iv. Sent. Dist. 8.

By these few, good christian reader, thou mayest see the ground and certainty of M. Harding's doctrine. He saith we have no consecration, for that we lack a thing. But what thing it should be, he and his fellows cannot tell.

Howbeit, indeed we use the same words that Christ used. If Christ and his apostles consecrated, then do we undoubtedly likewise consecrate. The want that he findeth in us he may also find in them. St Augustine saith: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*[7]: "Join the word of God unto the element (or outward creature), and thereby is made a sacrament." Origen saith: *Panis sanctificatur per verbum Dei et obsecrationem*[8]: "The bread is consecrate by the word of God and by prayer." St Ambrose saith: *Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus* [*Christi*] *significatur*[9]: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kind; after consecration the body of Christ is signified."

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

Orig. in Matt. cap. xv. Ambros. de iis qui init. cap. ix.

Addition.

☞ M. Hard. 332. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Christ was a priest, and consecrated as a priest, as St Cyprian and St Hierome do witness, that, as Melchisedech in foreshewing the figure of Christ had done, *panem et vinum offerens, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret;* 'Christ himself also should make present the truth of his body and blood.' Christ made his apostles also ministerial priests, saying, 'Do this' (wherein is contained 'Make this') 'in my remembrance'." *The answer.* Is *repræsentare* Latin to "make present," M. Harding? What grammarian ever taught you so to say? Or what "making" find you in this word? As you tender your credit, tell us who ever spake such Latin, or out of such Latin made such English? If you can shew us no better author, we must needs think it is your own. I grant, the old civilians have sometimes used this word *repræsentare* in some such meaning; as when they say, *Repræ-*

[1 Ibid. p. 94.]

[2 J. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. viii. Quæst. 2. Tom. VIII. p. 431; where *erit consilium*, and *se reputare valde peritum de.*]

[3 The marginal note here is: Nota casus, et dubitationes.]

[4 Ibid. p. 427; where *forma eorum.*]

[5 Gospels, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. viii. Pars II. Dub. 1. Tom. V. p. 94; where *de hac*, and *et ipse apostolus formam intenderent describere ideo.*]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703; where *accedit.*]

[8 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XI. 14. Tom. III. p. 499.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

sentare legatum, Repræsentare pretium, Repræsentare pecuniam: but in this new sense that you have imagined, I trow, M. Harding, they never used it. Howbeit, we speak not now of civilians: we speak of divines. Columella saith: *Repræsentare faciem veri maris:* "To represent the sight of the very sea." Curtius saith: *Urbis... dirutæ species repræsentabatur animis*[10]: "The image of the defaced city was represented to their minds." Will you hereof conclude that the very sea or the very defaced city was made present, and stood really and verily before their eyes? The strangeness of your dealing, M. Harding, forceth me to use more words than might seem needful.

Consecration. Intention.

Colum. Lib. viii. cap. xvii. Quint. Curt. Lib. iii.

The place of St Hierome is plain against you: thus he saith: *Ut, quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedech summi Dei sacerdos panem et vinum offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret*[11]: "That, as Melchisedech, the priest of the highest God, had done, offering bread and wine in figure of him, even so he himself should represent the truth of his body and blood." As Melchisedech by bread and wine represented the truth of Christ's body and blood, so did Christ also represent the same: and if Christ, as you say, made it present, then did Melchisedech also, by St Hierome's judgment, make it present. But, when we speak of sacraments, representing is nothing else but shewing or signifying. So Tertullian saith: *Christus non reprobavit panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentavit*[12]: "Christ refused not bread, by which he represented his very body." Which words afterward[13] in plainer sort he expoundeth thus: *Christus accepit panem, et corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum; hoc est, figura corporis mei*[14]: "Christ took the bread, and made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say, This is a figure of my body."

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxvi.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. i.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

But that *repræsentare* should signify either to make Christ's body, or to make it present, no man, I trow, ever durst say[15] it but M. Harding.

In these words, "Do this," you say is contained "Make this." Doth Christ bid you to make this indeed, M. Harding? And what "this," I pray you, would you make? Ye will say, Christ's body. But Christ's body, as we believe, is made already, and needeth no new making at your hands. But you will say ye make Christ in remembrance of Christ. All this is mere folly. For every way ye tell us ye make Christ. Presume not, M. Harding, to make him that made you. It is enough for your Stella Clericorum to say: *Qui creavit me, dedit mihi potestatem creandi se: sacerdos est creator Creatoris sui*[16]: "He that made me hath given me power to make him: a priest is his Maker's maker." But God hath made hell-fire to the destruction of all them that yield their mouths to speak such blasphemy. Christ never bade you to make his body, as you imagine. His words be plain; you have untruly reported them: "Do this in my remembrance." "Do this," saith Christ: he saith not, Make this. And what is meant by this doing, who can better teach us than St Paul? Thus he saith: "As often as you shall eat this bread, or drink this cup, you shall publish the Lord's death until he come." This is the doing that Christ commanded, and this is it that you have to do. ☙ ☙

Another quarrel that M. Harding picketh to us is this, that[17] we "have no intention or mind to consecrate." But how long hath M. Harding been a wizard? Or who made him so privy to our intentions[18]? St Paul saith: "No man can tell what is in man, but the spirit of man that is within him." These follies are answered at large in my former Reply to M. Harding[19]. Verily, by the late doctors of that side the priest may have intention to consecrate the one half of the host, and not the other; or, having thirteen hosts, he

1 Cor. ii.

Art. i. Div. 12.

[10 Quint. Curt. De Reb. Gest. Alex. Magn. Lib. III. cap. x. 7.]

[11 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. xxvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 128. Conf. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 149.]

[12 Sed ille...reprobavit...nec panem &c. repræsentat.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. I. 14. pp. 439, 40.]

[13 Afterwards, 1570.]

[14 Id. ibid. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 447, note 13.]

[15 Durst to say, 1570.]

[16 Iste qui creavit me dedit mihi creare se... sacerdos...creator fit sui Creatoris.—Stell. Clericor. Lipt. 1506. foll. A. vi. B.]

[17 Is that, 1567.]

[18 Intention, 1567.]

[19 See Vol. I. page 139.]

may have intention to consecrate but twelve. And thereof groweth a great question, when he cometh to the reckoning and seeth his error, which of all that whole company of hosts shall go unconsecrate[1]. Yea, abbat Panormitane saith: *Etiamsi sacerdos celebret, ut Deus perdat aliquem, tamen bene consecrat*[2]: "Notwithstanding the priest say mass with intention that God would destroy some man, yet doth he consecrate nevertheless." Into such toys these men throw themselves with their fond intentions.

Summ. Angel. Euch. 26. Gers. in Floret. Lib. iv. Panorm. de Celeb. Miss. Quidam.

Our intention is to do that Christ hath taught us to do, that is, to minister the holy sacrament in remembrance of him; and, as St Paul saith, to "shew forth and to publish the Lord's death until he come." And to this purpose one of M. Harding's own doctors saith: *Non sufficit intentio consecrandi absolute; sed oportet ut sit conformis intentioni sacramentum instituentis*[3]: "Absolutely the intention to consecrate is not sufficient; but it must be answerable unto the intention of Christ, that ordained the sacrament."

Matt. xxvi. 1 Cor. xi.

Pupil. Ocul. de Euch. cap. v.

The wicked receiveth.

"At the supper of our Lord," saith M. Harding, "ministered in the catholic church by priests rightly consecrate, there is the true and whole body of our Lord and Saviour given and received, be the receivers believing or not believing." This is no great marvel in M. Harding's doctrine. For they of his side say: *Si... dicatur quod [mus] sumat [corpus Christi], non est magnum inconveniens*[4]: "If it be said that a mouse receiveth the body of Christ, it is no great inconvenience." And Alexander of Hales, a notable school-doctor, saith, though in more unseemly and grosser wise: *Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam integram, non video quare corpus Domini non simul trajiceretur in ventrem canis vel porci*[5]: "If a dog or a sow should happen to swallow down the whole host, being consecrate, I see no reason but the body of our Lord may pass withal into the belly of the dog or of the sow."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Qui bene, in Glossa.

Alex. Hales. Par. iv. Quæst. 45. Memb. 1.

But St Augustine saith far otherwise: *Hoc est... manducare illam escam, et illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, et Christum manentem in se habere*[6]: "This is the eating of that meat, and the drinking of that drink, that a man dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in him."

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Likewise Origen saith: *Est verus cibus, quem nemo malus potest edere. Etenim si malus posset edere corpus Domini, non scriberetur, Qui edit hunc panem vivet in æternum*[7]: "The body of Christ is the true food, which no evil man can eat. For, if the evil man could eat the body of our Lord, it should not be written, 'He that eateth this bread shall live for ever'." But hereof we have spoken more at large in the former Reply to M. Harding[8].

Orig. in Matt. cap. xv.

Art. xxiii.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "You have foully corrupted this place, M. Jewel. Origen speaketh not of the sacrament in those words, nor of the sacramental eating, &c. M. Jewel hath so mangled these words, that the sense is clean altered; for instead of *Verbum caro factum* he hath placed the body of Christ, referring it to the sacrament, &c. He hath changed *edere Verbum factum carnem* into *edere corpus Domini.* And so, whereas Origen meant that evil men cannot eat spiritually and effectually the Divinity of Christ, M. Jewel hath taught him to say that an evil man cannot in the sacrament eat Christ's body."

M. Hard. fol. 333. b. [Detect.]

And so M. Harding awaked out of his dream.

The answer. Will you lead your whole life in wrangling, M. Harding? and will you never learn to deal plainly? "Origen," you say, "speaketh nothing

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[1 Clavas. Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Euch. i. 26. fol. 85.

Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. De Sacram. Euch. fol. 96. 2.]

[2 Quid autem de sacerdote qui missam celebrat ut Deus perdat aliquem? dic quod conficit: sed hoc cooperto debet deponi.—Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Celebr. Miss. Tit. xli. cap. 2. fol. 209. 2.]

[3 J. de Burg. Pupill. Ocul. Argent. 1514. De Sacram. Euch. Pars iv. cap. v. fol. 19. 2; where *nec sufficit*, and *quod sit.*]

[4 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 94. col. 1964.]

[5 Alex. Alens. Op. Col. Agrip. 1622. Summ. Theol. Pars IV. Quæst. xi. Memb. ii. Art. 4. p. 407. See Vol. II. page 783, note 7.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 18. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 501; where *bibere potum*, and *illum manentem.*]

[7 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. p. 500. The original of the clause objected to by Harding is: *εἰ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἔτι φαῦλον μένοντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα, λόγον ὄντα, καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα.*]

[8 See Vol. II. pages 782, &c.]

in this place of the sacrament." I grant you. Neither do I in this place speak one word of the sacrament: I speak only of Christ's body, that is represented by the sacrament. "That body," I say, "cannot be eaten by the wicked." So saith Origen: so say others the learned fathers.

As for that you speak of "mangling the words, and altering the meaning," it is too childish to be answered. You say: "Origen meant that the wicked man cannot eat the Divinity of Christ spiritually." Be it so. Will you then say that the wicked man may eat the Divinity or[9] the Godhead of Christ corporally, with his bodily mouth and with his teeth? Is this the divinity ye have learned at Lovain? Season it better, M. Harding: it is unsavoury. Origen in this place first speaketh of the sacrament of Christ's body. Afterward he speaketh of Christ's body itself, and saith that "no evil man can receive it." And to that purpose he allegeth the words of Christ in St John: "Whoso eateth of this bread shall live for ever." Leave this lightness, M. Harding. Here is neither "mangling of words nor altering of sentence."

The heretical doctrine that M. Harding talketh of, with all the whole furniture of hypocritical eloquence, we may safely send home from whence it came. And I doubt nothing but he can well tell how to use it.

As for Pelagius, Arius, and Nestorius, we defy them utterly, and detest them, as we do also all other sorts and sects of heresies.

Of the sacraments of Christ we do both speak and think reverently, and as it becometh us, and according to the holy scriptures. We say that a creature is a creature; that a sacrament is a sacrament, and not God. We say with St Augustine: "The sacrament is not our Lord, but the bread of our Lord[10]." Again St Augustine saith: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent*[11]: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify."

August. in Johan. Tract. 59. Contr. Max. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 2.

Besides this we[12] acknowledge there be two sacraments, which, we judge, properly ought to be called by this name; that is to say, baptism and the sacrament of thanksgiving. For thus many, we see, were delivered and sanctified by Christ, and well allowed of the old fathers, Ambrose, and Augustine, and such others[13].

M. HARDING.

Why speak ye not plainly? Be there no more but two sacraments? Though ye say not so expressly, yet we judge that so ye mean. For so your school-fellow of Geneva, Theodore Beza, pronounceth in plain terms in the confession of your Genevian faith[14]. *And so yourselves, defenders, do affirm in the articles which ye agreed upon in your convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord* 1562; *which articles you*[15] *have put forth in print by the queen's authority, as ye pretend. Now whereas ye acknowledge there be but two sacraments, why should any man believe you rather than the Germans, your first school-masters, who* [a]*in their confession exhibited to Charles the fifth, then emperor, at Augspurg, in the name of all the protestants, anno* 1530, *appoint three sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, and penance? The next year after* [b]*Philip Melancthon, in his Apology, avouched those three sacraments; but afterward, in the year* 1552, *he found out another, and made up the number of four, by adding the sacrament of order to the*

The defenders acknowledge but two sacraments.

Diversity of judgment in the gospellers about the number of the sacraments[16].

[a] Untruth, fond and vain.

[b] Untruth, proceeding of unadvised malice. Read the answer.

[9] Of, 1611.]

[10] Illi manducabant panem Dominum, ille panem Domini contra Dominum.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xiii. Tractat. lix. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 663.]

[11] Id. contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See Vol. I. page 467, note 21.]

[12] Besides we, Conf.]

[13] These three words are not in Conf.]

[14] Ejusmodi sacramenta...duo tantum esse censemus ex Dei verbo, &c.—Bez. Tractat. Theolog. Genev. 1576-82. Confess. Christ. Fid. 36. Vol. I. p. 26.]

[15] Ye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Of sacraments, Conf.]

foresaid three[1]. *In Lipsia they receive three: in Wittenberg, which city is not thence far off, they have four. At Magdeburg, thereby also, Flacius Illyricus, and so many as follow him, will have but two; and the Zwenkfeldians, that sprang*[2] *out of the same stock, care for none at all....*

Forasmuch as ye allege the names of the old fathers for you, specially St Ambrose and St Augustine[3], *that there be but two sacraments, let us see how much they make for maintenance of your doctrine, and whether they teach us not that there be more. St Augustine, in his second book* Contra Literas Petiliani, *speaking of the place of the psalm,* Sicut unguentum in capite, *which the heretic had alleged, saith thus:* In hoc unguento, &c.[4]: "*In this ointment his will is to interpret the sacrament of chrism* (*he meaneth the sacrament of confirmation*), *which in the kind of visible signs is holy, as baptism is.*" *Lo, St Augustine calleth confirmation a sacrament. St Eusebius, pope, nameth it a sacrament in his third epistle written to all the bishops of Tuscia and Campania:* Manus impositionis sacramentum, &c.[5]: "*The sacrament of imposition of hands,*" *saith he,* "*is to be kept with great reverence, which cannot be performed but by the high priests*" (*he understandeth bishops*). *Melchiades, next to Sylvester, before the Nicene council, speaking much of confirmation, among other things saith thus:* Duo hæc sacramenta, baptismi et confirmationis, separanda non sunt[7]: "*These two sacraments of baptism and confirmation may not be sundered.*" *Though these two bishops were popes, yet they deserve credit, forasmuch as they lived before that corruption crept into the church after your account, and died holy martyrs.*

That there be more sacraments than two by the doctrine of the fathers.

Cap. civ.

The sacrament of confirmation.

This forged Melchiades advanceth[6] his oil above the sacrament of baptism.

That penance is a sacrament, and so accounted among the fathers, it is so evident, that who doubteth of it may seem not to have perused their writings. St Augustine, in Enchiridio ad Laurentium, *speaking of baptism and penance, calleth both* salutaria sacramenta[8], "*healthful sacraments*[9]." ...*St Ambrose signifieth himself to be of the same mind, in his first book* De Pœnitentia, Cap. vi. et vii; *and in the second book,* Cap. ii., *though without putting the express name of sacrament: but in the third chapter of that book he putteth the name of sacrament expressly*[11].

The sacrament of penance. Cap. lxvi.

Hom. 20, in Epist. ad Heb.[10]

Touching order, that is a sacrament also by verdict of St Augustine, whom ye allege for you. Let us hear what he saith. In his second book Contra Epist. Parmeniani, Cap. xiii., *these be his words, where he speaketh of baptism and of the power to baptize, which is given in the sacrament of order:* Utrunque enim sacramentum est, et quadam consecratione utrunque homini datur, illud cum baptizatur, istud cum ordinatur. Ideo...in catholica non licet utrunque iterari[12]: "*Either of them is a sacrament, and with a certain consecration either is given to man, the one when he is baptized, the other when he taketh orders. Therefore in the catholic church it is not lawful either of them to be taken twice.*"

The sacrament of order.

For the sacrament of wedlock, besides other good and sufficient proofs that it

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[1 August. Confess. Edit. Prim. in Melancth. Op. Witeb. 1601. Tom. I. foll. 29, 30. Conf. Loc. Theol. ibid. foll. 233, 4; where Melancthon says: ... numerentur hæc sacramenta. Baptismus, cœna Domini, absolutio...mihi maxime placet etiam addi ordinationem.]

[2 Spring, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 And Augustine, Conf.]

[4 Et in hoc unguento sacramentum chrismatis vultis interpretari; quod quidem in genere visibilium signaculorum sacrosanctum est, sicut ipse baptismus. —August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. civ. 239. Tom. IX. col. 293.]

[5 Manus &c. magna veneratione tenendum est, quod ab aliis perfici non potest nisi a summis sacerdotibus.—Euseb. ad Episc. Tusc. Epist. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 217. This is not genuine.]

[6 Avanceth, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Sed ita conjuncta sunt hæc duo sacramenta, ut ...nullatenus possint segregari.—Melciad. Epist. ad Hisp. Episc. in eod. Tom. I. p. 219. This is spurious.]

[8 ...totum quod salutaribus agitur sacramentis, &c.—August. Op. Enchir. de Fid. cap. lxvi. Tom. VI. col. 221.]

[9 Here Harding goes on: "Chrysostom nameth penance a sacrament."]

[10 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xx. Tom. XII. p. 186.]

[11 ...mandatum est...si...pœnitentiam gerant, sacramenti cœlestis refundendam gratiam.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Pœn. Lib. II. cap. iii. 19. Tom. II. col. 420. Conf. ibid. Lib. I. capp. vi. vii. Lib. II. cap. ii. cols. 597, &c. 417, &c.]

[12 August. Op. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 28. Tom. IX. col. 44; where *utrumque non licet iterari.*]

The sacrament of wedlock. Lib. de Fide et Operib. cap. vii.

is a sacrament, we have sundry testimonies out of St Augustine and other doctors. "In the church," saith St Augustine, "not only the band of marriage, but also the sacrament, is so commended, that it is not lawful for the husband to deliver his wife to another[13]*." He calleth wedlock a sacrament in many places of his works:* De Bono Conjugali, Cap. vii. xviii.[14], *and in the twenty-fourth chapter of that book, he saith:* Hæc omnia bona sunt, propter quæ nuptiæ bonæ sunt, proles, fides, sacramentum[15]: "*All these things be good for which marriage is good, issue, faith, the sacrament.*"

The sacrament of extreme unction. Jacob. v. Lib. iii. de Sacerd.

Of extreme unction, who doubteth whether it be a sacrament, let him read the epistle of Innocentius the first ad Decentium, Eugubinum Episcopum, Cap. viii.[16], *where, most plainly treating of it, he nameth it a sacrament. Chrysostom interpreteth the place of St James' epistle for this sacrament*[17]. *And so doth Bede*[18], *alleging the place of St James, the sixth of Mark, the authority of Innocentius, and the custom of the church. Seeing then we have found the* [c]*seven sacraments expressly mentioned in the fathers according to the teaching of the catholic church; whereas ye teach men to believe there be but two, and pretend that the fathers speak*[19] *of no more;* [d]*I trust from henceforth they will take better advice how they believe your bare word without all proof, and with certain danger of their souls forsake the doctrine of the church, which is the "sure pillar and ground of truth," as St Paul saith. In this great point Beza and ye of that side be manifestly found liars.*

1 *Tim. iii.*

[c] Untruth. For the ancient fathers never reckon precisely seven only sacraments.

[d] As this is true, so we desire further credit.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To spend words without cause is affliction of the spirit and loss of time. M. Harding here bestoweth much labour and allegeth many doctors to win that thing that he might easily have obtained without any such ado. For, gentle reader, lest that thou be deceived, and think there is some weight in this heap of feathers, we will grant without force and freely, that the holy catholic fathers have made mention, not only of seven, as M. Harding here accounteth them, but also of seventeen sundry sacraments. [a]Tertullian calleth the helve wherewith Elizæus recovered the axe out of the water *sacramentum ligni*[20], the "sacrament of wood;" and the whole state of the christian faith he calleth [b]*religionis christianæ sacramentum*[21], "the sacrament of christian religion." [cd]St Augustine in many places hath *sacramentum crucis*[22], "the sacrament of the cross." Thus he saith: *In hac crucis figura continetur... sacramentum*[23]: "In this figure or form of the cross there is contained a sacrament." So saith Leo: [e]*Crux... Christi, quæ salvandis est impensa fidelibus, et sacramentum est,* [*et*] *exemplum*[24]: "The cross of Christ, which was given to save the faithful, is both a sacrament and also a sampler." St Hierome saith: [f]*E latere Christi baptismi atque martyrii pariter sacramenta funduntur*[25]: "Out of Christ's side the sacraments of baptism and martyrdom are poured forth both together." *Leo calleth the promise of virginity *sacramentum: Quid eos manebit, qui corruperint fœdera divini sacra-*

[a] Tertull. adv. Jud.

[b] Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

[c] August. Epist. 112.

[d] August. in Serm. de Sanct. 19.

[e] Leo, de Resur. Dom. Serm. 2.

[f] Hieron. ad Ocean.

* InterDecret. Leon. cap. 14.

[13 ...in ecclesia, ubi nuptiarum non solum vinculum, verum etiam sacramentum ita commendatur, ut non liceat viro uxorem suam alteri tradere.—Id. Lib. de Fid. et Oper. cap. vii. 10. Tom. VI. col. 170.]

[14 Id. de Bon. Conjug. cap. vii. 6, 7. cap. xviii. 21. Tom. VI. cols. 323, 4, 31, 2.]

[15 Id. ibid. cap. xxiv. 32. col. 338.]

[16 Nam pœnitentibus istud [chrisma] infundi non potest, quia genus est sacramenti.—Innoc. Papæ I. ad Decent. Eugub. Episc. Epist. 8. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 454.]

[17 Chrysost. Op. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 384.]

[18 Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Luc. Evang. cap. ix. Lib. III. cap. xxxiv. Tom. V. col. 318. Conf. Hom. Æstiv. de Sanct. In Die Sanct. Un. Apost. Tom. VII. col. 155.]

[19 Spake, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20 Quid manifestius hujus ligni sacramento?—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 13. p. 226.]

[21 Id. adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 2. p. 503.]

[22 August. Op. Lib. ad Paulin. seu Epist. cxlvii. cap. xiv. 34. Tom. II. cols. 486, 7; where *sacramento.*]

[23 Id. Serm. ccxlvii. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 406; where *continetur* precedes *in hac.* This sermon is not by Augustine. It has been ascribed to Ivo Carnutensis.]

[24 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Resurr. Dom. Serm. ii. 1. col. 199; where *impensa mortalibus.*]

[25 Latus Christi percutitur lancea, et baptismi &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Ocean. Epist. lxxxii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 651.]

Number of Sacraments.

menti[1]? "What shall become of them that have broken the covenant of the heavenly sacrament?" [g]The bread that was given unto the novices or beginners in the faith, called *catechumeni*, before they were baptized, of St Augustine is called a sacrament[2]. [h]St Hilary in sundry places saith, *Sacramentum orationis: sacramentum esuritionis: sacramentum scripturarum: sacramentum fletus: sacramentum sitis*[3]: "The sacrament of prayer:" "the sacrament of fasting:" "the sacrament of the scriptures:" "the sacrament of weeping:" "the sacrament of thirst." [i]St Bernard calleth the washing of the apostles' feet a sacrament: *Ablutio pedum sacramentum est quotidianorum peccatorum*[4]: "The washing of feet is the sacrament of daily sins."

[g] August. de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. Lib. ii.
[h] Hilar. in Matt. can. 11 et 12, et can. 23.
[i] Bernard. in Serm. de Cœn. Dom.

Thus many and many more sacraments it had been easy for M. Harding to have found in the catholic learned fathers. Yet, I trow, he will not say that either the helve of an axe, or the whole religion of Christ, or a cross printed in the forehead, or martyrdom, or the scriptures, or a vow of virginity, or the bread given to the *catechumeni*, or prayer, or fasting, or weeping, or thirst, or washing of feet, are the necessary seven sacraments of the church.

Howbeit, we will not greatly strive for the name. It appeareth hereby that many things, that indeed and by special property be no sacraments, may nevertheless pass under the general name of a sacrament. But thus we say: It cannot be proved, neither by the scriptures nor by the ancient learned fathers, that this number of sacraments is so[5] specially appointed and consecrate to this purpose, or that there be neither more nor less sacraments in the church but only seven.

As for the reasons that they of M. Harding's side have brought us for proof hereof, they are too childish to be remembered. For thus they say:

Rev. v. The book in the Apocalypse hath seven seals:
Rev. viii. The seven angels there have seven trumpets:
Rev. vii. Christ hath in his right hand seven stars:
Rev. i. Christ walketh in the midst of seven golden candlesticks:
Zech. iii. Zachary saw seven eyes upon a stone:
Exod. xxxvii. There were seven candlesticks in the tabernacle:

In Compend. Theolog. *Ergo*, say they, there must needs be just seven sacraments in the church of God[6].

But, to leave these vanities, and to come to the purpose, unto every[7] necessary sacrament of the church two things specially are required; that is, a sensible outward element, and the word of institution. Without[8] either of these there is no sacrament. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*[9]: "Join the word of Christ's institution unto the sensible creature or outward element, and thereof is made a sacrament." The element or creature in baptism is water; the elements or creatures in our Lord's supper are bread and wine; the words of institution are common and known.

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

The other five sacraments want either the word or the element, or both together. As for example, matrimony, order, and penance, have the word of God, but they have no outward creature or element: extreme unction and con-

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[1 Nam si humana pacta non possunt impune calcari, quid eis manebit, qui &c.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Rust. Narbon. Epist. xcii. cap. 14. col. 479.]

[2 ... quod accipiunt, quamvis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen,...quoniam sacramentum est.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. Lib. II. cap. xxvi. 42. Tom. X. col. 62.]

[3 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. capp. v. 1. xii. 2. xiii. 6. xxiii. 4. cols. 630, 668, 76, 722.

Id. de Trin. Lib. x. 24. col. 1052. See Vol. I. page 225, note 7.]

[4 Nam ut de remissione quotidianorum minime dubitemus, habemus ejus sacramentum, pedum ablutionem.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cœn. Dom. Serm. 4. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 891.]

[5 Number is so, 1567.]

[6 Sacramenta figurata sunt in septem sigillis, quibus fuit veteris testamenti pagina sigillata quam Agnus...reseravit. Item in septem tubis quibus angeli cecinerunt. Item in septem stellis quas habebat similis Filio hominis in dextra sua. Item in septem panibus quibus Dominus turbam satiavit. Item in septem oculis super unum lapidem. Item in septem lucernis tabernaculi superpositis candelabro.—Epit. alias Compend. Theolog. Verit. Col. 1506. Lib. VI. cap. v. fol. N.i.]

[7 But unto every, 1567, omitting the intermediate words.]

[8 And without, 1567.]

[9 Accedit &c.—August. Op. In Evang. Johan. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

firmation have neither word nor element. Therefore these five latter[10], in proper use of speech, are not taken for necessary sacraments[11] of the church.

For thus Alexander of Hales saith: *Sacramentum confirmationis, ut est sacramentum, neque Dominus instituit, neque apostoli; sed postea institutum est in concilio Meldensi*[12]: "The sacrament of confirmation, as it is a sacrament, was not ordained either by Christ or by the apostles, but afterward in the council of Melda." Alex. Hales, Part. iv. Quæst. 24. Memb. 1.

So likewise Durandus saith: *Matrimonium, stricte et proprie loquendo, non est sacramentum*[13]: "Matrimony, in due and proper kind of speech, is no sacrament." Thus one of M. Harding's own doctors saith: "Confirmation is no sacrament;" another saith likewise: "Matrimony is no sacrament[14]." Durandus.

Now, to that we make account only of two sacraments, as instituted by Christ, wherewith M. Harding findeth himself so much offended; it may please him to understand that the ancient learned fathers, Irenæus, Justinus Martyr[15], Tertullian[16], St Ambrose[17], Cyrillus Alexandrinus[18], and others, having occasion to entreat of purpose and specially hereof, speak only of two sacraments, I mean of[19] baptism and of our[20] Lord's supper, and name none other. St Cyprian saith: *Tunc... demum plane sanctificari, et esse filii Dei possunt, si utroque sacramento nascantur*[21]: "Then may they be thoroughly sanctified, and become the children of God, if they be new-born by both the sacraments." By both the sacraments, he saith, meaning only of two[22]. St Augustine saith: *Quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima, et intellectu augustissima, et observatione castissima, ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplina; sicuti est baptismi sacramentum, et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini*[23]: "Our Lord and his apostles have delivered unto us a few sacraments instead of many, and the same in doing most easy, in signification most excellent, in observation most reverend, as is the sacrament of baptism and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord." Again, speaking of baptism and of the[24] supper, he saith thus: *Hæc sunt ecclesiæ gemina sacramenta*[25]: "These be the two sacraments of the church." "The two sacraments," he saith, plainly expressing the number of two[26]. Paschasius saith: *Sunt...sacramenta Christi in ecclesia* [*catholica*], *baptismus, et corpus et sanguis Domini*[27]: "These be the sacraments of Christ in the catholic church, baptism, and the body and blood of our Lord." To be short, cardinal Bessarion saith: *Hæc duo sola sacramenta in evangeliis manifeste tradita legimus*[28]: "We read that these only two sacraments were delivered us[29] plainly in the gospel[30]."

Irenæus. Just. Apol. 2. Tertull. i et iv. contr. Marc. Ambros. de Sacram. Cyril. in Myst. Cypr. Lib ii. Epist. 1. ad Steph. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. ix. August. de Symb. ad Catech. Pasch. de Cœn. Dom. Bessar. de Sacram. Eucharist.

Here hath M. Harding in express words "both the sacraments," and the "two sacraments," and the "only two sacraments" of the church. Judge thou now therefore, good christian reader, what truth thou mayest reckon to be in him that saith "Beza and they of his[31] side are manifestly found liars."

[10 Later, 1567, 1570.]

[11 For sacraments, 1567.]

[12 ...Dominus neque hoc sacramentum, ut est sacramentum, instituit...neque apostoli ..Sed postquam apostoli ... defecerunt; institutum fuit ... in concilio Meldensi.—Alex. Alens. Summ. Theol. Col. Agrip. 1622. Quæst. IX. Memb. 1. Pars IV. fol. 198.]

[13 Possibly the following is the passage meant: Sacramentum voluntatis tantum est matrimonium.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. I. cap. ix. 6. fol. 41. 2.]

[14 This sentence does not appear in 1567.]

[15 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. I. 61, &c. 65 &c. pp. 71, &c. 82, &c. Justin speaks only of baptism and the eucharist.]

[16 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 34. p. 558.]

[17 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Libr. Tom. II. cols. 349, &c. Ambrose in these books treats of baptism and the eucharist as the sacraments of the church.]

[18 Cyril of Jerusalem is probably meant. See Cyril. Hieros. Op. Par. 1720. Cateches. Myst. pp. 306, &c. Conf. Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Vol. I. p. 212.]

[19 1567 omits these three words.]

[20 And our, 1567.]

[21 ...eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum sanctum, nisi accipiant et ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari, &c. sacramento utroque &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Steph. Epist. lxxii. p. 196.]

[22 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[23 August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. ix. 13. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 49.]

[24 And the, 1567.]

[25 ...sanguis et aqua, quæ sunt &c.—Id. de Symb. Serm. ad Catechum. 15. Tom. VI. col. 562. The Benedictine editors consider this a spurious piece.]

[26 1567 omits this sentence.]

[27 Paschas. Radbert. Op. Lut. 1618. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. iii. col. 1561; where *baptismus et chrisma, corpus quoque Domini et sanguis.*]

[28 Bessar. De Sacram. Euch. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. p. 482.]

[29 Delivered to us, 1567.]

[30 Scriptures, 1567.] [31 This, 1567.]

Two Sacraments.

Addition.

M. Hard. 335. a. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Bessarion nameth other sacraments. Wherefore there is an impudent lie included in your words, where you say that I have in express words the only two sacraments of the church." *The answer.* What colour have you in your face, M. Harding, when ye thus modestly call others impudent? I know not how Bessarion could in plainer wise have expressed his mind. These be his words: *Hæc duo sola sacramenta in evangeliis manifeste tradita legimus:* "We read that these only two sacraments are delivered to us plainly in the gospels." If only two be only two, then judge thou, good reader, who is impudent. ☜

Conc. Trid. Sess. 7.

All these things notwithstanding, the late pretensed council of Trident, with most horrible threats and great curses, concludeth the contrary: *Si quis dixerit, sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, aut esse plura vel pauciora quam septem,... aut etiam aliquod horum... non esse vere et proprie sacramentum, anathema sit*[1]: "If any man shall say that the sacraments of the new law were not all ordained of our Lord Jesus Christ, or that there be fewer or more than seven, or that any one of the same verily and in proper use of speech is not a sacrament, accursed be he."

In Captiv. Babylon.

But, ye say, Luther and the Germans admit three sacraments, baptism, the Lord's supper, and penance; and Philip Melancthon afterward found out the fourth. O M. Harding, what is it that thus inflameth your tongue to speak untruth? If it had pleased you to have seen it, Luther and Melancthon plainly expressed their own meaning, and utterly removed all manner occasion of such cavils. Luther writeth thus: *Proprie ea visum est vocare sacramenta, quæ annexis signis promissa sunt: cetera, quia signis alligata non sunt, nuda promissa sunt. Quo fit ut, si rigide loqui velimus, tantum duo sint in ecclesia Dei sacramenta, baptismus et panis; cum in his solis et institutum divinitus signum et promissionem remissionis peccatorum videamus*[2]: "In proper speech, those we call sacraments which are promised with signs annexed. The rest, that have no signs, are bare promises. Wherefore, speaking hereof precisely and strictly, there are only two sacraments in the church of God, baptism and the bread; forasmuch as in these only we find both the sign ordained by God, and also the promise of remission of sins."

In Apolog. Confess. August.

Likewise Melancthon saith he "can well call order a sacrament, so that it be known from baptism and the supper, which in proper speech and verily be called sacraments[3]."

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 3.

We say that baptism is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ; and that no person which will profess Christ's name ought to be restrained or kept back therefrom, no, not the very babes of Christians, forsomuch as they be born in sin, and do pertain unto the people of God.

M. HARDING.

Baptism very slenderly spoken of by the defenders.

Baptism taught by our new clergy to be but a sign and seal of our new birth.

As ye acknowledge few sacraments, so ye speak of them very slenderly. Baptism, ye say, is "a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ." Now, whereas ye mean, as within few lines ye declare, by the name of a sacrament [a] *no more but a token or sign, specially sith ye teach in your articles that baptism at the best is but a sign and seal of our new birth; ye seem not to attribute to baptism so much as the scripture doth. Neither is baptism only a sign or token that sins be remitted; but we believe as the catholic church,*

[a] Untruth. For we say not so.

[1 Concil. Trident. Sess. VII. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. De Sacram. can. 1. Tom. XIV. col. 776.]

[2 Proprie tamen ea sacramenta vocari visum est, quæ &c. quia signia &c. loqui volumus &c. duo sunt &c.—Luther. Op. Witeb. 1554-83. Capt. Babyl. Tom. II. fol. 88.]

[3 See before, page 456, note 1.]

according to the scriptures, teacheth, that in and by baptism sins be fully and truly remitted and put away; and that not through the faith [b]*only of the giver or receiver, or of any other, though hereunto it be necessary in those that be come to age of discretion; but through the power and virtue of the sacrament, and God's promise. And therefore, to whom it is given, of them it is rightly said that they be baptized for remission of their sins. The scriptures be plain. First, Ezechiel, speaking of this holy sacrament, saith in the person of God: "I will shed*[5] *upon you clean water, and ye shall be made clean from all your defilings, and from your idols will I cleanse you." Next, St Paul saith that God "hath saved us by the washing of regeneration, and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured upon us abundantly by Jesus Christ our Saviour." That I may add to these manifest scriptures the authority of a learned father, not whereby to strengthen the truth of them, but to witness our right understanding of them, St Augustine,* Lib. iii. Contra Duas Epist. Pelagian. Cap. iii., *shewing the slander of the Pelagians against the catholics, saith thus in their person: "Again they (that is, after their meaning, the catholics) avouch, that baptism maketh not indeed new men again, that is to wit, that it giveth not full remission of sins," &c. Thereto eftsoons answering, St Augustine saith:* [c]Mentiuntur, insidiantur, tergiversantur: *"They lie, they study how to deceive, they seek shifts: we say not this." And, after certain sentences returning to baptism, he concludeth thus: "Wherefore baptism washeth away all sins, utterly all, of deeds, words, thoughts, be they original or actual, be they done ignorantly or wittingly. But it taketh not away the infirmity which the regenerate resisteth*[6]*," &c. Which place doth not only set forth the virtue of baptism, but also* [d]*destroyeth the doctrine of our new gospellers, that affirm concupiscence, which remaineth after baptism, to be verily sin.* [e]*Wherein they err manifestly against the scripture and sense of the fathers.*

That in baptism sins be fully and truly forgiven.

Cap. xxxvi.

Tit. iii.

Pelagians belied the catholics, as the sacramentaries do also now.

[b] This tale[4] is needless and out of season.

[c] These words may well pertain to M. Harding himself. For we say not thus.

[d] Untruth, joined with gross ignorance. M. Harding foully mistaketh St Augustine's mind.

[e] Untruth, fond and vain. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ill will is ever plentiful of ill words. M. Harding here maketh himself much matter without cause. He teacheth our new clergy, that "baptism is not only a sign or a token of remission of sins:" he telleth us of "the faith of the giver; of the faith of the receiver; of the power of the sacrament; of concupiscence, that it is no sin." And more, I trow, he would have said, if more had presently come to mind. Verily the poor new clergy speaketh not one word in all this whole place, neither of sign nor of token, nor of the receiver, nor of the giver, nor of the power of the sacrament, nor of concupiscence, whether it be sin or not sin, nor of any other like thing. Yet in the end he taketh St Augustine's words without his meaning, and crieth out against[7] us, "They lie, they study to deceive, they seek shifts." And why so? Certainly because we say "baptism is a sacrament of remission of sins;" and that "the children of the faithful, for that they be born in sin, and pertain to the people of God, ought therefore to be baptized." Other causes than these in any our words he can find none.

True it is that the sacrament[8] dependeth not neither of the minister, nor of the receiver, nor of any other: for, though they be all the children of sin, yet is baptism the sacrament of remission of sin. St Augustine saith: *Securum me fecit Magister meus, de quo Spiritus ejus dicit, Hic est qui baptizat*[9]*:* "Christ my Master hath assured me, of whom his own Spirit saith, 'This is he that baptizeth'."

August. in Johan. Tract. 5. De Consecr. Dist. 4. Baptismus talis. John i.

[4 Talke, Def. 1567.]

[5 Wished, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[6 Baptisma quoque, inquiunt, non vere homines novos facere asserunt, id est, non plenam dare remissionem peccatorum, &c. Mentiuntur, &c. non hoc dicimus...Baptismus igitur abluit quidem peccata omnia, prorsus omnia, factorum, dictorum, cogitorum, sive originalia, sive addita, sive quæ ignoranter, sive quæ scienter admissa sunt: sed non aufert infirmitatem, cui regeneratus resistit, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. III. cap. iii. 4, 5. Tom. X. pp. 448, 9.]

[7 Crieth against, 1567.]

[8 That sacrament, 1570.]

[9 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. v. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 327; where *dixit*. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 26. col. 1985.]

The Faith of the Infants.

Nevertheless concerning the faith of the parents and others the holy doctors have sometime[1] written otherwise. St Augustine saith: *Satis pie recteque creditur, prodesse parvulo eorum fidem a quibus consecrandus offertur*[2]: "It is good and godly to believe that the child is holpen by the faith of them by whom he is offered or brought unto baptism." Again he saith: *Accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum pedes, ut veniant; aliorum cor, ut credant*[3]: "Our mother the church lendeth them other men's feet, that they may come; and other men's hearts, that they may believe." The like sayings might be alleged out of Justinus Martyr, St Cyprian, St Hierome, and others; for thus they write: how truly, I will not say; but their words be plain. The prophet Abacuc saith: *Justus ex fide sua vivet:* "The just man shall live (not by the faith of his parents, but) by his own faith."

August. de Liber Arbitr. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii.
August. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 10.

Of this faith St Hierome saith: *Qui plena fide non suscipiunt salutare baptisma, accipiunt quidem aquam, sed non accipiunt Spiritum*[4]: "They that receive not baptism with perfect[5] faith, receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not." St Augustine saith: *Verus baptismus constat non tam ablutione corporis, quam fide cordis, sicut apostolica doctrina tradidit, dicens, Fide mundans corda eorum; et alibi, Salvos facit baptisma, non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio in Deum, [per resurrectionem Jesu Christi]*[6]: "True baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body as in the faith of the heart; as the doctrine of the apostles hath taught us, saying, 'By faith purifying their hearts;' and in another place, 'Baptism maketh us safe; not the[7] putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ'." Likewise again he saith: *Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*[8]: "Whence is all this so great virtue or power of the water, that it toucheth the body, and washeth the heart, but by the working of the word? Not for that it is spoken (by the minister), but for that it is believed (of the faithful)."

Hieron. in Ezech. cap. xvi.
De Consecr. Dist. 4. Verus.
Acts xv.
1 Pet. iii.
August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

Some man will say, Children or infants believe nothing, but are utterly void of faith. St Augustine answereth: *Qui non crediderit, condemnabitur.... Sicut eos renasci per ministerium baptizantium, ita etiam [eos] credere per corda et ora confitentium confitemur*[9]: "He that believeth not shall be damned. We confess that, as they be born again by the ministry of baptizers, so they believe by the hearts and mouths of the confessors." Again he saith: *Habent fidem propter fidei sacramentum*[10]: "They have faith, because they have (baptism, which is) the sacrament of faith." For he saith: *Quemadmodum sacramentum corporis Christi secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est,.... ita sacramentum fidei fides est*[11]: "As the sacrament of Christ's body (not verily and indeed, but) after a certain manner of speech is Christ's body; so baptism is faith, because it is the sacrament of faith." Therefore cardinal Cajetane is worthily blamed by Catharinus, in that he saith: "An infant, for that he wanteth instruction in faith, therefore hath not perfect[5] baptism[12]."

August. in Epist. 105.
August. Epist. 23.
In ead. Epist.
Cathar. contr. Cajet. Error. 87 et 88.

Touching the virtue or power of this sacrament, if M. Harding mean thereby the outward element of the water, he knoweth, or may easily know, it is a common resolution amongst all his own school-doctors, *Gratia Dei non est alli-*

[1 Sometimes, 1567.]

[2 Id. de Lib. Arbitr. Lib. III. cap. xxiii. 67. Tom. I. col. 637.]

[3 Id. de Verb. Apost. Serm. clxxvi. 2. Tom. V. col. 840.]

[4 ...qui non plena fide accipiunt baptismum salutare. De quibus dicendum est, quod acceperint aquam, sed non acceperint Spiritum.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Ezech. Proph. cap. xvi. Tom. III. col. 784.]

[5 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[6 August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 150. cols. 2033, 4; where *quemadmodum apostolica.*]

[7 That, 1570.]

[8 Id. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[9 Id. ad Sixt. Epist. cxciv. cap. x. 46. Tom. II. col. 729; where *confitentur.*]

[10 ...respondetur fidem habere propter &c.—Id. ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267.]

[11 Id. ibid.; where *sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum.*]

[12 Duos comites esse baptismi, ut perfecte suscipiatur, videlicet præcedentem doctrinam, et subsequentem: propterea infantes non perfecte baptismum suscipere.—Ambr. Cathar. in Excerpt. de Comm. Card. Caietan. Par. 1535. Error. Ind. fol. b. iiii. Conf. pp. 157, 8.]

gata sacramentis: "The grace of God is not tied to any sacraments." The meaning thereof is this, that[13] God is able to work salvation both with them and without them. St Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: *Jam vos mundi estis propter sermonem quem loquutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis:... nisi quia etiam in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua*[14]? "'Now are ye clean because of the word that I have spoken to you.' But why saith he not, Now ye are clean because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed, saving that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean? Take away the word, and what is the water more than water?" Therefore he saith: *Aqua exhibet forinsecus sacramentum gratiæ*[15]: "The water giveth us outwardly the sacrament of grace." And this is the power and virtue of the sacraments[16].

The Power of Baptism.

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

De Consecr. Dist. 4. Aliud est.

August. Epist. 23.

Notwithstanding, we must consider that the learned fathers in their treaties of the sacraments sometime use the outward sign instead of the thing itself that is signified; sometime they use the thing signified instead of the sign. As for example, sometimes they name Christ's blood instead of the water: sometime they name the water instead of Christ's blood. This figure is called *metonymia*, that is to say, "an exchange of names;" and is much used among[17] the learned, specially speaking of the sacraments.

St Augustine, using the water in place of the blood of Christ that is signified by the water, saith thus: *Solvit vinculum culpæ: reconciliat bonum naturæ: regenerat hominem in uno Christo*[18]: "It breaketh the band of sin: it reconcileth the goodness of nature: it doth renew a man in one Christ."

August. Epist. 23.

Notwithstanding, indeed and in precise manner of speech salvation must be sought in Christ alone, and not in any outward signs. "Christ is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." The "blood of Christ maketh us clean from all our sins." St Cyprian saith: *Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus Sancti est; et ipsi soli hujus efficientiæ privilegium manet. Verborum solemnitas, et sacri invocatio nominis, et signa apostolicis institutionibus.... attributa, visibile celebrant sacramentum; rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format et efficit*[19]: "The remission of sin, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other sacrament, is indeed of the Holy Ghost; and to the same Holy Ghost only the privilege of this work doth appertain. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priests by the institution of the apostles, work the visible outward sacrament; but, touching the substance thereof (which is the remission of sins), it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it."

John i.

1 John i.

Cypr. de Bapt. Christ.

Likewise saith St Hierome: *Homo aquam tantum tribuit; Deus autem* [*dat*] *Spiritum Sanctum, quo... sordes abluuntur*[20]: "The minister, being a man, giveth only the water; but God giveth the Holy Ghost, whereby the sins be washed away." And again: *Si quis... corporeum, et quod oculis carnis aspicitur, aquæ tantum accipit lavacrum, non est indutus Dominum Jesum Christum*[21]: "If any man have received only the bodily washing of water, that is outwardly seen with the eye, he hath not put on our Lord Jesus Christ."

Hieron. in Esai. cap. iv.

Hieron. ad Gal. cap. iii.

Concerning concupiscence remaining in the faithful after baptism, whether it be sin or no sin, there was no great cause why M. Harding should in this place move question; saving that, as he hath hitherto denied that falsehood[22] is false-

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[13] Is that, 1567.]

[14] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703; where *verbum quod locutus*, and *quia et in*. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 39. col. 1993.]

[15] Id. ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 2. Tom. II. col. 264; where *exhibens*.]

[16] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17] Amongst, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Id. ibid.; where *solvens, reconcilians*, and *regenerant*. But Augustine introduces *Spiritus operans intrinsecus*, to which the word *solvens* seems more naturally to refer.]

[19] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Bapt. Christ. (Arnold.) p. 30; where *institutionibus apostolicis sacerdotum ministeriis*.]

[20] Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. II. in Isai. Proph. cap. iv. Tom. III. col. 44; where *tantum aquam tribuat*.]

[21] Id. Comm. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. iii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 264.]

[22] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

Concupiscence is sin.

hood[1], so he would now deny that sin is sin. Undoubtedly St Paul, feeling the same concupiscence in himself, is forced to mourn and to cry out: "I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and leading me prisoner to the law of sin." And again: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?"

Rom. vii.

Ambros. Lib. x. Epist. 84.

Therefore St Ambrose saith: *Non invenitur in ullo hominum tanta concordia, ut legi mentis lex quæ membris est insita non repugnet. Propter quod ex omnium sanctorum persona accipitur, quod Johannes apostolus ait, Si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est*[2]: "There is not found in any man such concord (between the flesh and the spirit), but that the law (of concupiscence) which is planted in the members fighteth against the law of the mind. And for that cause these[3] words of St John the apostle are taken as spoken in the person of all saints, 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us'."

1 John i.

And, to leave all others, St Augustine saith in most plain wise: *Concupiscentia carnis, adversus quam bonus concupiscit Spiritus, et peccatum est, ... et pœna peccati, ... et causa peccati*[4]: "The concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good Spirit lusteth, is both sin, and the pain of sin, and the cause of sin." And again he saith: *Quamdiu vivis, necesse est peccatum esse in membris tuis*[5]: "As long as thou livest there must needs be sin in thy members."

August. contr. Julian. Lib. v. cap. iii.

August. in Johan. Tract. 41.

If M. Harding say we wrest and rack St Augustine, and take his words otherwise than he meant; Albertus Pighius, his own principal doctor, will control him. Thus he writeth: *Augustinus tradit, hanc ipsam concupiscentiam corpori nostro inspersam atque innatam, in nondum renatis vere et proprie peccatum esse; quæ ignoscatur quidem, sed non tollatur in baptismo*[6]: "St Augustine teacheth us that this same concupiscence, planted in our body, in them that be not regenerate by baptism verily and in plain manner of speech is sin; and that the same concupiscence is forgiven in baptism, but is not utterly taken away."

Albert. Pigh. in Controv. de Pecc. Orig.

Yet the late blessed chapter of Trident, in spite of St Augustine, hath published the contrary. For this is the determination of the fathers there[7]: *Hanc concupiscentiam, quam apostolus aliquando appellat peccatum, sancta synodus declarat ecclesiam catholicam nunquam intellexisse ... quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit; sed quia ex peccato est, et ad peccatum inclinat. Si quis autem contrarium senserit, anathema sit*[8]: "The concupiscence, which the apostle St Paul sometime calleth sin, this holy council declareth that the catholic church never understood it to be called sin for that it is so indeed and in proper manner of speech in them that be baptized; but because it is of sin, and inclineth us unto sin. And if any man think the contrary, accursed be he." Thus we see that, by the decree of this worthy covent, St Ambrose and St Augustine, and other holy fathers that have written the same, are all accursed.

Concil. Trid. Sess. 5.

As for that M. Harding here toucheth as an error defended by certain, I know not by whom, that "baptism giveth not full remission of sins[9]," he may command it home again to Lovain amongst his fellows, and join it with other of his and their vanities; for it is no part nor portion of our doctrine. We confess, and have evermore taught, that in the sacrament of baptism by the death and blood of Christ is given remission of all manner sins; and that not in half, or in part, or by way of imagination or by fancy; but full, whole,

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[1 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Ad Demetr. Virg. Epist. cap. xxiv. ad calc. Prosp. Op. Par. 1711. fol. 950; where *nec invenitur*, and *quoniam peccatum*. This epistle has been ascribed to Ambrose and Prosper: it is uncertain who is the author.]

[3 The, 1567.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. v. cap. iii. 8. Tom. X. col. 631.]

[5 Quamdiu peccatum necesse est esse in membris tuis, saltem illi regnum auferatur, non fiat quod jubet.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. viii. Tractat. xli. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 576.]

[6 Tradit ille...ut hæc ipsa concupiscentia, nostro corpori inspersa atque innata...in nondum baptizatis vere et proprie peccatum sit, quæ &c.—Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Controv. Par. 1586. Controv. I. fol. 3.]

[7 This clause does not appear in 1567.]

[8 Concil. Trident. Sess. v. can. 5. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 753; where *quam aliquando apostolus peccatum appellat.*]

[9 Sin, 1567, 1570.]

and perfect[10] of all together; so that now, as St Paul saith, "there is no damnation unto them that be in Christ Jesus[11]." Rom. viii.

Now judge thou indifferently, gentle reader, what spirit forced M. Harding thus terribly to cry out: "They lie, they study to deceive, they seek shifts," &c.

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 1.

We say that *eucharistia*, that is to say[12], the supper of the Lord, is a sacrament, that is, an evident representation of the body[13] and blood of Christ, wherein is set as it were before our eyes the death of Christ and his resurrection, and whatsoever he did[14] whilst he was in his mortal body; to the end we may give him thanks for his death and for our deliverance; and that by the often receiving of this sacrament we may daily renew the remembrance thereof[15], to the intent we, being fed with the body and blood of Christ, may be brought into the hope of the resurrection and of everlasting life, and may most assuredly believe, that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine, so our souls be fed with the body and blood of Christ[16].

M. HARDING.

Among all these gay words [a]*we hear not so much as one syllable uttered whereby we may understand that ye believe the very body of Christ to be indeed present in the blessed sacrament of the altar. Ye confess the* eucharistia, *which commonly ye call "the supper of the Lord," to be a sacrament, and all that to be none other than an evident token of the body and blood of Christ. As for that ye add, to make the matter seem*[17] *somewhat, of the death of Christ, and his resurrection, and his acts done in flesh; what reason or scripture have ye, that a piece of bread and a cup of wine (for* [b]*in your belief more make ye not of this sacrament) can set them as it were before our eyes? Doth not rather a fair painted table set forth the acts of our Saviour before our eyes more lively and more expressly? And be we not moved therewith to give God thanks for his great benefits, as well as if we have bread and wine on a table? But, I pray you, sithence all is* [c]*but bread and wine after your teaching, how shall we by eating and drinking thereof be fed with the body and blood of Christ? Again, can we by* [d]*bread and wine be brought into hope of the resurrection and everlasting life, as ye say? And how shall we by eating of bread and drinking of wine be assured that Christ's body and blood doth in like manner feed our souls, as bread and wine feedeth our bodies? Though your imagination be never so strong, yet, by eating of that which is bread only, and drinking of that which is wine only, we see not how your souls can be fed with the true body and blood of Christ, no more than ye be at your common meals.*

The Lord's supper with the defenders is an evident token of the body and blood of Christ.

[a] We utter as many syllables of real presence as Christ ever uttered.

[b] Untruth, joined with slander[18].

[c] Untruth slanderous, as the former.

[d] Even as well as by the water in baptism.

Verily, when all your tale is told, ye seem to say nothing else touching the eating of our Lord's body, but that the body of Christ remaineth in heaven, and that we must send up our souls thither, to eat it there by a certain imagination, which ye call faith: for this is your master Calvin's doctrine.... By this doctrine all standeth upon your faith: your faith doth all alone; and he that believeth in Christ so as ye teach eateth his body and drinketh his blood. For by your gospel to eat the body is nothing else but to believe in Christ. If this be true, then is your supper superfluous....

Faith doth all.

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[10] Perête, 1567, 1570.]

[11] Jesu, 1567, 1570.]

[12] These four words are not in Conf.]

[13] That is to wit an evident token of the body, Conf.]

[14] What act soever he did, Conf.]

[15] Of that matter, Conf.]

[16] Believe that the body and blood of Christ doth in like manner feed our souls as bread and wine doth feed our bodies, Conf.]

[17] Seen, 1611.]

[18] Slander and malice, Def. 1567.]

For declaration of the truth herein, it is to be considered that, when we speak of this blessed sacrament, we mean specially the thing received to be the very real body of Christ, not only a sign or token of his body; yet we think it necessary [e]*the doctrine of the fathers be clearly taught, which is, that here is a sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament. The* [f]*form of bread and wine, which is seen, is the sacrament, that is to say, a sign of the holy thing: for a sacrament, besides the outward shape which it representeth to the senses, causeth another thing to come into knowledge. The thing of this sacrament is of two sorts, the one* [g]*in the same contained and signified, the other signified but not contained. The first is the body of Christ, born of the virgin Mary, and his blood shed for our redemption; the second is the unity of the church in those that be predestinate, called, justified, and glorified: which church is Christ's body mystical. So that here are three distinct things understanded: the one is a sacrament only; the other a sacrament and the thing; the third the thing and not a sacrament. The first is the visible shape or form of bread and wine; the second is the proper and very flesh and blood of Christ; the third his mystical body.*

The catholic doctrine touching the sacrament of the altar.

A threefold distinction to be considered in the doctrine of this sacrament.

[e] Untruth, contrary to the ancient fathers: read the answer.
[f] Untruth, without sense or savour. No catholic father ever taught this peevish doctrine.
[g] Untruth, and one of M. Harding's mystical dreams.

And, as there be two things of this sacrament, so be there also two means or ways of eating; the one sacramental[1]*, after which both good and* [h]*evil eat the true body of Christ; they to salvation, these to damnation; the other spiritual, after which the good only do eat. These defenders, as all other the sacramentaries, speaking of these distinct things indistinctly, cause confusion, and deceive the unlearned readers*[2]*... In such a sense and meaning the place commonly alleged out of St Augustine, as also many other the like, may well be understanded, without prejudice of the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament:* Ut quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti[3]: "*To what purpose makest thou ready*[4] *teeth and belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten.*" *Now these defenders, harping only upon this one string of spiritual eating, and shunning the faith of the catholic church touching the true presence of the body, and violently wresting the holy*[5] *scripture and ancient fathers to a contrary sense, admitting figures for truth, tropes for the letter, shadows for things, play us many a false lesson, and teach horrible lies, to the utter subversion of those that be led by them.*

Indistinct speaking of distinct things.

[h] Untruth, horrible and heathenish.

All this is only M. Harding's descant. We admit figures for figures, and truth for truth.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Real Presence.

"Here is no mention," saith M. Harding, "of real presence;" and thereupon he playeth us many a proper lesson. Notwithstanding, here is as much mention made of real presence as either Christ or his apostles ever made, or in the primitive catholic church of God was ever believed.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "St Ambrose saith, 'Thou which receivest the flesh of Christ art made partaker in that food of his divine substance[6].' But, if it were bread which we receive at Christ's supper, in that food of bread we should not be made partakers of the divine substance, &c. Chrysostom saith: *Vasa non sunt capacia illius quem in se habent, non sentiunt illum; nos vero plane*[7]: 'The[8] vessels be not partakers of him, nor feel him whom they contain; but we do truly,' &c. Leo saith: Ye ought so to communicate of the holy table that ye doubt nothing at all of Christ's body and blood: *Hoc enim ore sumitur, quod fide creditur*[9]: 'For that thing is taken in my[10] mouth which is believed in faith,' &c. These are such testimonies that can never be avoided

M. Hard. fol. 339. b. [Detect.] 340. b. [Detect.]

[1 One is sacramental, Conf.]

[2 Here Harding goes on with the distinction between sacramental eating, in which he declares that all receive Christ's body, and spiritual eating, of which the chief instrument he says is faith.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679–1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489; where *dentes*.]

[4 Makest ready, Conf.]

[5 Wresting holy, Conf.; Def. 1570 repeats *the*.]

[6 ...tu qui accipis carnem, divinæ ejus substantiæ in illo participaris alimento.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686–90. De Sacram. Lib. VI. cap. i. 4. Tom. II. col. 381.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718–38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 22.]

[8 They, 1570.]

[9 ...sic sacræ mensæ communicare debetis, ut nihil prorsus de veritate corporis Christi et sanguinis ambigatis. Hoc &c.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Jejun. Sept. Mens. Serm. vi. 2. col. 248.]

[10 By, 1570.]

Real Presence.

by any answer." *The answer.* Whether these testimonies may be answered or no, I doubt not but it may soon appear. But first, M. Harding, it may please you to remember, that the author that beareth the name of Chrysostom saith thus: *In sacris vasis non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur*[11]: "The very body of Christ is not in the holy vessels; but the sacrament of that body is therein contained." Here have we Chrysostom against Chrysostom: the one saith, "Christ's body is in the vessels;" the other saith, "Christ's body is not in the vessels." And, as touching the mouth, St Augustine saith: "The body of Christ requireth the hunger of the inward man:" "by inward drinking I am blessed:" "this bread entereth not into the belly:" "to believe in Christ, that is to eat the bread of life[12]." Thus we see that Christ's body is in the vessels, and yet not in the vessels; in the mouth, and yet not in the mouth. These contradictions may easily be reconciled, if a man be acquainted with the phrases of the ancient writers. For further resolution whereof, and for shortness of time, I will refer thee, gentle reader, to that I have otherwhere written touching the same. There shalt thou find that, as Chrysostom saith here, "Christ's body is in the vessels;" even so Athanasius saith, "Our Lord is in the words of the scriptures[13];" St Augustine saith, "Holy men receive Christ in their hands and in their [14]forehead[15];" St Chrysostom saith, "The priest beareth the Holy Ghost[16];" St Augustine saith, "The people is laid upon the communion-table: the people is in the cup[17];" St Gregory saith, "Abel by signification bare Christ in his hands[18]." These and other like phrases are there alleged. Thus is Christ's body present, not really, nor in substance, but only in mystery. Thus Chrysostom saith, "Christ's body is in the communion-vessels;" thus Leo saith, "The same body is in the mouth of the faithful." Now, if M. Harding will gather of Chrysostom that Christ's body is really present in the vessels, or of Leo that the same body is really present in the mouth; then must he likewise gather of these other fathers that God is really present in the words of the scripture; that Christ is really present in our foreheads; that the Holy Ghost is really present in the bason; that the people is really laid upon the holy table, or really present in the cup; and that Abel bare Christ really in his hands. Such and other like absurdities, M. Harding, must needs follow of your doctrine. But Gregorius Nyssenus saith: *Abusive aliquid in aliquo loco esse dicimus, propter operationem ejus quæ ibi est; ... cum enim dicere deberemus, Ibi operatur, dicimus, Ibi est*[19]: "We say that a thing is in some place by an abuse of speech, in respect of the effect of some thing that there is wrought. For, whereas we should say, 'There it worketh,' we say, 'There it is'." Thus we say the moon is in the head or in the leg; and our words are true; and yet indeed substantially and really the moon is neither in the one part nor in the other. And this is it that Chrysostom saith: The very body of Christ is not in the communion-vessels; but the sacrament thereof is there contained.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. ii.

Defens. Part. ii. cap. xiv. Div. 4, 5.

Gregor. Nyss. de Anim. cap. xi.

But St Ambrose saith: "In receiving the sacrament we are made partakers of the divine substance." "This," say you, "could not be, if there remained bread in the sacrament." And why so, M. Harding? Are not we partakers of the same divine substance in the sacrament of baptism? St Augustine saith: "By baptism we are incorporate into Christ, and are made one body with his body[20]."

August. de Baptis. Parv.

[11 ...in quibus non &c.—Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. ex cap. v. Tom. VI. p. lxiii.]

[12 ...intus bibendo felix sum...Panis quippe iste interioris hominis quærit esuriem...Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 17; xxvi. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 493, 4. Conf. De Verb. Evang. Luc. vii. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 152.]

[13 Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν γραφῶν ῥήμασιν ὁ Κύριος.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Marcell. Epist. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 1002.]

[14 Foreheads, 1570.]

[15 Sancti...Christum accipiunt in manu et in fronte.—August. Op. In B. Johan. Apoc. Expos. Hom. xi. Tom. III. Append. col. 172. This exposition is spurious.]

[16 Ἕστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.—Chrysost. Op. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 383.]

[17 August. Op. Serm. ccxxix. Tom. V. col. 976. See Vol. I. page 468, note 1.]

[18 ...hunc Abel significando in manibus tenuit.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In B. Job. Lib. XXIX. cap. XXXVIII. 69. Tom. I. col. 948.]

[19 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Anim. Serm. Tom. II. p. 111.]

[20 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 143. col. 2030. See Vol. I. page 141, note 7.]

Real Presence.

Leo de Pass. Dom. Serm. 4.

Leo saith: *Corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi*[1]*:* "The body of him that is new-born in baptism is made the flesh of Christ crucified;" that is to say, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. And what greater participation of the divine substance can you desire? Yet, nevertheless, the very substance of water remaineth still. Even so, notwithstanding we be made partakers of the divine substance of Christ in the receiving of the holy mysteries, yet the substance of bread therein remaineth still. And, forasmuch as ye would prove by these words of St Ambrose that "Christ is present in the sacrament;" the same St Ambrose also saith that "Christ is likewise present in the water of baptism." Thus he saith: *Crede... Divinitatis illic esse præsentiam. Operationem credis? non credis præsentiam? Unde sequeretur operatio, nisi præcederet ante præsentia, &c.*[2] *Crede... adesse Dominum Jesum invocatum precibus sacerdotum. ...Ait, ubi fuerint duo vel tres, ibi et ego sum. Quanto magis, ubi est ecclesia, ubi mysteria sua sunt, ibi dignatur suam impartire præsentiam*[3]*!* "Believe thou that there (in the sacrament[4] of baptism) is the presence of the Godhead. Believest thou the working? and believest thou not the presence? How could the working follow, unless the presence went before?" "Believe thou that our Lord Jesus is present (at the baptism), being called upon by the prayers of the priests. Christ saith, 'Where as be two or three, there am I.' How much more will he vouchsafe to offer his presence where as his church is, and where as are the mysteries (of his baptism)!" Now, M. Harding, as Christ is present in the one sacrament, even so, and none otherwise, is he present in the other.

Ambros. de his qui init. cap. ii.

cap. v.

But Leo saith: "The same thing is received by the mouth that is believed by our faith[5]." These words, as Leo meant them, are very true; but as you would handle them by your constructions, they are most untrue. Leo in that place disputeth against the heretic Eutyches, whose error was this, that Christ's body after his ascension was wholly changed into his Godhead, and that therefore now he hath no body at all. Against him Leo reasoneth thus: The very sacrament of Christ's body, which thou receivest with thy mouth, is sufficient to reprove thee. For if Christ, being now in heaven, have no body at all, how can this be a sacrament of his body? In like sort Chrysostom disputeth against certain other heretics, that said Christ died not upon the cross. *Nam quando dicunt, &c.:* "When they say, 'How may it appear that Christ was crucified?' besides many other arguments, we bring forth the mysteries, and stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, whose figure, whose sign or remembrance is this sacrifice?" *Cujus symbolum ac signum est hoc sacrificium*[6]*?* As if he would reason thus: The sacrament is a remembrance of Christ's death. Therefore it is evident that Christ hath died.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Likewise Tertullian reasoneth against the heretic Marcion, that said, "Christ had never any body at all, but only a vain shew or a likeliness of a body:" "Christ," saith he, "said thus, 'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body. It could not be a figure, unless Christ indeed had a body: for a vain shew or a likeliness can bear no figure[7]." Thus reasoneth Tertullian: *Christus acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei; figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua...quod est phantasma figuram capere non posset*[8].

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

Even so saith Leo unto Eutyches: Thou sayest that Christ hath no body; but the very sacrament that thou receivest reproveth thee. "For the thing that thy mouth receiveth is the same that thou believest by thy faith;" that is to say, it is a sacrament of that thing that thou believest by thy faith. We believe

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[1 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Pass. Dom. Serm. xiv. 5. col. 176; where *fiat caro.*]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. iii. 8. Tom. II. col. 327; where *illic adesse.*]

[3 Id. ibid. cap. v. 27. col. 332.]

[4 Sacraments, 1570, 1609.]

[5 See before, page 466, note 9.]

[6 Ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσι, πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι ἐτύθη ὁ Χριστός; μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοὺς ἐπιστομίζομεν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνος σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα;—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[7 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 258, note 5.]

[8 The Latin of this quotation does not appear in 1570.]

that Christ was born in the very substance of our body, that he died, that he was buried, that he rose again, that he ascended into heaven in the same body, and that he "sitteth at the right hand of God the Father." The sacrament of that body is it that we receive with our mouths. So saith Gelasius: *Hoc nobis in ipso ... Domino sentiendum* [*est*], *quod in ejus imagine profitemur*[9]: "We must think the same of Christ our Lord that we profess in (the sacrament, which is) his image." "We must think the same," he saith; and yet, if we go precisely to the matter, we may in no wise "think the same." So saith St Augustine: [*Aqua*] *corpus tangit, et cor abluit*[10]: "The water (of baptism) toucheth the body, and washeth the heart." Yet is it not the water indeed that washeth the heart. The water is a sacrament of God's grace; and that is it that washeth the heart. So saith Leo in another place, speaking likewise of the sacrament: *Transimus in quod sumimus*[11]: "We are changed into the same thing that we receive." Yet, I trow, M. Harding, you will not say we are changed into the sacrament; but we are changed into Christ's body, that is represented by the sacrament.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

This answer is plain, and agreeable to the articles of our faith and to the general doctrine of the catholic fathers. And these are the testimonies which M. Harding saith "can never be avoided by any answer while the world standeth." ☙

M. Hard. fol. 341. b. [Detect.]

Farther he saith: "What reason or scripture have ye, that a piece of bread and a cup of wine can set the death and resurrection of Christ as it were before your eyes?" "Verily, when all your tale is told, ye seem to say nothing else but that the body of Christ remaineth in heaven, and that we must send up our souls thither to eat it there by a certain imagination, which ye call faith." ☙

Here ye do great wrong, M. Harding, to call the faith of Christ an imagination, or, as I trow ye mean, a fancy. St Paul saith: *Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum*: "Faith is (not an imagination, but) the substance and ground of the things that we hope for." If ye travel once again to Rome, being thus far instructed already, ye will easily learn the lesson that one of your late popes there[12], as it is reported, taught his cardinals: *O quantum nobis profuit illa fabula de Christo!*

That we ought to send up our faith into heaven, and there to embrace the body of Christ, it is St Augustine's doctrine; it is not ours. These be his words: *Dices, Quomodo tenebo* [*Christum*] *absentem? Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti. Parentes tui tenuerunt carne; tu tene corde*[13]: "Thou wilt say, How shall I hold Christ, being absent? How shall I reach my hand into heaven, that I may hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou holdest him. Thy fathers (the Jews) held him in the flesh: hold him thou in thy heart."

August. in Johan. Tract. 50.

But, forasmuch as M. Harding thought it sufficient so pleasantly to pass over this matter with his imaginations and fancies, I think it therefore so much the more needful to shew the judgment of the ancient learned fathers in this[14] behalf.

First, therefore, St Augustine saith: *Rerum absentium præsens est fides; et rerum quæ foris sunt intus est fides; et rerum quæ non videntur videtur fides*[15]: "Of things that be absent faith is present; of things that be without faith is within; and of things that be not seen faith is seen." Again he saith: *Cum ... non obliviscimur munus Salvatoris, nonne nobis quotidie Christus immolatur? ... Ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis* [*nostræ*], *id est, ex ipsa memoria,* [*Christus*] *quotidie nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidie nos innovet*[16]: "When we forget not the gift of our Saviour, is not Christ offered unto us every day? Of the very remnants[17] of our thoughts, that is to say, of our very memory, Christ is so daily offered unto us, as though he renewed us every day."

August. de Trin. Lib. xiii. cap. i.

August. in Psal. lxxv.

[9 Gelas. adv. Eutych. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703; where *tangat*, and *abluat*.]

[11 ...ut in id quod sumimus transeamus.—Leon. Magni Op. De Pass. Dom. Serm. xiv. 5. col. 177.]

[12 This is told of Leo. X. Conf. Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. Append. col. 2103.]

[13 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xi. Tractat. I. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 630; where *respondent* for *dices*.]

[14 That, 1567.]

[15 Id. de Trin. Lib. XIII. cap. i. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 928.]

[16 Id. in Psalm. lxxv. Enarr. 14. Tom. IV. col. 801; where *quotidie nobis*.]

[17 Remanents, 1567.]

Faith eateth.

And, the more lively to express this matter, St Hierome saith: *Tibi convivium Christus est; cogitatio Christus est; gaudium Christus est; desiderium Christus est; lectio Christus est; quies Christus est*[1]: "Christ is thy banquet; Christ is thy thought; Christ is thy joy; Christ is thy desire; Christ is thy reading; Christ is thy rest." Likewise St Ambrose: *In animis vestris quotidie pro redemptione corporis Christus offertur*[2]: "In your minds Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body."

Hieron. de vii. Ord. Eccles. De Grad. 7. Ambros. de Virg. Lib. ii.

And, to pass over others, for that it pleaseth M. Harding to make himself such mirth with imaginations, Euthymius, a Greek author, writing purposely of this matter, saith thus: *Non oportet simpliciter ea intueri, sed aliud quiddam imaginari, et interioribus oculis ea perspicere, tanquam mysteria*[3]: "We may not look barely upon these things (that is, upon the bread and wine), but must thereof imagine some other matter, and behold the same with our inward spiritual eyes, as it is meet to behold mysteries." This spiritual imagination, this having, this holding, this enjoying of Christ, it liketh well M. Harding in his pleasance to scorn as a fantasy. But St Augustine saith[4]: *Magis sunt illa quæ intelligimus quam ista quæ cernimus*[5]: "The things that we understand (or imagine by faith) are more certain than the things that we see with our eyes."

Euthym. in Johan. cap. ix.

August. Epist. 117.

Neither may you think, M. Harding, that, these things being granted, the ministration of the holy supper would be superfluous. For these two kinds of eating must evermore necessarily be joined together. And whosoever cometh to the holy table, and advanceth[6] not his mind unto heaven, there to feed upon Christ's body at the right hand of God, he knoweth not the meaning of these mysteries, but is void of understanding as the horse or the mule, and receiveth only the bare sacraments to his condemnation. Therefore the mystical supper of Christ, notwithstanding this doctrine, is not superfluous; but your transubstantiation, your real presence, and a great part of this your idle talk, is most vain and most superfluous.

But ye say, "How can bread and wine bring us to the hope of resurrection or of everlasting life?" And why may not a man in like manner demand of you, How can a few drops of cold water bring us to the hope of resurrection? If water may do it, why may not bread and wine likewise do it?

Touching the water, St Basil saith: *Baptismus est potentia [Dei] ad resurrectionem*: "Baptism is the power of God to resurrection." Again he saith: *Resurrectionis gratiam in die resurrectionis recipiamus*[7]: "Upon the day of resurrection let us receive (baptism, which is) the grace of resurrection." St Hierome saith: *Non solum propter remissionem peccatorum baptizamur, sed etiam propter resurrectionem carnis nostræ*[8]: "We are baptized not only for remission of sins, but also for the resurrection of our flesh." And therefore the Greeks call baptism ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα[9], that is, "the weed of immortality."

Basil. de Sanct. Bapt.

Hieron. in 1 Cor. xv.

Dion. cap. ii.

Here, M. Harding, it were some point of skill to shew us how so great power may be in so little water. Howbeit it is not the water indeed that worketh the force of resurrection, but the blood of Christ, that is signified by the water. And therefore St Ambrose saith: *Baptismus ... resurrectionis pignus et imago est*[10]: "Baptism is the pledge and image of resurrection." Likewise Ignatius: *Credentes in mortem ejus, per baptisma participes resurrectionis ejus efficimur*[11]: "Be-

Ambros. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. vi.

Ignat. ad Trall.

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. De Sept. Ord. Eccles. Grad. Sept. Tom. V. col. 108; where *gaudium Christus est; cogitatio Christus est.* This tract is spurious.]

[2 ...quarum mentes altaria...dixerim, in quibus quotidie &c. immolatur.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Virg. Lib. II. cap. ii. 18. Tom. II. col. 166.]

[3 Euthym. Zigab. Comm. in Quat. Evang. Lips. 1792. Johan. cap. vi. v. 63. Tom. III. p. 257.]

[4 And lest M. Harding should say, This imagination is vain and fantastical as is the greatest part of his religion, St Augustine saith, 1567, omitting the words after *mysteries*.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Nebrid. Epist. iv. 2. Tom. II. col. 6; where *essent illa.*]

[6 Avaunceth, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Sanct. Bapt. Hom. xiii. 1. Tom. II. p. 114.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xv. Tom. V. col. 1008; where *baptizantur sed et propter.*]

[9 The marginal reference is perhaps an error: the editor has not found the phrase in Dionysius. But it is used by Gregory Nazianzene, Op. Par. 1778-1840. De Bapt. Orat. xl. Tom. I. p. 638. Conf. Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1630. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. Tom. I. pp. 250, &c.]

[10 Baptisma &c. est, et imago.—Ambros. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. vi. v. 4. Tom. II. Append. col. 59.]

[11 Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Trall. cap. ii. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. pp. 60, 1.]

lieving in the death of Christ, by baptism we are made partakers of his resurrection." The like we say of the holy supper. Neither is M. Harding able to shew us any sufficient cause to the contrary, but wine or bread may have this power as well as water. Of this whole matter we shall speak hereafter more at large.

But if bread and wine, as M. Harding saith, have no power to work resurrection, what power then can his accidents and empty forms have to work the same? For, as touching[12] the body of Christ itself, his own doctors could have told him that it entereth not into our bodies. For thus it is noted and published for sound and certain doctrine upon the decrees: *Certum est quod, quam cito species terentur*[13] *dentibus, tam cito in cœlum rapitur corpus Christi*[14]: "It is certain and out of doubt that, as soon as the accidents or forms are touched with the teeth, straightway the body of Christ is taken up into heaven." De Consecr. Dist. 2. Trib. Grad. in Gloss.

Hereof we may reason thus: Christ's body is suddenly taken up into heaven, and is not received into our bodies; and that, as it is noted here, is true and certain. The bread and wine, by M. Harding's doctrine, are utterly consumed, no part of the substance thereof remaining: there is nothing left there but forms and accidents. Hereof it must needs follow, by this doctrine, that the same bare forms and accidents, being received into our bodies[15], have power to work our resurrection. But it is well known and confessed in all schools, that the substance is better and worthier than is the accident. Therefore we may conclude thus[16]: The accident of bread[17] may do it; *ergo*, the substance of bread[17] may much more do it.

For the rest, M. Harding saith: The substance of the bread is quite removed; the roundness and whiteness are the sacrament; "the thing thereof is of two sorts; the one contained and signified, the other signified and not contained." These mystical fancies may lie still, until M. Harding, by some authority other than his own, have proved them better. True it is that M. Harding saith, Between the sacrament and the thing itself, that is to say, between the sacrament and the body of Christ represented by the sacrament, there is great difference. For indeed and verily and in precise manner of speech neither is Christ's body the sacrament, nor is the sacrament Christ's body.

St Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: *Nisi sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque rerum ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Itaque secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est*[18]: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, without question they were no sacraments. And in consideration of this likeness oftentimes they bear the names of the things themselves. Therefore after a certain manner of speech (and not otherwise) the sacrament of the body of Christ is Christ's body." August. Epist. 23. ad Bonifac.

Hereof I have written more at large, as occasion was offered, in my former Reply to M. Harding[19]. St Ambrose, noting this difference, saith thus: *Non iste panis, ... qui vadit in ventrem; sed ... panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*[20]: "Not this bread (of the sacrament) that passeth into the belly, but (the body of Christ itself, which is) the bread of everlasting life, which relieveth the substance of our soul," and is signified by the sacrament. Rabanus Maurus saith: *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud vis sacramenti.... Sacramentum ... in corporis alimentum redigitur: virtute ... sacramenti æternæ vitæ dignitas adipiscitur*[21]: "The sacrament is one thing: the power of the sacrament is another Art. xxi. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Non iste. Raban. Lib. i. cap. xxxi.

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[12] For touching, 1567.]

[13] Teruntur, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 23. col. 1922; where *quod species quam cito dentibus teruntur*.]

[15] 1567 has not these five words.]

[16] 1567 omits *thus*.]

[17] The last two words do not appear in 1567.]

[18] August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See Vol. I. pages 502, 3, notes 10, 11.]

[19] See Vol. II. pages 758 &c.]

[20] Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 56. col. 1942; where *in corpus*. Conf. Op. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. Tom. II. col. 378.]

[21] Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626-7. De Inst. Cleric. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11; where *virtus* for *vis*, and *in alimentum corporis*.]

Difference between, &c.

thing. The sacrament is changed into the food or nourishment of the body: by the virtue of the sacrament is gotten the dignity of everlasting life."

Likewise St Chrysostom: *In sacris vasis non ipsum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur*[1]: "In the holy vessels is contained, not the very body of Christ itself, but a mystery or sacrament of his body."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 11.

So great difference there is between the sacrament and the body of Christ. The sacrament passeth into the belly: Christ's body passeth into the soul. The sacrament is upon earth: Christ's body is in heaven. The sacrament is corruptible: Christ's body is glorious. The sacrament is the sign: Christ's body is the thing signified. For want of this distinction M. Harding wandereth blindly in the dark, he wotteth[2] not whither. Therefore St Augustine saith, speaking purposely hereof: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere*[3]: "This is a[4] miserable bondage of the soul, to take the signs instead of the things that be signified."

August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v.

Whether and in what sense the wicked may be said to eat the body of Christ, it shall be discussed hereafter more at large.

As for M. Harding's ordinary conclusion of wresting the scriptures and holy fathers; of playing false lessons; of teaching (as he saith) "horrible lies;" and of subverting the people, with all other the like furniture, we will leave it freely and wholly unto the author.

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 2.

To this banquet we think the people of God ought to be earnestly bidden, that they may all communicate among themselves, and openly declare and testify both the godly society which is among them, and also the hope which they have in Christ Jesus[5]. For this cause, if there had been any which would be but a looker on, and abstain from the holy communion, him did the old fathers and bishops of Rome in the primitive church, before private mass came up, excommunicate as a wicked person and as a pagan. Neither was there any Christian at that time which did communicate alone whiles other looked on. For so did Calixtus in times past decree that, "after the consecration was finished, all should communicate, except they had rather stand without the church-doors. For[6] thus," saith he, "did the apostles appoint, and the same the holy church of Rome keepeth still[7]."

M. HARDING.

The best Dish.

Let this banquet be dight as it ought to be; let the best dish be made ready in due sort, which is the very body of our Saviour Christ; let the guests be told what is set before them at that holy table; let them be taught to believe rightly, to prove and prepare themselves as behoveth: then we think it most convenient the people of God to be[8] *bidden thereto; not thereby to communicate amongst*[9] *themselves only, but also and rather to communicate with God, to be incorporate in Christ, and to be made partakers of all the benefits of God, procured to man by the death of his Son, suffered in that body which at this high feast they eat. This banquet being thus set forth, if some devout persons think themselves for good causes unworthy to assay thereof, and to receive that heavenly food sacramentally, finding themselves not so well prepared as St Paul requireth in that*

Devout lookers on do spiritually communicate.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. ex cap. v. Tom. VI. p. lxiii. See before, page 467, note 11.]

[2 Knoweth, 1567.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 47.]

[4 This a, 1611.]

[5 Jesu, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 Because, Conf.]

[7 Anaclet. Epist. i. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 10. col. 1917. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 56. See Vol. I. page 175, note 15.]

[8 God be, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[9 Among, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

behalf, yet for love of it desire to be present and behold that table, and spiritually to taste of that healthful dish by faith, charity, prayer, and fervent devotion, wherein they do not wholly abstain from the holy communion; such [a] *are not to be condemned as idle lookers on, (for so ye make them,) nor to be driven out of the church. Neither did ever the old fathers and bishops of Rome in the primitive church (say what ye will, defenders,) excommunicate them, much less did they repute them for* [b] *wicked persons and pagans. And* [c] *not seldom the priest at the mass (which for this respect with unreasonable novelty ye term private), where*[10] *none other were disposed to receive with him sacramentally, but spiritually only, hath received alone the holy things which he hath offered.*

The best Dish.

[a] Untruth. For the catholic fathers condemned them.

[b] Untruth. For St Chrysostom calleth them *impudentes et improbos.* Ad Ephes. Hom. 3.[11]

[c] Untruth, coldly avouched. Read the answer.

Calixtus alleged for Anacletus. The defenders require more of the catholics than they[12] *perform themselves.*

Neither the decree of Anacletus, which ye, being deceived by Gratian, [d] *untruly father upon Calixtus, requireth that* [d] *all the people present should communicate with the priest at the mass: which thing ye should not have objected to the church, seeing that it is not observed by your own new order in your congregations.*

The place of Anacletus discussed.

Read the epistle of Anacletus from whence this decree is taken, and yourselves will confess the same. That holy father and martyr prescribeth the order which he would to be kept when bishops or priests say mass; which was, that it be done in places consecrated to God; that a bishop at his mass have witnesses with him more than another priest. In the [d] *solemn feasts he requireth seven, five, or three deacons, likewise sub-deacons, and other ministers, all clothed in hallowed vestments to attend upon him, to stand of*[13] *every side of him with a contrite heart and humble spirit, looking downward, keeping him from malicious men, giving consent to his sacrifice. Thus*[14] *much being declared in that epistle, it followeth immediately:* Peracta autem consecratione, &c.: "*And, when the consecration is ended, let them all communicate that will not be kept without the church-doors. For so the apostles have ordained, and the holy church of Rome observeth." Who seeth not this request of receiving the communion to be referred* [e] *to the priests, deacons, sub-deacons and other ministers, in solemn feasts, serving the bishop at mass? For in that place Anacletus speaketh never a word expressly of the lay-people. Therefore ye deceive the unlearned reader with a lie....*

This commandment of receiving the communion given by Anacletus pertaineth only to the ministers of the church in solemn feasts.

[d] Untruths, three together, as shall appear.

[e] Untruth, plain and manifest. Read the answer.

See the ninth canon of the apostles.

For the better understanding of the[15] *decree, specially whereas Anacletus allegeth the apostles' ordinance for the same, the ninth canon of the apostles*[16] *is to be considered; in which they require* [f] *every ecclesiastical person to be partaker of the sacrifice that is offered, or to be excluded from the communion, unless he shew just cause for the contrary*[17]. *The reason whereof in that canon expressed is*[18] *this: "Lest the clerks*[19], *abstaining from the communion, should be occasion of offence to the people, and thereby raise an evil suspicion against him that sacrificed, as though he had not made the oblation as it ought to be."*

[f] Untruth. For in the apostles' canons it is written thus: *Quicunque fideles ingrediuntur in ecclesiam, &c.* Can. 10.[20]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Let this banquet be dight," saith M. Harding, "as it ought to be: let the best dish[21] be made ready." Good christian reader, the best, the wholesomest, the most pleasant, and most comfortable dish at this table is the death of Christ, that Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world. Thus Christ himself, the Master of this feast, hath willed us to dress this dinner: "Do this," saith he, "in remembrance of me." Likewise St Paul: "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth and publish the Lord's death until he come." 1 Cor. xi.

This banquet therefore is not the outward or bare sacrament, but Christ's very body and blood, which are represented unto us by the sacrament; and, as

[10 When, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 23.]

[12 Thy, 1611.] [13 On, Conf.]

[14 This, Conf.]

[15 This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16 Apostle, 1609, 1611.]

[17 Can. Apost. 9. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 28.]

[18 It, Def. 1570.]

[19 Lest clerks, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[20 Id. ibid.]

[21 The dish, 1609, 1611.]

The best Dish.

it is before alleged out of St Ambrose, "It is not the bread (of the sacrament), that passeth into the belly, but the bread of everlasting life, which relieveth the substance of the soul[1]." Therefore St Hierome saith: *Judaicas fabulas repellamus, et ascendamus cum Domino [in] cœnaculum magnum stratum atque mundatum, et accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem novi testamenti*[2]: "Let us abandon from us Jewish fables, and let us ascend up with our Lord into heaven, into that great parlour dressed and made clean; and there above let us receive of him the cup of the new testament." In this sense St Cyprian saith: *Vident hæc sacramenta pauperes spiritu, et hoc uno contenti ferculo omnes hujus mundi delicias aspernantur; et, possidentes Christum, aliquam hujus mundi possidere supellectilem dedignantur*[4]: "The poor in spirit see these sacraments, and, being contented with this only dish, they despise all other the dainty fares of the world; and, having possession of Christ, they disdain to possess any worldly substance." In like sort, speaking of the birth of Christ, he saith thus: *Ea ... quæ licita sunt et concessa tangamus, et circa incunabula Salvatoris prima infantiæ ejus fercula degustemus*[5]: "Let us touch those things that be lawful for us to touch; and, standing about the cradle of our Saviour, let us taste of the first dish of his childhood." Likewise saith St Augustine: *Cæcus interius panem Christum non videt. Et beatus est? Hoc non dicit, nisi pariter cæcus*[7]: "He that is blind in his heart within seeth not Christ, that is our bread. And is he blessed? No man will say so[8], unless it be one as blind as he."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Non iste. Hieron. ad Hedib. in Quæst. secunda[3].

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

Cypr. de Nativ. in Prolog.[6] Christ.

August. in Psal. lvii.

But what manner of feast is it that M. Harding prepareth for the people? How is it seasoned? How is it dressed? First, by very uncourteous and uncivil dealing, he withdraweth the one half, that is, the cup of the new testament, and reserveth it severally to himself; and yet would make the people believe they have the whole. And thus doth he, when he hath greatest company to sup with him, and when his feast is best furnished. Otherwise he suffereth his guests to stand aloof, and he consumeth all his provision himself alone; neither indeed hath he any thing to set before them, saving only a cold surcharge of dead shews and dumb ceremonies. The poor people heareth nothing, understandeth nothing, eateth nothing, drinketh nothing, tasteth nothing. They publish not the Lord's death: they know not the Lord's supper.

Suidas.

To such a banquet Pasetes the juggler used sometimes to call his friends. There was great[9] shew of variety, and plenty of all manner of meats and drinks, the table full: but, when any of the guests would have touched any thing, it vanished suddenly away, and was turned to nothing; and so, when their eyes were full, they put up their knives, and rose a hungred. Even thus M. Harding feedeth and feasteth the people of God with shews and ceremonies, and suffereth them in the mean while to starve for hunger. Even as the prophet saith: "It shall be like the dream of an[10] hungry man. Behold, he eateth and maketh merry; but, when he is awaked, his soul is empty."

Issi. xxix.

"Good men," saith M. Harding, "withdraw themselves, and are contented to be present only, and to stand by, but receive not the sacrament." But Chrysostom saith to such a good devout man, "If thou stand by, and do not communicate, thou art wicked, thou art shameless, thou art impudent. Thou wilt say, I am unworthy to be partaker of the holy mysteries. Then art thou unworthy to be partaker of the prayers. Thou mayest no more stand here than one of the novices called *catechumeni*, that never[11] was christened[12]."

Chrysost. ad Ephes. Hom. 3. Impudens. Improbus.

[1 Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 56. col. 1942.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Hedib. Quæst. ii. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 172.]

[3 The latter part of this reference does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. (Arnold.) De Cœn. Dom. p. 42; where *omnes mundi hujus.*]

[5 Id. ibid. Prolog. p. 22; where *cunabula.*]

[6 1567, 1570, omit *in prologo.*]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. lvii. Enarr. 22. Tom. IV. col. 557.]

[8 So say, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Was a great, 1567, 1570.]

[10 A, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Than an heathen that never, 1567.]

[12 Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων, ἀναίσχυντος καὶ ἰταμῶς ἑστηκώς...ἀνάξιός εἰμι, φησίν· οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης τῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς...ἔξεστι μετὰ ταῦτα προσελθεῖν, καὶ ἰδεῖν· ὅταν μέντοι παρῇ, ἄπιθι. οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατηχουμένῳ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. pp. 23, 4.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "A wise man, as M. Jewel taketh himself to be, would understand that, how earnestly soever Chrysostom speaketh, to provoke that were present to communicate, his words import a counsel rather than a precept." *The answer.* I need not to tell you, M. Harding, what you take yourself to be. St Chrysostom saith: "Whosoever standeth by, refusing to communicate, is wicked and shameless, and unworthy to be partaker of the prayers: after the communion is ended, thou mayest lawfully come and see; but, while the mysteries are present, depart thee hence. Thou mayest no more be here than a *catechumenus*, or a novice that never was baptized[12]." Do all these words import only a counsel, M. Harding, and no commandment? Anacletus saith: "Let them all communicate, unless they will be thrust out of the church[13]." The apostles in their canons say thus: "Whoso entereth into the church, and heareth the scriptures, and receiveth not the communion, let him be excommunicate as a disturber of the church and a breaker of order[14]." Thomas of Aquine saith: *Statutum fuit, ut fideles quotidie communicarent*[15]: "It was a decree that the faithful should communicate every day." It was a decree, saith Thomas, it was an ordinance, it was a law, it was a statute. Yet must we say for your pleasure, that matters of excommunication and disturbance of the church, decrees, laws, ordinances, and statutes, are only counsels, and no commandments? Happy are you, that have such power to change the nature of things, and so easily of counsels to make commandments, and of commandments to make counsels when you list. ☜

The best Dish.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 342. b. [Detect.] Chrysost. ad Ephes. Hom. 3.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Peracta. Can. 10.

Here, gentle reader, mayest thou see a marvellous change in the church of God. The thing that in old times was accounted[16] heathenish, impudency, and wickedness, is now, by M. Harding's new divinity, become godliness and great devotion.

But, God wot, here followeth a very cold asseveration. "Not seldom (ye say) the priest at the mass, when none other were disposed, received alone." O M. Harding, the world well seeth your word is no gospel. It appeareth by your so many untruths, ye care not greatly what you say. Thus ye tell us: "Not seldom the priest received alone." Not seldom? What is that? why speak ye[17] so nicely? what meaneth this cold and doubtful eloquence, specially in him that otherwise hath acquainted his voice to speak so big? why say you not, The priest used daily and commonly so to do? Or, if ye could not avouch so great untruth for very shame, why said you not, The priest oftentimes, or at some certain times, received alone; at the least at four, or three, or two sundry times within the space of six hundred years? At the worst, if ye had said but "once," it had been somewhat. As for "not seldom," it is too base: it is too simple: it disgraceth the whole course of your pleading, and, in plain speech, soundeth as much as "never." It had rather been your part, taking upon you this countenance of credit and gravity, to have told us, substantially and plainly, what manner of man this priest was, where he dwelt, what was his name, when and where and in what company he said this mass, who saw it, who heard it, who bare witness to it, by what record or authority it may be proved. The matter being so great, and of such antiquity, is there no man left behind to witness the same but M. Harding? In your former Answer ye bring us in boys, girls, sick folk, lay-people, and women; and upon such grounds ye stick not to found your private mass. And doubtless these examples might have seemed to stand you in some pretty stead, if in those days boys and women had been priests. For priest or bishop that ever received the sacrament alone in the church before the people, ye are not yet able to shew us one. As for your Leontius, and Amphilochius, and St Basil's mass at midnight, and other like follies and fables, it seemeth, by the silence ye use in your late Rejoinder, ye are contented wisely and quietly to give them over.

Not seldom.

Ye say we are "deceived by Gratian, and have placed Calixtus instead of

[13 See before, page 472, note 7.]

[14 Can. Apost. 9. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 28.]

[15 Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Quæst. lxxx. Art. 10. Tom. XII. fol. 266. 2. See below, page 477, note 18.]

[16 Counted, 1567, 1570.]

[17 You, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

Anacletus, Calixtus.

Anacletus." Here, first of all, ye confess that Gratian, your great rabbin, the father and fountain of your decrees, might be deceived. And verily such plainness in dealing, if ye would vouchsafe to use it oftener, were worthy of some commendation. For indeed your Gratian, as he was a man of great reading and small judgment, so he allegeth oftentimes[1] he knoweth not what; Hierome for Origen, Cyprian for Augustine, Beda for Ambrose, Juvencus for Vincentius, Greek for Latin, new for old. As for this authority, wherein you say we are deceived, he allegeth it in two sundry places; first under the name of Anacletus; next under the name of Calixtus[2]; meaning, I trow, if there were error in the one, at least to redress it by the other. Therefore, M. Harding, if ye had looked better upon your book, whatsoever opinion ye have of Gratian your doctor, ye[3] should have found that we, for our part, were[4] nothing deceived. Howbeit, your Gratian instead of one error hath made two: for indeed, as it is true that these words were never written by Calixtus, so of the other side it is likewise true they were never written by Anacletus, but were manifestly forged and falsified by others that followed afterward; as in my former Reply I have declared more at large[5].

De Consecr. Dist. 1. Episcopus. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Peracta.

Art. iv. Div. 3.

But it is a world to see what wiles and shifts these men can find to bear out error. "First (ye say) these words were spoken of the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons serving the priest at mass upon solemn feasts." Pardon me, M. Harding, to say the truth: for verily, notwithstanding this solemn tale, it seemeth you[6] know not what you[6] say. For it may please you to remember, that your Anacletus, whose forged authority ye have alleged, was bishop in Rome in the time of St Peter, shortly upon the death of Christ, when the church was every where under persecution and full of blood. Now, I pray you, who ever told you either of any office that your sub-deacons had in the holy ministry, or of any great high holy-days of *duplex*, or *magis duplex*, or principal solemn feast[7] in the church of God in all that time? May we think that the blessed virgin's and the apostles' days were kept high and holy while the same blessed virgin and apostles were yet alive? Though ye had none other regard either to God or to yourself, yet shame should force you to foresee more advisedly what you[8] say.

But your greatest folly appeareth in the shifting and glossing of these words. For you say: "This Calixtus or Anacletus speaketh only of the priests, the deacons, and the sub-deacons; and never a word expressly of the lay-people;" and "therefore," ye say, we "deceive the unlearned reader with a lie." Touching your uncourteous speech, I weigh it none otherwise but as it is. The truth will be able evermore to bear itself. But that these words of Anacletus or Calixtus touch not the lay-people, but only the priests and the ministers, the very glosser himself was never either so unskilful or so impudent so to say. For whereas the words be these, "Let them all communicate, unless they will be removed out of the church," he setteth thereto this exposition: *Hoc antiquum est; nam hoc hodie relictum videtur arbitrio cujuslibet*[9]: "This was the old manner; for now-a-days it is free for every man to do therein what he will."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Peracta, in Gloss.

Can. Apost. can. 10.

The like decree is found under the name of the apostles' canons: *Quicunque fideles ingrediuntur in ecclesiam, et scripturas audiunt, non autem perseverant in oratione, nec sanctam communionem percipiunt, velut qui ordinis perturbationem commovent, ab ecclesiæ communione arceri convenit*[10]: "As many (not only of the priests and ministers, but) of the faithful people[11] as come into the church, and hear the scriptures, but continue not out the prayers, nor receive the holy communion, let them be put from the communion of the church, as men that work

[1 Oftetimes, 1567.]

[2 Anaclet. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 59. col. 1907. Dist. ii. can. 10. col. 1917. See Vol. I. page 175, note 15.]

[3 Of your Gratian, ye, 1567.]

[4 We were, 1567.]

[5 See Vol. I. pages 341, &c.]

[6 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Feasts, 1567.]

[8 Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[9 ...hoc est antiquum: &c. videtur relictum &c. —Gloss. in can. 10. col. 1917.]

[10 Can. Apost. 9. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 28. Conf. Crab. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 16.]

[11 1567 omits *people*.]

the breach of order." Likewise it is noted in the margin upon the same canons: *Omnes olim qui intererant communicabant*[12]: "In old times all that were present did communicate." In the council of Antioch it was decreed thus: *Omnes qui ingrediuntur in ecclesiam Dei, et sacras scripturas audiunt, aversantur autem perceptionem dominici sacramenti, &c. ab ecclesia abjici oportet, &c.*[13]: "All that come into the church of God, and hear the holy scriptures, and refuse the receiving of the Lord's sacrament, let them be put from the church." These decrees reach not only to the ministers of the church, but also to the whole people.

Anacletus, Calixtus.

Can. Apost. can 9. in Marg. Concil. Antioch. can. 2. Concil. Aquis. cap. 70.

Clemens, that was bishop in Rome, as it is thought, next after this Anacletus, saith thus: *Tanta in altario holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant*[14]: "Let so many loaves be offered at the altar as may suffice to serve (not only the ministers, but also) the people."

Clem. Epist. 2.

St Ambrose saith: *Munus...oblatum totius populi fit; quia in uno pane omnes significantur. Per idem enim, quod unum sumus, de uno pane omnes...sumere oportet*[15]: "The oblation offered is made the whole people's; for that in one bread all are signified. For, in that we are all one, we must all receive of one bread."

Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi.

St Chrysostom saith unto the people: *Neque nos abundantius, vos autem minus, de sacra mensa participamus; sed pariter et ex æquo illam utrique degustamus*[16]: "Neither do we receive more and you less of the holy table; but we taste thereof equally both together." The like might be alleged out of St Hierome, St Augustine, Dionysius, and others.

Chrysost. in 2 Thess. Hom. 4.

But, forasmuch as ye so bitterly tell us that we misconstrue these words of Anacletus, and deceive the unlearned reader with a lie, may it therefore please you further[17] to hear what your own late scholastical doctors have written and judged in this behalf.

Thomas of Aquine saith: *In primitiva ecclesia, quando magna vigebat devotio fidei christianæ, statutum fuit ut fideles quotidie communicarent*[18]: "In the primitive church, when great devotion of the christian faith was in strength, it was ordained that the faithful should receive the communion every day." Durandus saith: *In primitiva...ecclesia omnes fideles quotidie...communicabant*[19]: "In the primitive church all the faithful daily received the communion." Hugo Cardinalis saith: *In primitiva...ecclesia omnes, quotquot intererant canoni missæ, singulis diebus communicabant; et, si nollent communicare, egrediebantur post offertorium*[20]: "In the primitive church, as many as were present at the canon of the mass did daily communicate; and, if they would not, they departed forth after the offertory."

Durand. in Ration. Lib. iv. cap. lv.

Hug. Card. in Luc. cap. xxiv.

If ye think these authorities are not sufficient, Johannes Cochlæus saith: *Omnes olim, tum sacerdotes tum laici,...cum sacrificante communicabant, sicut ex canonibus apostolorum et ex libris...antiquissimorum ecclesiæ doctorum perspicue cognoscitur. Hic unicum hac de re canonem recitabo, qui Calixto...adscribitur. Peracta, &c.*[21]: "In old times both all the priests and all the lay-people received the communion with the minister that had made the oblation; as it is plainly perceived by the canons of the apostles, and by the books of the ancient doctors of the church. One canon hereof I will allege, written by Calixtus," &c. Likewise saith Judocus Clichthoveus: *In primitiva ecclesia fideles quotidie sumebant communionem, secundum illam Calixti sanctionem, Peracta, &c.*[22]: "In the primitive

Johan. Cochl. contr. Muse. De Sacrificio.

Jud. Clichtov. in Can. Missæ.

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[12] Not. ibid. in Crabb. Concil. p. 16; where *communicabant qui.*]

[13] Concil. Antioch. I. can. 2. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 561. Conf. Concil. Aquisg. cap. 70. in eod. Tom. VII. cols. 1359, 60.]

[14] Clem. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 41.]

[15] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in I. Epist. ad Cor. cap. xi. vv. 20-22. Tom. II. Append. col. 149.]

[16] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Thess. cap. iii. Hom. iv. Tom. XI. pp. 535, 6.]

[17] Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Quæst. lxxx. Art. 10. Tom. XII. fol. 266. 2; where *quotidie fideles.*]

[19] Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. IV. cap. lvi. 1. fol. 203. 2; where *qualibet die* for *quotidie.*]

[20] Hugon. de S. Charo Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Evang. sec. Luc. cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. fol. 275. 2; where *singulos.*]

[21] Cochl. Sacerd. ac Sacrif. Nov. Leg. Def. Ingoldst. 1544. De Applic. Miss. cap. iii. fol. Hh. iii. 2. See Vol. II. page 625.]

[22] Nempe in primo ejus exordio...solebant fideles ex constitutione ecclesiastica quotidie sanctam accipere communionem. quemadmodum satis innuunt hæc verba: in Actibus apostolorum conscripta &c.—Jud. Clichtov. Anti-Lutherus, Par. 1524. Lib. II. De Miss. Offic. cap. ix. fol. 70. Conf. ibid. fol. 72.]

church the faithful received the communion every day, according to this decree of Calixtus," &c.

Here you may see not only that these words are alleged by your own doctors under the name of Calixtus, wherein you have noted so great an error; but also that the same words, by the judgment of the same doctors, are thought to pertain no less to the lay-people than to the priest.

Now, M. Harding, these things considered, I refer the indifferent judgment hereof to your own knowledge and conscience, whether of us two hath deceived the reader with a lie.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xii. Division 3.

Moreover, when the people cometh to the holy communion, the sacrament ought to be given them in both kinds; for so both Christ hath commanded and the apostles in every place have ordained, and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops have followed the same. And whoso doth contrary to this, he (as Gelasius saith) committeth sacrilege[1]. And therefore we say that our adversaries at this day, who, having violently thrust out and quite forbidden the holy communion, do without the word of God, without the authority of any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive church, yea, and without reason also, defend and maintain their private masses, and the mangling of the sacraments, and do this not only against the plain express commandment of[2] Christ, but also against all antiquity, do wickedly therein, and are very church-robbers.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Comperimus.

M. HARDING.

Soft and fair, masters. Ye shew more heat than wit, more stomach than learning, more anger than reason. Ye say much, and prove little. But say ye, and say again what ye will; we tell you boldly, that [a]*neither Christ ever commanded,* [a]*nor the apostles ordained,* [a]*nor all the ancient fathers observed, that the sacrament be given to the people none otherwise but under both kinds only. If Christ had expressly commanded it, the church* (of Rome) *had not so long time received and kept the use of one kind. The apostles and sundry holy fathers ministered both kinds, we confess. That the one kind was not also by them ministered, and that it is utterly unlawful, we deny,* [b]*and the same shall ye never be able to prove. Touching this whole point, and how little that ye allege out of Gelasius maketh for you, and concerning mass not to be omitted for lack of company to communicate sacramentally with the priest,* [c]*I have said enough in my answer to your fellow M. Jewel his challenge*[3]*. Bring ye other stuff, and better than this; or else all the world will see your halting, and the feebleness of your side. That we have violently thrust out and quite forbidden the holy communion, unless ye mean your own schismatical, mutable, and polluted communion, if there were any spark of shame or hatred of lying in you, ye would never impute it unto us. God doth know, and the world is not unwitting,* [d]*how much, how often, and how earnestly the catholic church exhorteth her children to prepare themselves to receive their* [e]*Maker. And, though the people of England of late years resorted not commonly thereto, yet the devotion of christian folk in this country of Base Almaign, in France, in Italy, in Spain, and in sundry other christian provinces, is so fervent in frequenting the holy communion, as, if ye saw it, ye would be ashamed of your slanderous report. Let wise men and good men judge whether we be church-robbers, or ye unshamefaced liars.*

Communion under both kinds not commanded expressly by Christ, nor ordained by the apostles.

An unshamefaced and slanderous lie.

[a] Untruths, three together, boldly presumed.

[b] To prove a negative, it is a folly. But you shall never prove the affirmative.

[c] Certainly enough. For in the same two articles ye have uttered threescore and four great untruths.

[d] Untruth, so sensible and so gross that a man may feel it with his fingers.

[e] Untruth. No learned father ever called the sacrament his God or Maker.

[1 Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918. See Vol. I. page 255.]

[2 Commandment and bidding of, Conf.]

[3 See Vol. I. pages 104, &c.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Institution in both kinds.

Where nothing is answered, it were not amiss to reply nothing. If M. Harding can only vouchsafe to call us "slanderous reporters and unshamefaced liars," and the Lord's supper "a schismatical, mutable, polluted communion," it is sufficient: the case[4] needeth no farther proof. To this whole matter M. Harding saith he hath sufficiently answered M. Jewel. He hath answered, I grant; but how sufficiently, the matter itself will declare. Howbeit, he may not in any wise forget that, in the same two short treaties to M. Jewel, containing only two and forty little leaves of paper[5], he hath sent us over and published three-score and four notable and great untruths; whereof I think he hath no great cause so much to glory.

He saith: "That the sacrament should be delivered to the people in both kinds, neither Christ commanded[6] it, nor the apostles ever ordained it." Thus M. Harding saith only because it liketh him thus to say. Yet his own catholic doctors and the chief champions of that side say far otherwise. Gerardus Lorichius saith: *Ipsius sacramenti ... institutio vult ut omnes una manducemus et bibamus*[7]: "The very institution of the sacrament itself willeth that we eat and drink all together." De Miss. Publ. Prorog.

And Ruardus Tapper, the dean of Lovaine, saith thus: *Habito respectu ad sacramentum ejusque perfectionem, magis conveniret sub utraque specie fieri communionem, quam sub altera tantum. Hoc enim magis consonum est ejus institutioni et integritati, et refectioni corporali, imo et exemplo Christi et patrum primitivæ ecclesiæ*[8]: "Consideration had unto the sacrament, and to the perfection of the same, it were more convenient that the communion were ministered under both kinds than under one alone. For this were more agreeable to the institution and fulness thereof, and to the outward refection of the body; yea, and to the example both of Christ and also of the fathers of the primitive church." Cassand. de Utraq. Spec. p. 29.

Certainly these words of Christ, "Drink ye all of this," "Do this in my remembrance," are very plain words of commandment and institution. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Et in pane et in calice Christus dixit, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*[9]: "Christ, both in the bread and also in the cup, said, 'Do this in remembrance of me'." Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 27.

Likewise Theophylactus: *Tremendus calix pari cunctis conditione traditus est*[10]: "The reverend cup is in equal manner delivered to all." And, whereas Christ saith, "Drink ye all of this;" Paschasius, to make the matter the plainer, putteth thereto these words: *Tam ministri quam ... reliqui credentes*[11]: "As well the ministers as the rest of the faithful." In like manner St Augustine saith: *Simul ... hoc sumimus, simul bibimus; quia simul vivimus*[12]: "We receive together, we drink together, because we live together." Theoph. 1 Cor. xi. Paschasius. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quia passus.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "The literal sense of those words, 'Drink ye all of this,' was none other than that the cup should be divided between all the twelve, in such sort that two or three of them should not drink it up, as thinking to have it filled again for the rest: but that Peter should so drink as to leave some for John, and John so as to leave some for Andrew; and so each man to leave some deal, till the very last man had drunk of that cup," &c. *The answer.* This is a mannerly kind of divinity, and meet to be noted by M. Harding for manners' sake. Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 343. b. [Detect.]

M. Harding: "Paschasius in that place disputeth of spiritual eating or drinking, and saith, that as well the faithful people as the ministers must drink spiri- M. Hard. 344. b. [Detect.]

[4 The matter, 1567.]

[5 These two treaties are Harding's replies to the first two articles of Jewel's challenge. They occupy in the answer just 42 leaves.]

[6 Christ ever commanded, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Publ. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 214.]

[8 Ruard. Tapper. Op. Col. Agrip. 1582-3. De Comm. sub Utraq. Spec. Art. xv. Tom. II. pp. 222, 3. Conf. Cassand. Op. Par. 1616. De Sacr. Comm. sub Utraq. Spec. p. 1034.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxvii. Tom. X. p. 247.]

[10 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. Comm. in I. Epist. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. II. p. 191.]

[11 Paschas. Radbert. Op. Lut. Par. 1618. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. xv. col. 1598.]

[12 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 36, col. 1929.]

Institution in both kinds.

tually of this cup." *The answer.* O good reader, how long will M. Harding abuse thy simplicity? Verily Paschasius in that place wrote only of the sacrament, as M. Harding well knoweth. But he saith: *Solus* [*Christus*] *est qui frangit hunc panem*[1]: "It is Christ only that breaketh this bread." Will you therefore say, M. Harding, he spake not of the sacrament? The next words following are these: *Per manus ministrorum distribuit credentibus*[1]: "Christ divided[2] the cup unto the faithful by the hands of the ministers." I beseech you, is this the ministration of the sacrament? Or what will you call it? Must Paschasius be forced to make spiritual ministers, spiritual hands, spiritual cups, spiritual receivers, spiritual believers, and all spiritual for your pleasure? But Paschasius saith: "Christ breaketh this bread." So St Augustine saith of the sacrament of baptism: "It is Christ that baptizeth[3]." And Chrysostom saith: "It is not the priest that baptizeth thee: it is God himself that holdeth thy head[4]." Shall we therefore say that these words belong nothing to the sacrament of outward baptism, but only to the inward and spiritual washing of the soul? Verily Paschasius is as clear as the sun-beams. Consider the whole circumstance of the place. He speaketh only of the sacrament. His words be evident: "Take and drink ye all of this, as well the ministers as the rest of the faithful." Leave this vanity, M. Harding: it is meet for children. Manliness is more seemly for a man.

August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. iii. cap. xlix. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 51.

Notwithstanding any promise of constancy made to the contrary, yet I trust M. Harding of his courtesy will believe either St Chrysostom, or St Augustine, or Theophylact, or Paschasius, or Lorichius, or Tapper, or his new doctors, or the old, or his own, or others'. Otherwise, if he be fully determined to believe no man, it is reason that no man believe him.

Here have we Christ's word, Christ's example, Christ's ordinance; the tradition, perfection, and institution of the sacrament. Now let M. Harding shew us the authority of any one ancient father, either Greek or Latin, by whom it may appear that Christ commanded the sacrament to be delivered to the people in one kind only, and not in both; or that Christ appointed one order of receiving the sacrament for the priest, and another for the people; and it shall be sufficient: we will strive no further[5].

Perhaps he will say, Notwithstanding Christ's words be plain, yet they are not of force sufficient to bind us for ever. For so writeth cardinal Cusanus touching the[6] self-same matter[7]: *Scripturæ ad tempus adaptantur, et varie intelliguntur, ita ut uno tempore secundum currentem ecclesiæ ritum exponantur; mutato* [*vero*] *ritu, iterum sententia mutetur*[8]: "The scriptures are applied to the states of divers times, and so are taken in divers senses; so that at one time they are expounded according to the current order of the church; but, the order of the church being changed, the sense of the scripture is likewise changed." So St Augustine saith of the heretics the Manichees: *Expendunt ista, non in statera æqua divinarum scripturarum, sed in statera dolosa consuetudinum suarum*[9]: "They weigh these matters, not in the equal balance of the divine scriptures, but in the deceitful balance of their own customs."

Nic. Cusan. Epist. 2. ad Bohæm.

August. contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. iii. cap. ii.

Of the like sort of heretics St Hilary saith: *Qui* [*ea*] *quæ scripta sunt negas, quid restat, nisi ut* [*ea*] *quæ non scripta sunt, credas*[10]? "Seeing thou deniest the things that be written in the scriptures, what remaineth there but that thou must believe such things as be not written in the scriptures?"

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. ix.

But where have these men the institution of their half-communion? Who

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[1 Paschas. Radbert. Op. Lut. Par. 1618. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. xv. col. 1598.]

[2 Divideth, 1570.]

[3 Cum enim dicimus, Christus baptizat, non visibili ministerio dicimus, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. III. cap. xlix. 59. Tom. IX. cols. 326, 7.]

[4 ...οὐκ αὐτός σε βαπτίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός ἐστιν ὁ κατέχων σου τὴν κεφαλήν, κ.τ.λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. l. Tom. VII. p. 517.]

[5 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[6 This, 1570.]

[7 The preceding four words are not in 1567.]

[8 ...scripturasque esse ad tempus adaptatas et varie intellectas, ita &c. currentem universalem ritum exponerentur, &c. mutaretur.—N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 833.]

[9 ...pensantes ea, non &c.—August. Op. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. III. cap. ii. 9. Tom. IX. col. 61.]

[10 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. IX. 35. cols. 1005, 6.]

ordained it? Who commanded it? What apostle, what ancient doctor, what holy father ever used it? M. Harding himself was[11] forced to confess, by the report of Leo, that the first known devisers and authors of it were the old heretics called the Manichees[12]. Such is the institution and antiquity of their doctrine. It sprang first of heresy, and was founded by heretics.

Institution in both kinds.

Touching Gelasius, I have already in my former Reply[13] said so much as then unto me seemed[14] sufficient. The words be plain enough of themselves[15], and need no commentary: *Aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur; quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire*[16]: "Either let them receive the whole sacraments (in both kinds), or else let them be driven from the whole." By which words of Gelasius it may appear that, wheresoever the sacrament is ministered in one kind only, there is only a pieced or a half-communion, and not the whole[17].

M. Hard. p. 48. b. Leo, Serm. 4. De Quadragesima. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Comperimus.

Farther, M. Harding saith: "God doth know how much, how often, and how earnestly the catholic church exhorteth her children to prepare themselves to receive their Maker." O M. Harding, why should you so fondly mock the world with so manifest follies? By what words, by what examples exhort you them? When ever said you as Chrysostom saith to[18] the people, "Depart ye hence; ye have no more right to stand here than heathens and infidels; ye are wicked, ye are shameless, ye are impudent, that stand by and will not communicate[19]?" And, if the catholic church do so often and so earnestly exhort her children, how is it then[20] that the pope and his cardinals do so seldom communicate, scarcely once through the year? May we think that the pope and his cardinals be not the children of the church?

Chrysost. ad Popul. Antioch. Hom. 61. In Epist. ad Ephes. Hom. 3.

Last of all ye say ye "exhort the people to receive their Maker." I beseech you, M. Harding, what scripture, what father, what doctor ever taught you thus to say? The sacrament is a sacrament: it is not God. It is "the bread of our Lord," as St Augustine saith: it is not our Lord[21]. It is a creature corruptible: it is not the Maker of heaven and earth. Accursed is he that giveth the name and glory of God unto a creature, that is no God. St Chrysostom saith: *Nolimus quæso Creatorem cum creatura confundere; ne illud audiamus, Servierunt creaturæ potius quam Creatori*[22]: "Let us not confound the creature and the Creator both together; lest it be said of us, They have honoured a creature more than their Maker."

August. in Johan. Tract. 59.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 3.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Good words, M. Jewel. Christ saith, 'He that eateth me shall live for me.' Was not he the Maker of heaven and earth? If he were, accursed be he that denieth him so to be." *The answer.* Hereunto, M. Harding, we say, Amen. We know that Christ is very God of very God. But deceive not yourself. We speak now of the sacrament of Christ, and not of Christ. The sacrament is one thing; and Christ is another. We eat Christ only by faith: we eat the sacrament only with the mouth of our body. When Christ spake these words, "He that eateth me shall live by me," he spake only of himself to be eaten spiritually by faith; but he spake not one word there of the sacrament. He that knoweth not this knoweth nothing.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. 345. b. [Detect.]

But St Augustine saith: "The sacrament is called life." What then? Yet he saith not, The sacrament is called our Maker. St Paul saith: *Petra erat Christus:* "The Rock was Christ." Yet you may not so unadvisedly conclude hereof that the same Rock was the Maker of the world. Howbeit, St Augustine[23] saith, "The sacrament of Christ's body was called life;" so he saith even in

M. Hard. 346. a. [Detect.]

August. de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. Lib. i. cap. xxiv.

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[11] Is, 1567, 1570.]

[12] Leon. Op. Lut. 1623. De Quadrag. Serm. iv. 5. col. 108. See Vol. I. pages 256, 7.]

[13] See Vol. I. pages 9, 255, &c.]

[14] Seemeth, 1570.]

[15] Themself, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918; where *provenire.*]

[17] This sentence does not appear in 1567.]

[18] Unto, 1567.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. pp. 23, 4. See Vol. I. page 200, note 1.]

[20] Is then, 1570.]

[21] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xiii. Tractat. lix. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 663. See before, page 455, note 10.]

[22] Chrysost. Op. In Joan. Hom. iv. Tom. VIII. p. 31.]

[23] Howbeit as St Augustine, 1570.]

Institution in both kinds.

the same place: "The sacrament of baptism was called *salus*, 'salvation[1]'." And St Cyprian calleth the same "the fountain of life[2]." And St Chrysostom saith: "The baptism of Christ is Christ's blood[3]." This is no less than if they had said, Baptism is life. And yet none of them ever said, The water of baptism is our Maker. St Augustine saith: *Plus est unus Deus, quam unus baptismus. Neque enim est baptismus Deus. Sed ideo magnum aliquid est, quia sacramentum est Dei*[4]: "One God is more than one baptism. For baptism is not God. Yet is baptism a great thing, because it is a sacrament of God." Good words therefore, M. Harding, and spare these blasphemies. For Fulgentius saith: *Veritatem Dei tenere est unum Deum colere: veritatem Dei in mendacium convertere est creaturæ servire*[5]: "To hold the truth of God is to worship the only God: to turn the truth of God into a lie is to do homage to a creature."

Cypr. de Simpl. Præl. Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 16. August. de Unic. Bapt. cap. v. Fulgent. ad Donat.

The Apology, Chap. xiii. Division 1.

We affirm that the bread[6] and wine are the holy[7] and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ, and that by them Christ himself, being the true bread of eternal life, is so presently given unto us, as that by faith we verily receive his body and blood[8]. Yet say we not this so as though we thought that the nature and substance of the bread and wine[9] is clearly changed, and goeth to nothing, as many have dreamed in these latter[10] times, and[11] yet could never agree among themselves upon their own dreams[12]. For that was not Christ's meaning, that the wheaten bread should lay apart his own nature, and receive a certain new divinity; but that he might rather change us, and (to use Theophylact's[13] words) might transform us into his body[14]. For what can be said more plainly than that which Ambrose saith, "Bread and wine remain still the same they were before; and yet are changed into another thing[15]?" or that which Gelasius saith, "The substance of the bread, or the nature of the wine, ceaseth not to[17] be[18]?" or that which Theodoretus[19] saith, "After the consecration the mystical signs do not cast off their own proper nature; for they remain still in their former substance, form, and kind[20]?" or that which Augustine saith, "That which ye see is the bread and cup, and so our eyes do tell[21] us; but that which your faith requireth to be taught is this, the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his

In Johan. cap. vi. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Gelas. contr. Eutych.[16] In Dial. I. et 2. In Serm. ad Infant.

[1 Optime Punici Christiani baptismum ipsum nihil aliud quam salutem, et sacramentum corporis Christi nihil aliud quam vitam vocant.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Pec. Mer. et Rem. Lib. I. cap. xxiv. 34. Tom. X. col. 19.]

[2 Vitæ fonte deserto, vitalis et salutaris aquæ gratiam pollicentur.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 112. But by the term *vitæ fonte* Cyprian would seem here to intend God; for he just before quotes Jer. ii. 13.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 159. See Vol. I. page 518, note 4.]

[4 August. Op. Lib. de Unic. Bapt. Contr. Petil. cap. v. 8. Tom. IX. col. 531; where *baptismus Deus est.*]

[5 Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. Lib. ad Donat. col. 220.]

[6 That bread, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7 Are holy, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[8 And his blood, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Nature of bread and wine, Conf.]

[10 Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11 Which, Conf.]

[12 Themself of this their dream, Conf.]

[13 Theophylactus, Conf.]

[14 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Joan. Comm. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 595. See below, page 491, note 11.]

[15 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 369. See below, page 497, note 16.]

[16 The mark of reference is made, but the reference itself not given, Conf. Nor does it appear Def. 1567.]

[17 Not so to, Conf.]

[18 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See Vol. I. page 11, note 11.]

[19 Theodorete, Conf.]

[20 Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους.—Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Inconfus. Dial. II. Tom. IV. p. 85. Conf. Immut. Dial. I. p. 18.]

[21 Eyes tell, Conf.]

blood[22]?" or that which Origen saith, "The[23] bread, which is sanctified by the word of God, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy[24]?" or that which Christ himself said, not only after the blessing of the cup, but also after[25] he had ministered the communion, "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine?" It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood.

In Matt. Hom. 15.

M. HARDING[26].

What is that we call holy and heavenly mysteries.

*...In this sacrament, after consecration, the substance of bread and wine being turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, the *outward forms of bread and wine which remain are the sacraments of holy things, the body and blood of Christ....*

* Untruth. No doctor or father ever taught such vain follies.

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In every natural thing two things are specially to be considered, the substance and the accident, or, as M. Harding calleth it, the outward form. For example: In bread, the material thing that feedeth us, and is changed into the blood and nourishment of our bodies, is called the substance of the bread: the whiteness, the roundness, the thickness, the sweetness, and other the like, that are perceived outwardly by our senses, are called accidents. Now, saith M. Harding, forasmuch as the substance of the bread and wine is removed by consecration, and for that cause cannot be the sacrament, therefore the accidents and forms which remain must needs be thought to be the sacraments. And so, upon a false position, as shall appear, he layeth the foundation of all his doctrine; by the old rule, I trow, that he learned sometimes in his sophistry: *Ex impossibili sequitur quodlibet:* "Of an impossibility ye may conclude what ye list"—even as aptly and as truly as some have said: If Christ were not Christ, then St Patrick should be Christ.

Substance, Accidents.

If M. Harding had alleged either scripture, or doctor, or father, or council, or any other authority beside his own, he might happily have been believed.

To this whole fancy, gentle reader, in my former Reply I have made a several answer[27]. Verily Christ saith: *Non bibam ex hoc fructu vitis:* "I will no more drink (not of these accidents, but) of this generation and fruit (and substance) of the vine."

Matt. xxvi. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. x. 1 Cor. xi.

St Paul saith: *Panis quem frangimus:* (not the forms or accidents, but) "The bread that we break." And again: *Quoties manducabitis panem hunc:* "As often as ye shall eat (not these accidents, but) this bread."

St Cyprian saith of the same: *Panis ... ex multorum granorum adunatione congestus*[29]: "Bread moulded and made of many corns." I doubt not but M. Harding will confess that corns yield flour and substance, and not only forms and accidents. St Augustine calleth the holy mystery *sacramentum panis et vini*[30], "the sacrament (not of forms and accidents, as M. Harding saith, but) of bread and wine." Cyrillus saith: *Credentibus discipulis fragmenta panis dedit*[31]: "Christ gave unto his disciples, believing in him, pieces of bread" (not pieces of accidents).

Cyprian.[28] August. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv.

But M. Harding, having in his fantasy removed the whole substance of the

[22 Quod ergo videtis, panis est et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi.—August. Op. Serm. cclxxii. ad Infant. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4.]

[23 Conf. omits *the.*]

[24 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. p. 499. See Vol. II. page 771.]

[25 But after, Conf.]

[26 The answer to this division has been, as occasionally elsewhere, divided into several portions.]

[27 See Vol. II. pages 791, &c.]

[28 1567, 1570 add here *in Orat. Dominicam.*]

[29 Cypr. Op. Ad Magn. Epist. lxix. p. 182; where *panem, de* for *ex*, and *congestum.*]

[30 ...sacrificium panis et vini.—Fulgent. Op. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. Diac. col. 356. Conf. August. Op. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30.]

[31 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See Vol. I. page 149, note 14.]

Substance, Accidents, In and by.

bread, instead thereof hath brought us in holy forms, holy shews, and holy accidents. His accidents be the mysteries of heavenly things: his accidents be the instruments of God's grace: his accidents be the causes of remission of sin. We break accidents: we eat accidents: we drink accidents: we are fed with accidents: the substance of our bodies is increased with accidents: and, to be short, he worketh all his miracles by the power of his accidents.

M. HARDING.

Why be ye so loth[1] *to speak as the church speaketh, that in this blessed sacrament we receive the body of Christ? Why had ye rather say after a *strange manner, that "by bread and wine Christ himself is so presently given unto us, as that by faith we verily receive his body and his blood?"* . . .

The defenders refuse to speak as the church speaketh[2].

* Untruth. For this phrase is used commonly of the ancient fathers, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I never thought it had been so great an heresy to speak as the apostles of Christ and the learned doctors of the church have spoken before us. St Paul saith: *Consepulti sumus cum Christo per baptismum in mortem:* "We are buried together with Christ by baptism unto death." St Hierome saith: *Per aquam baptismi, vel per ignem Spiritus Sancti, æterni illius panis corpus efficitur*[3]: "By the water of baptism, or by the fire of the Holy Ghost, he is made the body of the everlasting bread." St Augustine saith: *Habes Christum . . . in præsenti, per fidem; . . . in præsenti, per baptismatis sacramentum; in præsenti, per altaris cibum et potum*[4]: "Thou hast Christ in presence by faith, in presence by the sacrament of baptism, in presence by the meat and drink of the altar." St Cyril saith: *Corporaliter Filius per benedictionem mysticam nobis unitur, ut homo*[5]: "The Son of God by the mystical blessing is united unto us as man." St Hilary saith: *Christus est in nobis per sacramentorum mysterium*[6]: "Christ is in us by the mystery of the sacraments."

Rom. vi. Col. ii. Hieron. de Corp. et Sang. Christ. August. in Johan. Tract. 50. Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xi. cap. xxvii. Hilar. de Trin. Lib. viii.

And, lest M. Harding should think to take any great advantage by these words thus uttered, as he and others of his side have often done, St Augustine in most plain wise expoundeth the same: *Si . . . ad ipsas res visibiles, quibus sacramenta tractantur, animum conferamus, quis nesciat eas esse corruptibiles? Si autem ad id quod per illas* [*res*] *agitur, quis non videat non posse corrumpi*[7]? "If we behold the visible creatures (as the bread, the wine, the water) wherein the sacraments are ministered, who seeth not that they be corruptible? But, if we consider the things that are wrought thereby, who seeth not that they cannot be corrupted?"

August. de Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. iii. cap. x.

Now judge thou, good christian reader, how childishly these quarrels be sought against us without cause; and what mystical catholic ears M. Harding hath, that cannot abide the phrases and speeches of the ancient fathers.

M. HARDING.

If a man should press you with your own words, and demand what manner of presence ye teach, affirming Christ himself presently to be given, I ween ye would be found halting. For how say ye, if Christ be presently given unto us by bread and wine in the sacrament, then is Christ present? If he be present, which ye must needs grant, tell us further how is he present; according to the substance of his body, or by grace, or ac-

What presence of Christ in the sacrament do the defenders acknowledge?

[1 Ye loth, Conf.]

[2 This marginal note is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Hom. de Corp. et Sang. Christ. Tom. V. col. 393. This homily is not Jerome's.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xii. Tractat. l. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 633.]

[5 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. xii. Tom. IV. p. 1001. Conf. Op. Insig. Cyril. Alex. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. Lib. XI. cap. xxvii. fol. 182.]

[6 ...ille rursum in nobis per sacramentorum inesse mysterium crederetur.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VIII. 15. col. 956.]

[7 August. Op. De Bapt. Contr. Donat. Lib. III. cap. x. 15. Tom. IX. col. 113.]

cording to the majesty of his Godhead? The first, what shifts soever ye see[8], *ye will not grant: and therefore is your own apostle, Martin Luther, at foul defiance with your masters, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Calvin, and you; and so be his disciples, Joachimus Westphalus, Epinus, Pomeran, Heshusius, Brentius, Illyricus, and many others, as ye know. If ye will say he is present by his grace, so is he present with all good men; and that not only when the sacrament is ministered, but also at all other times.... Again, how can ye make good, that by faith we receive his body and blood? By faith we receive grace, and the merits of his death suffered in his body with shedding of his blood: but the body and blood itself, that is, the very* [a]*substance of his body and blood, tell us how by faith,* [a]*properly and truly to speak, as who should say, by faith made present, we receive it. Furthermore,* [b]*what have ye to answer to this question? If we receive the body and blood of Christ verily by faith (for so ye say), we demand whether we receive the same by faith only without the body, or with the office of our body? If the office of our body be required to the receiving of Christ's body in the sacrament, as Christ himself* [c]*certainly meant—(for else how obeyed the disciples his commandment, to whom he said at his supper, "Take and eat; this is my body;" likewise of the cup, "Take and drink;" which cannot be done but by the service of the body?)—hereof then it followeth, that his body is verily present.... Now, that it is not received by faith only, thus we prove it by your own doctrine:* [d]*It is so received as it is present: but it is present by bread and wine (as ye say);* ergo, *it is received by bread and wine. To conclude, if by bread and wine, then not by faith only. Will ye give me leave to say what I think of you? Verily it seemeth by your vain jangling, that, as St Paul saith of such other like you, ye understand not what ye speak, nor whereof ye affirm.*

Absent in Body.

The body of Christ not received by faith only.

[a] Untruths, two together. For properly and in substance we receive it not. Read the answer.

[b] We answer, It is a peevish question.

[c] Untruth. For Christ meant no such thing, as appeareth by the fathers.

[d] A sophistical and a childish cavil. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In what sense we may truly say, Christ is either present with us, or absent from us, the matter is not doubtful[10] or dangerous to be answered, unless M. Harding have forgotten the articles of his creed. For thus we are taught to believe: "Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God." Which article St Augustine expoundeth thus: *Noli... dubitare, ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est; memoriterque recole et fideliter tene christianam confessionem, quoniam resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad cœlum, sedet ad dextram Patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est ad vivos mortuosque judicandos*[11]: "Doubt thou not but Christ Jesus, as man, is there now from whence he shall come; and bear thou well in mind and faithfully believe the christian confession, that Christ is risen again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and that he shall come again from thence, and from nowhere else, to judge the quick and the dead." Again he saith: *Homo... secundum corpus in cœlo est, et de loco migrat; et, cum ad alium locum venerit, in eo loco unde venit non est*[12]: "Christ, as man, according to his body is in heaven, and passeth from place to place; and, when he cometh to another place, he is not in the other place from whence he came." Likewise again: *Secundum præsentiam majestatis, semper habemus Christum [nobiscum]; secundum præsentiam carnis, recte dictum est discipulis, Me autem non semper habebitis*[13]: "According to the presence of his majesty, we have Christ evermore with us; but, according to the presence of the flesh, it is true that Christ said to his disciples, 'Me you shall not have always with you'."

August. Epist. 57. ad Dard.

August. in Johan. Tract. 31.

August. in Johan. Tract. 50.

So saith the holy father and martyr Vigilius: *Dei Filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit a nobis; secundum Divinitatem... ait,... Ecce, ego vobiscum sum ... usque ad consummationem seculi*[14]: "The Son of God, according to his manhood, is gone from us; but according to his Godhead he saith, 'Behold, I am with

Vigil. contr. Eutych. Lib. i.

[8 Seek, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[9 Christ is not, Conf.]

[10 Not so doubtful, 1567.]

[11 August. Op. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681; where *in cœlum.*]

[12 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vii. Tractat. xxxi. 9. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 524; where *in loco est*, and *non erit.*]

[13 Id. ibid. Tractat. l. 13. col. 634.]

[14 Vigil. adv. Eutych. Lib. I. in Cassand. Op. Par. 1616. p. 518.]

Absent in Body.

you until the end of the world'." And again: *Et nobiscum est, et non est nobiscum; quia quos reliquit... humanitate,... non... deseruit Divinitate*[1]: "Christ is with us, and yet he is not with us; for whom he left touching his human nature, or his body, touching his Godhead he left them not." And again: *Verbum ubique est; caro autem ejus ubique non est*[2]: "The Word (or Godhead of Christ) is every where; but his flesh or body is not every where." So saith St Cyril: *Etsi corpore abfuero, præsens tamen ero ut Deus*[3]: "Although I be absent as touching my body, yet as God I will be present."

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. x. cap. vii.

And, to leave an infinite number of other learned and catholic fathers that have written the like, Origen saith thus: *Secundum... Divinitatis... naturam non peregrinatur [a nobis]; ... peregrinatur secundum dispensationem corporis quod suscepit*[4]: "Christ, according to his Godhead, is not a stranger to us; but he is a stranger according to the dispensation of the body that he received."

Orig. in Matt. Hom. 33.

Thus is Christ both absent and present; present in majesty, absent in body. And in this sense Chrysostom saith: *Semper nobiscum est Christus; neque enim, nisi nobiscum esset Christus, superesset ecclesia*[5]: "Christ is evermore present with us; for unless he were present, the church of God could not continue."

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 6.

Faith eateth.

But M. Harding saith: "How can ye make good that by faith we receive his body and blood? By faith we receive grace," &c. This question should rather have been demanded of St Augustine, and of other learned doctors and ancient fathers of the church. How could St Augustine say, *Quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*[6]? "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten?" How could Tertullian say, *Christus auditu devorandus est; intellectu ruminandus est; et fide digerendus [est]*[7]? "Christ must be devoured by hearing, chewed by understanding, digested by faith?" How could Origen say, *Sanguis testamenti infusus est in corda nostra*[8]? "The blood of the testament is poured into our hearts?" How could St Cyprian say, *Esus... hujus carnis est quædam aviditas, et quoddam desiderium manendi in Christo:... quod est esca carni, hoc est animæ fides;... non dentes ad mordendum acuimus, sed fide sincera panem sanctum frangimus*[9]? "The eating of this flesh is a certain greediness, and a certain desire to tarry in Christ: that meat is unto our flesh, the same is faith unto our souls: we sharpen not our teeth to bite withal; but with pure faith we break this holy bread?" To be short, how could St Augustine say, *Credere... in Christum, hoc est manducare panem vivum*[10]? "To believe in Christ, that is the eating of the bread of life?" And again, *Nolite parare fauces, sed cor*[11]? "Prepare not your mouths (to eat of this bread), but prepare your hearts?" To these and other like ancient catholic fathers M. Harding should have said: "How can ye make good that by faith we receive Christ's body and blood?" Thus they witness; thus they write; thus they say; and therefore, unless M. Harding can find untruth in their words, they "make it good."

August. in Johan. Tract. 25.
Tertull. de Resur. Carn.
Orig. in Matt. Tract. 26.
Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.
August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

But to force onward his matter he saith: "Properly and truly to speak, how can we eat Christ's body by faith?" Here it might have pleased M. Harding to remember that these phrases, "to eat Christ," "to drink Christ," "to digest Christ," "to be fed with Christ," "to dwell in Christ," "to be clad with Christ," "to be graft in Christ," and other the like, are not plain, ordinary, usual, and common speeches; but mystically and covertly uttered under a figure, thereby to give us to understand that Christ is our spiritual meat, our spiritual drink, our spiritual sustenance, our spiritual house, our spiritual robe, and our spiritual

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[1 Id. ibid.]

[2 Ibid. Lib. IV. p. 546.]

[3 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Lib. x. Tom. IV. p. 839. Conf. Op. Insig. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. Lib. x. cap. vii. fol. 145. 2.]

[4 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 65. Tom. III. p. 883.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vi. Tom. X. p. 47.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489; where *dentes*.]

[7 ...et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resurr. Carn. 37. p. 406.]

[8 Orig. Op. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 86. Tom. III. p. 899.]

[9 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) pp. 41, 4; where *carnis hujus quædam aviditas est, in ipso*, and *animæ est*.]

[10 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 494; where *in eum*.]

[11 Id. de Verb. Evang. Luc. xiv. Serm. cxii. 5. Tom. V. col. 566; where *noli*.]

stock. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Nisi manducaveritis... carnem Filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo est, præcipiens passionis*[12] *Domini* [*esse*] *communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit*[13]: "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. He seemeth by these words to command us to do an horrible wickedness. (For it is an horrible matter to eat man's flesh, or to drink man's blood.) Therefore this is a figure (or manner of speech) commanding us to be partakers of Christ's passion, and comfortably to lay up in our mind, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes." So saith Gratian touching the same: *Quidam non improbabiliter exponunt... 'carnis et sanguinis veritatem' ipsam earundem rerum efficientiam, id est, remissionem peccatorum*[14]: "Touching these words, 'the truth of Christ's flesh and blood,' some men not unaptly understand thereby the effect and force of Christ's flesh and blood, that is to say, the remission of our sins." And so St Augustine saith: *Laverunt stolas suas in sanguine Agni,... hoc est, in gratia Dei per... Christum*[15]: "They washed their coats in the blood of the Lamb, that is to say, in the grace of God through Christ." This grace flowing from Christ's body upon the cross, and given to the faithful in the ministration of the holy mysteries, oftentimes beareth the name of Christ's body, and is the ground and substance of the sacrament; and whosoever is partaker of this grace is also partaker of Christ's body. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Cum essent omnibus communia sacramenta, non communis erat omnibus gratia, quæ est virtus sacramentorum*[16]: "Whereas the sacraments were common to all, yet the grace thereof was not common to all: and that is the power and strength of the sacraments."

Faith eateth.

August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Species.

August. in Apoc. Hom. 6.

August. in Psal. lxxvii.

Likewise St Ambrose: *In similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentum; sed veræ naturæ gratiam virtutemque consequeris*[17]: "Ye take the sacrament in representation or remembrance; but ye obtain thereby the grace and power of Christ's very nature."

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. vi. cap. i.

Here M. Harding once again moveth a very needless question. "We demand," saith he, "whether we receive the same body of Christ by faith only, without our body, or with the office of our body." Any child might soon be able to assoil this riddle. Rabanus Maurus saith, as it is alleged before: *Sacramentum... ore percipitur; virtute* [*vero*] *sacramenti interior homo satiatur*[18]: "The sacrament is received with the bodily mouth; but with the virtue of the sacrament (which is the body of Christ) the inner man (that is, not the body, but the soul) is filled." So saith Augustine: *Cum videbitis Filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius, certe vel tunc videbitis quia non eo modo quo putatis erogat corpus suum; certe vel tunc intelligetis quia gratia ejus non consumitur morsibus*[19]: "When ye shall see the Son of man ascending thither where he was before, then at the least ye shall see that he giveth not his body in such sort as you imagine: then shall you understand that his grace is not consumed with the bite[20] of mouth." Again he saith: *Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente*[21]: "He that eateth Christ's body inwardly, not that eateth (the sacrament) outwardly: he that eateth the body of Christ itself in his heart, not that presseth (the sacrament) with his tooth."

Raban. Maur. Lib i. cap. xxxi.

August. in Johan. Tract. 27.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

M. Harding argueth further[22]: "Christ's body is so received as it is present; but it is present by bread and wine (ye say); *ergo*, it is received by bread and

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[12 Passioni, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Id. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 52; where *figura est ergo præcipiens passioni dominicæ.*]

[14 ...non improbabiliter quidam exponunt, &c. ipsam eorundem efficientiam, id est, peccatorum remissionem.—Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 34. col. 1926.]

[15 August. Op. In B. Johan. Apoc. Expos. Hom. vi. Tom. III. Append. col. 166.]

[16 Id. in Psalm. lxxvii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 816; where *essent omnia*, and *sacramentorum virtus est.*]

[17 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. VI. cap. i. 3. Tom. II. col. 380.]

[18 Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626. De Inst. Cler. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11. See Vol. I. page 453, note 14.]

[19 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 502; where *cum videritis.*]

[20 With bitte, 1567, 1570; with the bit, 1609, 1611.]

[21 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvi. 12. col. 499.]

[22 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

wine: to conclude, if by bread and wine, then not by faith only." If M. Harding had better considered the rules of his old sophistry, he might soon have seen the wants and deformities of this reason. Amongst children it is called *ignoratio elenchi*, which is the simplest *fallax* of all the rest.

It is true that of our part it is not either our hand or our mouth, but faith only, that receiveth the body of Christ; but the same body of Christ is offered and represented unto our faith by mean of the sacraments. We speak of such instruments of receiving as are of ourself, and be within us; M. Harding answereth of the sacraments that be external instruments, and are wholly without us. So in baptism, notwithstanding we have Christ present of our part "only by faith," yet St Augustine saith, as it is said before: *Habemus Christum...in præsenti per baptismatis sacramentum*[1]: "We have Christ present[2] by the sacrament of baptism." Thus is Christ present unto us, of his part "only by his grace;" of our part "only by our faith;" by the sacraments only as by mean of outward instruments to move our senses. This light and childish error I[3] have said before is called *ignoratio elenchi*, and therefore seemeth to proceed of ignorance. M. Harding should have better examined the force of his arguments before he thus suddenly sent them abroad.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Touching the matter itself, it is not the bodily mouth, but faith alone, that receiveth and embraceth Christ's body. St Augustine saith: *Panis...iste interioris hominis quærit esuriem.... Qui credit* [*in eum*] *manducat*[4]: "This bread requireth the hunger of the inner man. He that believeth in him eateth his body."

Certainty of Doctrine.

This is no jangling, as you say, M. Harding: it is the ancient catholic doctrine of the church of God. We be well assured of it, and know certainly what we say. But, touching the certainty of your doctrine in this point, I have briefly touched it in my former Reply, so much as I then thought might seem sufficient[5]. Some of you hold that "Christ's body passeth down into the stomach;" some say that[6] "it entereth only into the mouth, and goeth no further;" some other[7] say: *Quam cito species teruntur dentibus, tam cito in cœlum rapitur corpus Christi*[8]: "As soon as the forms of the bread be grated with the teeth, straightway the body of Christ is caught up into heaven." Another of you saith: "A mouse eateth the body of Christ." Another saith: "Nay, a mouse cannot eat it." Peter Lombard, the grand master of all your school, is piteously confounded in the case, and cannot imagine, poor man, what thing it should be that the mouse eateth[9]: for, after he had himself moved the question, *Quid igitur sumit mus, vel quid manducat?* "What is it then that the mouse receiveth, or what eateth it?" he answereth, *Deus novit*[10]: "Now God knoweth;" (as for my part I cannot tell).

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Trib. Grad. in Gloss.

iv. Sent. Dist. 13.

Such be your doctors, M. Harding, such is your doctrine. Therefore, to conclude with your own words: "It appeareth by your agreement and your answers, ye understand not the things ye speak of, but both affirm and deny ye know not what."

M. HARDING.

As ye proceed forth, ye give warning to your readers, not to take you so as though you[11] *held with transubstantiation. And there*[12] *ye speak thereof as best becometh your scoffing spirit, calling it a dream of men of latter*[13] *times, whereof they could never yet agree within themselves. By which words your eloquence hath set forth your spite and lying at once. For albeit the term of "transubstantiation" be* [a] *of no greater antiquity than the council of Lateran*[14] *under*

Transubstantiation.

[a] Mark this antiquity. This council was holden twelve hundred and fifteen years after Christ.

[1 See before, page 484, note 4.]
[2 Presently, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[3 As I, 1567.]
[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494.]
[5 See Vol. II. pages 785, 6.]
[6 Some that, 1567.] [7 Others, 1567.]
[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 23. col. 1922; where *species quam cito*. Conf. ibid. col. 1921.]
[9 Imagine what to say, 1567.]
[10 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. xiii. A. fol. 359. 2.]
[11 Ye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[12 Here, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[13 Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[14 Council Lateran, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

Innocentius the third, where it was by the Holy Ghost and the fathers there devised, as very fit for opening of the truth impugned by the Berengarians; yet is the doctrine thereof no less ancient than the gospel itself. For, maugre the malice of the devil and of all the sacramentaries, the old truth shall prevail, by which we are taught, that which was bread by the mystical blessing to be [b] *made Christ's body, and that which was wine to be made his blood, as I have other wheres sufficiently declared. And the church hath* [c] *always hereupon perfectly*[15] *accorded touching the substance; though certain schoolmen in the*[16] *scholastical disputations, where oftentimes victory is sought, and faith not impugned, about discussion of some schoolpoint, have without prejudice of our belief disagreed....*

Transubstantiation new and doubtful.

[b] As in a mystery or sacrament, but not in substance. Otherwise it is a great untruth.
[c] Untruth manifest, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

As for the scoffs, and spites, and lies, ye speak of, M. Harding, let him have them that hath best deserved them. Then verily, without great wrong, you cannot lose them.

Touching your new fantasy of transubstantiation, whether it be a dream or no, and whether the dreamers of it themselves were ever yet able rightly to expound their own dream; it appeareth partly by your own confession. Ye grant, the name and term thereof was never known or heard of in all[17] the world until your late council of Lateran, holden in Rome under pope Innocentius the third, in the year of our Lord[18] 1215, in the time of king John, the king of England, and never before. Then did your strange doctrine and new divinity touching this article first begin[19]. So long the church of God was able well to stand without your transubstantiation.

Anno 1215.

And, albeit ye tell us, "Notwithstanding the newness of the name, yet nevertheless the doctrine thereof hath still continued in the church, and hath been evermore received and confessed of all the faithful; and that, maugre the malice of the devil and all the sacramentaries, it is as ancient as the gospel, or as Christ himself;" yet of the other side ye confess plainly, that for the space of twelve hundred years and more no man wist by what name to call it.

But, forasmuch as you think it lawful for you to avouch and affirm what you list, true or false, without controlment; whereas ye say, this late faith of yours is as ancient as the gospel; know you that some of the best-learned of your own side have said, "It is a new point[20] in religion;" and therefore not so ancient as you seem to make it. Some others say[21], "It is a doubtful conclusion;" and therefore no faith at all. D. Tonstal thereof saith thus: *De modo, quo id fieret, [fortasse satius erat] curiosum quenque suæ relinquere conjecturæ; sicut liberum fuit ante concilium Lateranum*[22]: "Of the manner and mean how this might be (whether by transubstantiation or otherwise), perhaps it had been better to leave every man that would be curious to his own conjecture; as before the council of Lateran it was left at liberty." You say, "It is as ancient as the gospel:" D. Tonstal saith, "It is but new, and came in twelve hundred years and more after the gospel." You say, "It is the catholic faith:" D. Tonstal saith, "It is a conjecture or a guess (which differeth not much from a dream), and that before the said late council of Lateran no man was bound to believe it." And here it may please you to consider indifferently with yourself: "If it were left at liberty," as D. Tonstal saith, for any man either to receive it or to refuse it, as he thought good, how could it then be the catholic faith? If it were the catholic faith, as you say, "and that maugre the malice of the devil," how then could it so many hundred years be left at liberty?

Cuth. Tonst. de Euch. Lib. i. p. 46.

Hereof ye say ye have "written sufficiently other wheres." All this I grant: your books are known. Howbeit, if you would have written no more but truth, ye might have saved much time, and spared some paper. But, if it shall not mislike you once again more advisedly to view the same, ye shall find in the

[15] Perfitely, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[16] Their, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[17] Of all, 1570.]
[18] Of Lord, 1611.]
[19] This sentence is not in 1567.]
[20] Is new points, 1570.]
[21] 1567 has not these three words.]
[22] Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. I. foll. 46, 7; where *ante illud concilium.*]

Transubstantiation new and doubtful.

very first division thereof three great untruths together, all within the space of fourteen lines.

Now, whether your fantasy of transubstantiation be a dream or no, by the constancy and certainty thereof, and by the agreement of your doctors that founded it first, it may appear. Petrus Lombardus, the only general of all this camp, hereof useth these speeches: *Quibusdam ita videtur: quidam dicunt: quidam tradunt: quidam concedunt*[1]*: alii... putaverunt, substantiam ibi panis et vini remanere*[2]*:* "Some men judge thus, some say thus, some have written thus, some grant this:" "some others have thought thus, that the very substance of the bread and wine remaineth still." Here is a strange agreement of learned men, specially in a case of the catholic faith. But hereto what saith Peter Lombard himself, that taketh upon him as a judge to determine these doubts? How is he resolved? Or how agreeth he in judgment with himself? His answer is this: *Si autem quæritur qualis sit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis, an alterius generis, definire non sufficio*[3]*:* "If a question were moved, what manner of conversion or change this is; whether it be in form, or in substance, or of some other sort, I am not able to discuss it." Here we may see the blind leadeth the blind. He that setteth himself before all the rest, and would be taken for a guide, knoweth not where to set his own foot. Gabriel Biel saith: *Quomodo sit ibi corpus Christi, utrum per conversionem alicujus in ipsum, an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantia et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone bibliæ*[4]*:* "How the body of Christ is there, whether it be by changing of something into it, or Christ's body begin to be there together with the bread, both the substance and the accidents of the bread remaining still without changing, it is not found expressed in the canon of the bible." I leave Innocentius, Scotus, and sundry others of your scholastical doctors, with their doubtful dreams and guesses to like purpose.

Sent. iv. Dist. 11. Si autem, &c.

Gab. in Can. Lect. 40.

Whether these be dreams or no, I leave to you, M. Harding, to consider. Verily Innocentius III. saith: *Fuerunt, qui dicerent quod, sicut post consecrationem vera panis remanent accidentia, ita panis remanet vera substantia*[5]*:* "There were some that said that, as after consecration there remain the very accidents or forms of bread, so likewise the very substance of the same bread remaineth still." And cardinal Cusanus saith: *Quidam veteres theologi intellexisse reperiuntur,... panem non transubstantiari, sed supervestiri nobiliori substantia*[6]*:* "Certain of the ancient divines are found of this mind, that the bread in the sacrament is not transubstantiate or changed in nature, but remaineth still, and is clothed with another substance more noble than itself." This was the judgment of sundry the fathers, best learned in divinity[7]; and this same judgment Durandus, although he himself hold it not, yet he will not have it in any wise to be condemned.

Nic. Cusan. Exercit. Lib. vi.

Now, M. Harding, if you dissemble not, but believe constantly as you say, then cannot these things stand without prejudice of your belief[8]. For faith built upon uncertainty is no faith at all[9].

M. HARDING.

... But, Lord, what meant ye to allege Theophylact and St Ambrose, whose doctrine is so contrary to yours as light is to darkness? Theophylact, expounding these words of Christ in St John, "As the living Father hath sent me, even so live I by the Father, and he that eateth me shall live by me," saith thus: "Dost thou not hear a dreadful saying? We eat not pure

Theophylact contrary to these[10] defenders.

[1 These phrases, with slight variations of words, occur repeatedly in Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Distt. xi. xii. foll. 353, &c.]

[2 Ibid. Dist. xi. D. fol. 353. 2; where *ibi substantiam.*]

[3 Ibid. A. fol. 352. 2; where *vel alterius.*]

[4 ...quomodo ibi sit Christi corpus: an per &c.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lugd. 1517. Lect. xl. foll. 68, 9.]

[5 Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. iv. cap. ix. Tom. I. p. 379; where *accidentia sic et vera panis substantia.*]

[6 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Exercit. Lib. vi. Tom. II. p. 522. The clauses of the sentence are here transposed.]

[7 The piece from *remaineth still* is not in 1567.]

[8 Believe, 1567, 1570.]

[9 1567 has not this last sentence.]

[10 The, Conf.]

God: for he is untouchable and unbodily; neither can he be comprehended with eyes nor teeth. Neither eat we the flesh of a pure man; for that can profit nothing at all. But now that God hath united unto himself flesh after an[11] *unspeakable contemperament, the flesh is also become life-making. Not for that it passed*[12] *away into the nature of God, beware of that; but after the likeness of fiery iron, which abideth iron, and sheweth the operation of fire, even so," quoth he, "the flesh of our Lord, abiding flesh, is life-making, as being the flesh of God the Word. Then 'as (saith he) 'I live by the Father,' who is life, 'so he that eateth me shall live by me,' being tempered with me, as also being transelemented into me, who have power to vivificate or give life*[13]*." Which last words your own doctor Œcolampadius hath thus turned,* Dum quodammodo miscetur et transelementatur in me, qui vivificare potest, *corrupting the sound*[14] *doctrine of the writer with his forged* *quodammodo, *which he found not in the Greek there placed, and breaking the congruity of the Latin speech, by putting that in the third person that ought to be in the first.... If faith wrought all this matter, then after your meaning might we eat God, which Theophylact denieth....He saith, he that eateth Christ's flesh is tempered together with him, and transelemented into him, so as he is made one body with him, as Cyrillus expoundeth the place of St Paul to the Ephesians, where he saith that we be* concorporalis[15], *that is to say, "of one body with Christ*[16]*;" and another where, "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones."*

Theophylact. To eat God.

This similitude of fiery iron quite overthroweth the whole fantasy of transubstantiation.

* Untruth, presumed only of ignorance. For quodammodo is in the text: Ἀνακιρνώμενος ὥσπερ καὶ μεταστοιχειουμένος.

Cap. iii.

Eph. v.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Of Theophylact's authority we never made any great account. He is but a very late writer in comparison of the ancient fathers. For the most part of that he writeth, he is but an abridger of Chrysostom. He writeth against the church of Rome, stoutly maintaining a known heresy concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost. Notwithstanding, in this place we alleged his words to good purpose: for as he saith, "We are transelemented or transnatured and changed into Christ;" even so, and none otherwise, we say, "The bread is transelemented or changed into Christ's body." But, notwithstanding this change, we remain still in substance as we were before; therefore we say, Notwithstanding the like change, the substance of the bread in like manner remaineth still.

But what fancy came in your head, M. Harding, thus to allege and so vehemently to force this place of Theophylact? What one word speaketh he either of your transubstantiation, or of your real presence, or of your corporal and fleshly eating? Verily, as by any his express words he nothing aideth you, so by his example of fiery iron he seemeth quite to overthrow you. For, if ye compare the sacrament with a piece of burning iron (which nevertheless was not Theophylact's meaning, and therefore ye are therein much deceived); then, as the iron, although it be fiery, yet notwithstanding in nature and substance is iron still; even so the bread, although it be made the sacrament of Christ's body, and so the instrument of the grace of God, yet, that notwithstanding, in nature and substance is bread still.

Here, lest you, giving over your transubstantiation, as knowing it to be only a late-found fantasy, should hope nevertheless by this example of fiery iron to establish your real presence, and to say that, as the fire is really and indeed in the iron, so the body of Christ is indeed and really in the sacrament; it may please you to call to mind, that in the holy learned fathers the same example

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[11 A, Def. 1570.]

[12 It is passed, Def. 1567.]

[13 Οὐκ ἀκούεις φρικτὸν ἄκουσμα; οὐ θεὸν ψιλὸν τρώγομεν, ἀναφὴς γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος, καὶ οὔτε ὀφθαλμοῖς οὔτε ὀδοῦσιν ἁλώσιμος· οὐδὲ πάλιν ψιλοῦ ἀνθρώπου σάρκα, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελῆσαι δύναται. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Θεὸς ἥνωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν σάρκα κατὰ τὴν ἄῤῥητον ἀνάκρασιν, ζωοποιὸς ὑπάρχει καὶ ἡ σάρξ, οὐχ ὅτι εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φύσιν μετακεχώρηκεν, ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ πεπυρωμένου σιδήρου, ὃς καὶ σίδηρος μένει, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δείκνυσιν ἐνέργειαν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σάρξ, μένουσα σάρξ, ζωοποιός ἐστιν, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σάρξ. ὥσπερ οὖν φησιν, ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν Πατέρα, τουτέστιν, ὡς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὃς ἐστι ζωή, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τρώγων με ζήσεται δι' ἐμὲ, ἀνακιρνώμενος ὥσπερ καὶ μεταστοιχειούμενος εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν ζωογονεῖν ἰσχύοντα.—Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Joan. Comm. cap. vi. Tom. I. pp. 595, 6.]

[14 Second, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[15 Concorporales, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[16 Εἰ δὲ σύσσωμοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἐσμὲν...καὶ αὐτῷ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν γινομένῳ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xi. Tom. IV. p. 999.]

Theophylact. To eat God.

and like form of speech is used also of the sacrament of baptism. In the council of Nice it is written thus: *Vides aquam: cogita de virtute Dei quæ latet in aqua; cogita aquam esse plenam ignis divini*[1]: "Thou seest the water: think thou of the power of God that lieth in the water: think thou that the water is full of heavenly fire." Yet, I trow, ye will not have us believe as an article of our faith, that this fire, whereby is meant the blood of Christ, is indeed and really in the water.

Conc. Nicen. πλήρη... τοῦ θείου πυρὸς νόει τὰ ὕδατα.

These and such other the like may not always be taken as phrases of precise truth, but rather as amplifications or heats of speech, the better to stir up and to inflame the minds of the hearers. And in this sort and sense, to leave other authorities, Hosius, your own doctor, saith: *Opera nostra respersa sunt sanguine Christi*[2]: "Our works be sprinkled with the blood of Christ." So saith pope Innocentius III.: *Virtutes nostræ crucis Christi sanguine purpurantur*[3]: "Our virtues are dyed as red as purple in the blood of the cross of Christ."

Hos. in Conf. Petricov. cap. 48.

Innoc. de Myst. Miss. Lib. ii.

Thus only, M. Harding, and none otherwise, the holy[4] fathers say the bread of the holy mysteries and the water of baptism are full of fire.

Further, Theophylact saith: "The body of Christ is eaten; but the Godhead is not eaten, because it is untouchable and uncomprehensible unto our senses." Hereof you would seem to reason thus: If faith wrought all this matter, then might we eat God; for by faith we believe in God.

First, touching the eating of God, God himself saith: *Gustate et videte, quod suavis est Dominus*: "Taste and see that the Lord is delectable." St Augustine saith: *Panis est, et panis est, et panis est: Deus Pater, Deus Filius, [et] Deus Spiritus Sanctus*[5]: "It is bread, it is bread, and it is bread: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." Again he saith: *Deus... panis... intus [est] animæ meæ*[6]: "God is the inward bread of my soul." Therefore it is not so thoroughly and undoubtedly true that you say, "The nature of God cannot be eaten."

Psal. xxxiv. 1 Pet. ii.

August. de Verb. Dom. secund. Luc. Serm. 29.

August. Conf. Lib. i.

Notwithstanding, for sparing of words and time herein, I will refer you to my former Reply[7]. There shall you find this whole objection fully answered.

Art. viii. Div. 16.

You say Theophylact's reason standeth thus: God cannot be eaten, because he cannot be comprehended either with eyes or with teeth. But Christ's body may be eaten. Therefore it must follow in the conclusion, that with our eyes we may see it, and with our teeth we may receive it[8]. Here would I fain learn of you, M. Harding, when ye saw Christ's body visibly in the sacrament with your eyes, or when ye pressed it with your teeth. If your teeth can receive it, why saith St Augustine, *Quid paras dentem et ventrem*[9]? "Why preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly?" If your bodily eye can see it, why say you it is invisible? If it be invisible, how is it seen? If it be seen, how is it invisible? It appeareth that either Theophylact the master, or you the scholar, are deceived, or one of you understandeth not the other's meaning. Certainly, as Christ's body is seen in the sacrament, so is it eaten in the sacrament. But it is not really or fleshly seen; therefore it is not really or fleshly eaten.

August. in Johan. Tract. 25.

To avoid error herein, it behoveth us to understand that "to eat God" is to have the fruition of the divine nature, and to be incorporate into God. But the majesty of God so far surmounteth the capacity of man, that, as he is in himself in nature and Godhead, no mortal creature is able to conceive him, but only in the face and sight of Jesus Christ the Son of God. Therefore St Paul saith: *Christus est splendor gloriæ et character substantiæ Dei*: "Christ is the brightness of the glory, and the express image of the substance of God." St Augustine saith: *Tu... quomodo contingis [Deum]? Quia Verbum caro factum est, et habi-*

Heb. i.

August. in Psal. cxxxiv.

[1 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 233. See Vol. I. page 466, note 1.]

[2 ...operibus, quæ...Christi sanguine...respersa sunt.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. xlviii. Tom. I. p. 153.]

[3 Quatuor cruces purpureæ sunt quatuor virtutes...quæ nisi crucis Christi sanguine purpurentur, frustra sibi virtutis nomen usurpant.—Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. I. cap. lxiii. Tom. I. p. 334.]

[4 Thus the holy, 1567.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Luc. xi. Serm. cv. 4. Tom. V. col. 542.]

[6 Id. Confess. Lib. I. cap. xiii. 21. Tom. I. col. 77.]

[7 See Vol. I. pages 528, &c.]

[8 Teeth receive it, 1567.]

[9 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489. See before, page 466, note 3.]

tavit in nobis[10]: "How dost thou touch God?" He answereth, "Because the Word became flesh, and dwelt in us." Again he saith: *Si* [*Christus*] *sic veniret, ut Deus, non agnosceretur*[11]: "If Christ came so as he is God, no man could know him." St Gregory saith: *Dominus murus nobis non esset, si forinsecus non fuisset.... Intus nos non protegeret, si exterius non appareret*[12]: "Our Lord were now all unto us, if he had not been in the form of man: he could not inwardly defend us, if he had not outwardly appeared." So saith Dionysius: *Si cupimus communionem habere cum Deo, oportet nos in divinissimam illius vitam, quam egit in carne, intueri*[13]: "If we desire to have communion with God, we must behold that heavenly life that he led in the flesh." Thus, as God is God in majesty and in himself, we understand him not, we conceive him not, we know him not; that is to say, we have no fruition of him, we eat him not. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Jesum Christum... secundum id, quod erat Verbum apud Deum,... parvuli non capiunt. Quomodo ergo capiunt, qui lac capiunt? Jesum Christum, inquit, et hunc crucifixum. Suge quod pro te factus est; et cresces ad id quod est*[14]: "Little ones understand not Jesus Christ according to that he was the Word with the Father. How then do they receive him that receive milk? St Paul saith they receive 'Jesus Christ crucified.' Suck that thing that he was made for thee; and thou shalt grow to that he is."

To eat God.

August. in Johan. Tract. 2.
Gregor. in Ezech. Lib. i. Hom. 14.
Eccles. Hier. cap. iii.
August. in Psal. cxix.

Thus in the holy mysteries there is presented[15] unto us, not the divine nature of Christ, whereby he is equal to the Father, but his death and humility, whereby he abased himself, and was made equal unto us. This is the spiritual meat and drink, and the only feeding of the soul. Thereof St Paul saith: "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall publish (not the divine nature or Godhead, but) the Lord's death until he come." So saith Hesychius: *Comedimus... hunc cibum, sumentes ejus memoriam passionis*[16]: "We eat this food, receiving the memory (not of his glory, but) of his passion." So saith St Ambrose: *Quia... morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo et potando carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*[17]: "Because we are delivered by our Lord's death, being mindful thereof in eating and drinking, we signify or represent the flesh and blood that were offered up for[18] us." Thus in the holy mysteries we eat and drink the sacrament of Christ crucified in the humility of his flesh. But his divine nature in Godhead and majesty cannot be represented or expressed by any sacraments.

1 Cor. xi.
Hesych. in Levit. Lib. i. cap. ii.
Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi.

It was all vain and lost labour for you, M. Harding, so earnestly to prove that Christ's body quickeneth and giveth life. We know it: we confess it: we feel it. Christ himself saith it: "I am the bread of life:" "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever."

John vi.

This talk impeacheth no man but yourself. For you tell us, and would have it holden as an article of your faith, not only that the wicked man without faith, but also that the dumb creature void of reason, may receive the very body of Christ, and that substantially, verily, and indeed. Thus you divide and sunder Christ's body from his Spirit; and, contrary to Theophylact, and to all the ancient fathers, and to Christ himself, ye say, It may be really received without life.

But we say with St Ambrose: *Qui accipit hunc panem non moritur morte peccatoris; quia hic panis est remissio peccatorum*[19]: "Whoso eateth this bread (not the sacrament of Christ's body, but Christ's body itself) dieth not the death of a sinner; for this bread is the remission of sins." We say with St Augustine: *Qui carnem Domini non sumit non habet vitam; et qui eam sumit habet vitam, et hanc*

Ambros. de Bened. Patriarch. cap. vi.
August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

[10 Id. in Psalm. cxxxiv. Enarr. 5. Tom. IV. col. 1495.]

[11 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. ii. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col 299.]

[12 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Ezech. Lib. II. Hom. ii. 5. Tom. I. col. 1322.]

[13 Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. 12. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[14 August. Op. In Psalm. cxix. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 1366; where *crescis*.]

[15 Represented, 1567, 1570.]

[16 Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 14.]

[17 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149.]

[18 1570 repeats *for*.]

[19 ...qui autem accipit, non morietur peccatoris morte, quia panis hic remissio peccatorum est.—Id. Lib. de Bened. Patriarch. cap. ix. 39. Tom. I. col. 525.]

Christ's body giveth life.

utique æternam[1]: "He that receiveth not the flesh of our Lord hath no life; and he that receiveth it hath life, and the same everlasting." Again we say with St Augustine: *Hujus rei sacramentum ... de mensa dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad mortem; res vero ipsa, cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit*[2]: "The sacrament (of Christ's body) is received from the Lord's table to some unto life, to some unto death; but the thing itself (that is, the body of Christ, whereof this is a sacrament) is to all men unto life, and to no man unto death, whosoever shall be partaker of it."

August. in Johan. Tract. eodem.

For some further declaration hereof, it appeareth by the witness of the ancient learned doctors and fathers, that we are really and corporally joined and united unto Christ, not only by the mysteries of the holy supper, but also by faith, by baptism, by the Spirit of God, by love, and other ways. Of faith St Augustine saith thus: *Per fidem ... adcorporamur in Jesu Christo*[3] *Domino nostro*[4]: "By faith we are incorporate in Christ Jesu our Lord." And again: *Qui venit ad me incorporatur mihi*[5]: "He that cometh unto me is incorporate into me." St Chrysostom saith: *Quid nobis esse non vult, omnibus modis nos sibi conglutinans et conjungens*[6]? "What will not Christ be unto us? For by all manner means he cleaveth and fasteneth himself unto us." Again in plainer sort he saith: *Dominum ipsum amplecteris, et commisceris, et subvectus conjungeris corpori illi, quod sursum sedet in cœlis*[7]: "Thou embracest the Lord himself, and art mingled with him, and, being here beneath, art joined to that body that sitteth in heaven above."

August. Epist. 31. August. in Johan. Tract. 25. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. 24. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Col. Hom. 6.

In like manner he writeth of the sacrament of baptism: *Quomodo ex carne ejus sumus, et ex ossibus ejus? ... Quemadmodum ille sine virili congressu natus est ex Spiritu Sancto, ita nos illud efficimur in lavacro*[8]: "How are we of his flesh and of his bones?" He answereth: "As Christ was born by the Holy Ghost without the knowledge of man, even so in the font (of baptism) we are made the same" (that is, his flesh and his bones).

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Eph. Hom. 20.

So saith Leo: *Sicut Dominus factus est caro nostra nascendo, ita ... nos facti sumus ipsius (caro) renascendo*[9]: "As our Lord was made our flesh, by that he was born; so are we made his flesh, by that we are new-born."

Leo, de Nativ. Dom. Serm. 3.

So saith St Hierome: *De carne ejus sumus, et de ossibus ejus; ipse enim est Caput corporis ecclesiæ*[10]: "We are of his flesh and of his bones; for that he is the Head of his body, which is the church."

Hieron. de Vir. Perfect.

Thus, M. Harding, we are joined together and tempered with Christ, not only by the holy mysteries, but also by the sacrament of baptism and by faith. And Chrysostom saith: *Ne simpliciter teneamus Christum, sed etiam illi conglutinemur. Nam, si quicquam secesserimus ab eo, perimus*[11]: "Let us not only hold Christ, but also let us be fast glued unto him. For, if we fall any thing from him, we are utterly lost." Must we therefore conclude, M. Harding, that the water of baptism is transubstantiate, no part of the substance thereof remaining still; or that Christ's body is really and grossly present in that sacrament, as you have imagined of the other?

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 8.

Ye find great fault with Œcolampadius for "corrupting," as ye say, "the sound doctrine of Theophylact with his forged *quodammodo*, and for breaking the congruity of the Latin speech, by putting the third person in place of the first." Of the Latin congruity I will say nothing: the learned think that Œcolampadius was as skilful both in the Latin tongue and in the Greek as M. Harding. But, for

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[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500; where *eam* for *carnem Domini*.]

[2 Id. ibid.; where *quibusdam ad exitium*.]

[3 Christi, 1611.]

[4 Ibid. Paulin. et Theras. ad August. Epist. xxv. 1. Tom. II. col. 36. This epistle was written to, not by Augustine.]

[5 August. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 16. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 492; where *qui ad me venit*.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxiv. Tom. IX. p. 696.]

[7 Id. in Epist. ad Col. cap. ii. Hom. vi. Tom. XI. p. 370.]

[8 Id. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. v. Hom. xx. Tom. XI. p. 147.]

[9 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Nativ. Dom. Serm. iii. 4. col. 44; where *factus est Dominus*.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. De Vir. Perfect. Tom. V. col. 61. This is not genuine.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. viii. Tom. X. p. 70.]

the forging of *quodammodo*, why do you not as well find fault with Theophylact himself? For, if it be a forgery, he himself hath likewise forged the same *quodammodo;* and if that may be called "corruption," he hath also corrupted his own doctrine. These be his words: *Qui manducat me, hic vivet propter me, dum quodammodo miscetur mihi, et transelementatur in me*[12]: "He that eateth me shall live by me; forasmuch as, after a sort, he is mingled with me, and transelemented or changed into me." If ye doubt whether ὥσπερ in Greek may be expounded by *quodammodo*, then is not your skill herein so great as ye have thought. Here you see that not only Œcolampadius, but also Theophylactus himself saith *quodammodo*[13].

Quodammodo.

Theoph. in Johan. cap. vi. ὁ τρώγων με ζήσεται δι' ἐμὲ, ἀναμιγνύμενος ὥσπερ καὶ μεταστοιχειούμενος εἰς ἐμέ.

Why find ye not fault with St Augustine for saying the like? *Omnes in illo et Christi et Christus sumus; quia quodammodo totus Christus* [*et*] *Caput et corpus est*[14]: "In him we are all Christs, and Christ himself; for, after a sort, whole Christ is both the Head (of the church) and also the body." And again: *Qui ... in Christum credit, credendo in Christum veniet,* [*et*] *in eum Christus, et quoquo modo unitur in eum, et membrum in corpore ejus efficitur*[15]: "He that believeth in Christ by believing cometh into Christ, and Christ into him, and, after a sort, is united into him, and is made a member in his body." And again: *Paulum Christus voce mactavit, et in suum corpus trajiciens quodammodo manducavit*[16]: "Christ killed Paul with his voice, and, after a sort, did eat him, swallowing him down into his body." Why find ye not the same fault with Cyrillus, writing thus, *Decebat ergo eum quodammodo uniri corporibus nostris*[17]? "It was meet that, after a sort, Christ should be united unto our bodies?" Or with St Chrysostom, writing the like, *Christus nos secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reducit*[18]? "Christ mouldeth us, if I may so say, into one lump with himself?"

August. in Psal. xxvi.

August. in Johan. Serm. 61.

August. Epist. 120. cap. xviii.

Cyril. ad Calosyr.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Why say ye not these and other like holy fathers were sacramentaries and heretics? Why say ye not that St Augustine, St Cyril, St Chrysostom, with their forged *quodammodo*, corrupted the sound and catholic doctrine of the church?

Would ye rather, for the better facing and colouring of your doctrine, we should strike out this forged *quodammodo*, and amend it thus, *Qui manducat me reipsa miscetur mihi, et transelementatur in me?* Would ye have us to believe that we are wholly and thoroughly changed into Christ's body, and that we are made very Christ, God and man, the same that was born of the virgin, and nailed to the cross; and that not *quodammodo*, "after a sort," or by some peculiar phrase of speech; but substantially, really, verily, and indeed? I reckon your doctrine is not fully so fond.

St Paul saith: *Sumus alter alterius membra:* "We are members one of another." Cyrillus saith: *Nos inter nos unimur corporaliter*[19]: "We are corporally united together among ourselves." St Chrysostom saith: *Si quis exuat impudicarum mulierum animas, videbit malum dæmonem illis admixtum*[20]: "If any man[21] will open the souls of unchaste or filthy women, he shall see the devil tempered together and mingled with them." And think you, M. Harding, that these and other like speeches of the holy fathers cannot stand without your transubstantiation and real presence? or that the godly be substantially and indeed in their bodies joined together? or that the ungodly be verily united and mingled with the devil, without any *quodammodo*[22]?

Rom. xii.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xi. cap. xxvi.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 18.

You might rather have remembered that, touching this unspeakable unity

[12 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Joan. Comm. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 595.]

[13 This last sentence is not in 1567.]

[14 August. Op. In Psalm. xxvi. Enarr. ii. 2. Tom. IV. col. 119.]

[15 Id. de Verb. Evang. Johan. xvi. Serm. cxliv. 2. Tom. V. col. 694; where *venit*, and *quodam modo*. The punctuation also varies, varying the sense.]

[16 Unde illi persecutori, quem voce &c.—Id. ad Inq. Jan. Lib. II. Epist. lv. cap. xvii. 31. Tom. II. col. 141.]

[17 The epistle to Calosyrius is that prefixed to the book adv. Anthropomorphitas; but the passage here quoted does not appear in it. Perhaps the following may be that intended: οὐκοῦν ἀνανέωσις καὶ οἷον ἀναπλασμὸς τῇ ἀνθρώπου φύσει γέγονεν ἐν Χριστῷ.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Lib. adv. Anthrop. cap. v. Tom. VI. p. 372.]

[18 Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 788. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In cap. Matt. xxvi. Hom. lxxxiii. Tom. II. col. 669.]

[19 Cyril. Alex. Op. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. xi. Tom. IV. p. 999.]

[20 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 155.]

[21 If a man, 1567, 1570.]

[22 1567 has not the last three words.]

between Christ and the faithful, that is to say, between the Head and the body, St Cyprian writeth thus: *Nostra ... et Christi conjunctio nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias; sed affectus consociat, et confœderat voluntates*[1]: "The conjunction that is between us and Christ neither mingleth persons nor uniteth substances, but joineth affections and knitteth wills." Likewise saith St Cyril: *Initium et fundamentum in sanctificatione Christus est, per fidem scilicet, et non aliter; hoc enim modo in nobis habitat*[2]: "The beginning and foundation of our holiness is Christ; by faith, I mean, and none otherwise: for in this sort Christ dwelleth in us." Likewise Lyra, one of your own late doctors: *In quantum per sacramentum eucharistiæ unimur Deo, vivimus spiritualiter: ... nostra autem unio apud ipsum est per fidem et dilectionem*[3]: "So far forth as we are united unto God by the sacrament of thanksgiving, we live spiritually; but the union that is between him and us is by faith and love." And, expounding these words of St Paul, *Qui adhæret Deo unus spiritus est*, "He that cleaveth unto God is one spirit with God," he saith: *Unus, ... non secundum rem, sed secundum affectionem*[4]: "He is[5] one spirit with God, not one indeed, or according to the truth; but one in affection, or according to love[6]."

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xxix.

Nic. Lyra in Johan. cap. vi.

Nic. Lyra, 1 Cor. vi.

And yet, somewhat farther to remove you from your fantasy of your "real presence," St Chrysostom saith, as he is alleged before: *Dominum ipsum amplecteris: cum illo commisceris, et subvectus conjungeris corpori illi, quod sursum sedet in cœlis*[7]: "Thou embracest the Lord himself: thou art tempered with him, and, being carried up (by faith and affection), thou art joined with that body that sitteth in heaven." In like sense saith Leo: [*Christus*] *ineffabili modo cœpit esse Divinitate præsentior, qui factus est humanitate longinquior*[8]: "Christ by unspeakable means began to be the nearer[9] to us by his Divinity, the further he is made from us by his humanity."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Col. Hom. 6.

Leo de Ascens. Dom. Serm. 3.

I doubt not, M. Harding, but ye may easily see that hitherto your "real presence" is but weakly proved.

M. HARDING.

*Again, we marvel with what face ye dare allege Theophylact for you, who in most evident words overthroweth your figurative, tropical, and energical doctrine touching this blessed sacrament. For he saith upon this sixth chapter of St John: "Mark well that the bread which is eaten of us in the mysteries *is not only a certain figure of our Lord's flesh, but the flesh itself of our Lord. For he said not, The bread that I shall give is the figure of flesh; but, it 'is my flesh.' For the bread is with secret words, through the mystical blessing and coming upon of the Holy Ghost, changed into the flesh of our Lord*[10]*." ...*

* Untruth. For he manifestly affirmeth a figure. His words be these: "It is not only a figure." *Ergo*, he granteth it is a figure.

Not a figure, but the flesh itself of our Lord.

Transubstantiation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Theophylact saith: "The bread is not only a certain figure of our Lord's flesh, but the flesh itself of our Lord." This objection in my former Reply is many wheres answered. We grant the bread is not a bare or naked[11] figure; but, by way of sacrament or mystery, it is the body of Christ itself. So the water of baptism is not an empty figure of the blood of Christ; but it is Christ's blood itself, because it is the sacrament of Christ's blood. And therefore St Bernard saith: *Lavemur in sanguine ejus*[12]: "Let us be washed (not in water, but) in the

Bernard. Sup. Missus est. Hom. 1.

[1 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40; where *et ipsius conjunctio.*]

[2 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. iv. Tom. IV. p. 393.]

[3 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Johan. cap. vi. Pars V. fol. 206. 2.]

[4 Id. Ad Cor. I. cap. vii. Pars VI. fol. 41. 2.]

[5 1567 omits *he is.*]

[6 One in love or according to affection, 1567.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Col. cap. ii. Hom. vi. Tom. XI. p. 370.]

[8 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Ascens. Dom. Serm. ii. 3. col. 207.]

[9 Neare, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Πρόσχες δὲ, ὅτι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐσθιόμενος οὐκ ἀντίτυπόν ἐστι τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου σαρκὸς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σάρξ. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὅτι ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἀντίτυπόν ἐστι τῆς σαρκός μου, ἀλλ' ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστί. μεταποιεῖται γὰρ ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλογίας, καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου.—Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Joan. Comm. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 594.]

[11 Or a naked, 1567.]

[12 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Sup. Missus est Hom. iii. 14. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 748.]

blood of Christ." St Augustine giveth this general rule, as I have often reported: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent*[13]: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be (in substance and nature), but what they signify." Tertullian saith: *Christus acceptum panem, et discipulis [suis] distributum, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[14]: "Christ, having taken the bread, and having delivered the same to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,' that is to say, This is a figure of my body." And to appoint a corruptible creature to this use, and to make it an effectual instrument of such high and hidden mysteries, it is not the work of any mortal man, but the only power and working of the Holy Ghost; as it shall farther appear in the next clause, in mine answer to the words of St Ambrose. Beda saith thus: *Panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis Christi ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur*[15]: "The creature of bread and wine, by the unspeakable sanctification of the Holy Ghost, is changed (not into the very real body and blood, but) into the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

August. contr. Max. Lib. iii.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

Bed. in Oct. Epiph.

M. HARDING.

Neither maketh St Ambrose, which also ye bring in, any better for you. Would God ye would admit him for umpire in this point! Verily, in the book and chapter that ye refer us unto, he disputeth as it were of purpose against you, as though he foresaw the time when the church should be troubled with the heresy of sacramentaries: . . . Tu forte dicis, &c.[16]: "*Perhaps thou sayest, My bread is common: but this bread is bread before the words of the sacraments; so soon as consecration cometh, of bread is made the flesh of Christ. Let us then avouch this, how that which is bread may be the body of Christ? By consecration. Then with what words and speech*[17] *is consecration made? Even with those of our Lord Jesus. For whatsoever else is said (he meaneth at the mass), it is praise-giving*[18] *to God, and praying for the people, for kings, for the rest: when the priest cometh to the consecration of the honourable sacrament, there he useth not his own words, but the words of Christ; therefore it is the word of Christ that maketh the sacrament.* [a] *What word of Christ? Soothly that same word whereby*[19] *all things be made. Our Lord commanded, and heaven was made. Our Lord commanded, and earth was made. Our Lord commanded, and the seas were made. Our Lord commanded, every creature was engendered. Seest thou then how workful is the word of Christ? Well then, if there be so great power in the word of our Lord Jesus, that things began to be which were not, how much more is it workful,* [b] ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur! '*that things be which were, and be changed into another thing*'!" *Here, sir defender, construe me these words, and what sense can you draw forth of them, but this, If by the working power of our Lord's word things have a being which before were nothing, and had no being at all, as heaven, earth, and seas; how much more power hath it to work that things which were before, and had a being, now also be, or have a being, but be changed into another thing,* in aliud, [c] "*into a thing of another substance!*" *For by this phrase is signified a substantial changing, which aptly is called transubstantiation. And I pray you, good sir, who*

De Sacr. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

De Pane.

Consecration.

Operatorius.

These be the words alleged by the defender.

[a] God may well be omnipotent without either transubstantiation or real presence.

[b] St Ambrose saith, the bread and wine are the same things they were before consecration, notwithstanding they be now made a sacrament.

[c] Untrue exposition. That were contrary to

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See Vol. I. page 467, note 21.]

[14] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 447, note 13.]

[15] Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Hom. Hyem. de Sanct. In Epiph. Dom. Tom. VII. col. 320; where *sanguinis ejus.*]

[16] Tu forte dicis: Meus panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur adstruamus. Quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione. Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia, quæ dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur; laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris: ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. Quis est sermo Christi? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Jussit Dominus, et factum est cœlum: jussit Dominus, et facta est terra: jussit Dominus, et facta sunt maria: jussit Dominus, et omnis creatura generata est. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 14, 5. Tom. II. cols. 368, 9.]

[17] Speeches, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[18] Praise given, Conf.]

[19] Same whereby, Conf.]

St Ambrose. For then were they not the same things they were before. [d] O fond folly! What being have things when their substance is gone? [e] A vain untruth. See the answer.

saith that the elements (I mean bread and wine) pass quite away, and go to nothing? Though you so belie us, we say not so: God forbid! We say that after consecration they be. But what? [d]*Not the self-same they were, whereby the former substance is excluded, but the body and blood of our Lord. Again, in that we say with St Ambrose,* In aliud commutantur, *"They be changed into another thing;" followeth it not thereof by good logic,* ergo, *they be? Will not this argument hold in school, the verb passive being resolved,* [e]Sunt commutata; ergo sunt? *For that which ceaseth to be, or goeth to nothing, ye cannot properly say of it, that it is changed; but rather, that it is ended or perished*[1]. *Now, sir, I report me to every man that hath any sense, whether I may not lawfully give you the* menti, *as for manners' sake I may use the Italian term, and challenge you in plain terms of a lie, for uttering this untruth upon that holy doctor, St Ambrose; specially speaking as you do in your English translation, by yourself allowed thus. For what can be said more plainly than that which Ambrose saith, "Bread and wine remain still the same they were before, and yet are changed into another thing?" Zeal moveth me to say, beyond the modesty of my natural disposition, What is juggling, what is lying, what is falsehood*[2]*, what is falsifying, what is wickedness of falsaries, if this be not?*

The elements after consecration be, or have a being.

M. Harding's modesty.

Neither is the saying wherewith this defender belieth St Ambrose alonely[3] *false, and contrary to the catholic faith, but also absurd, unreasonable, and foolish. For if bread and wine remain still after consecration the same they were before, . . . how then are they changed into another thing? . . .*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Omnipotent Power.

Here, M. Harding, unless ye had made St Ambrose a prophet, ye thought he could not so handsomely have served your turn. But what and of whom he prophesied, and how far he saw before, we shall see hereafter. Verily, if that be the heresy that you imagine, then he needed not greatly any spirit of prophecy in that behalf: for he foretold us of no new heresy that was to come; but rather told us of his own heresy, that then was present. Doubtless the words that we report are not ours: they are his own.

But St Ambrose saith: "The omnipotent power of the word, wherewith God made heaven and earth, the same omnipotent power of the same word he useth now in the consecration of the sacrament." Therefore, saith M. Harding, it must needs be gathered he meant transubstantiation and real presence; as if without these new fantasies God could not be omnipotent. I may well answer these men as St Ambrose, upon the like occasion, sometime answered the wilful blindness of the Jews: *Atramentum vident: Spiritum Dei non vident*[4]: "They see the ink (of the letter written); but the Spirit of God they see not." Even so M. Harding and others of that side weigh the words of St Ambrose; but his sense and meaning they weigh not.

Ambros. de Noe et Arc.

Certainly God sheweth his omnipotent power as well in the sacrament of baptism as in the sacrament of thanksgiving. Hereof I have said somewhat, as occasion was offered, in my former Reply to M. Harding[5]. Leo saith thus: [*Christus*] *originem quam sumpsit in utero virginis posuit in fonte baptismatis. Dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri*[6]: "Christ laid in the font of baptism the same beginning that he took in the virgin's womb. He gave the same pre-eminence to the water that he gave to his mother." Even so Chrysostom: *Angeli qui adfuerunt (in baptismo) tam inenarrabilis operis modum minime possunt enarrare. Adfuerunt tantum, et viderunt; nihil tamen operati sunt; sed Pater tantum, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*[7]: "The angels that were present at the baptism are not able to utter the manner of that unspeakable work. They were present only, and saw, but they did nothing; but only the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Likewise he saith: *Ex Spiritu et sensibili aqua omnia hæc admirabilia et humanam*

Art. v. Div. 4. Leo, in Nativ. Dom. Serm. 5.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 24.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 24.

[1 Perisheth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2 Falshead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[3 All only, all the editions.]
[4 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Noe et Arc. cap. xiii. 46. Tom. I. col. 245.]
[5 See Vol. I. pages 454, 5.]
[6 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Nativ. Dom. Serm. v. 5. cols. 51, 2.]
[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xxv. Tom. VIII. pp. 145, 6.]

excedentia cogitationem exoriuntur[8]: "All these wonderful works (wrought in baptism), so far exceeding the thought of man, spring of the Spirit, and of sensible water."

Omnipotent Power.

Thus the holy fathers used oftentimes to advance[9] and to magnify the holy mysteries, the better to bring their hearers to the deep and inward consideration of the same; and therefore, as St Augustine saith, *sacramenta ... tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncuparunt*[10]: "they expressed the sacraments of so great a thing none otherwise than by the name of the same thing." So St Paul saith: "The rock was Christ." So another saith, as I have other wheres alleged: "The oil is Christ[11]." And another: *Manna erat Christus, qui descendit de cœlo*[12]: "The manna (that rained in the wilderness) was Christ, that came down from heaven." Thus are we taught that "manna was Christ," that "the oil was Christ," and that "the rock was Christ." And these sayings are true. And yet indeed and verily, in nature and substance, neither the manna, nor the oil, nor the rock was Christ[13].

August. ad Bonifac. Epist. 23.

1 Cor. x.

Pachym. in iv. cap. Hierarch. S. German. de Corp. et Sang. Christi.

So saith St Chrysostom, reporting the story of David: *Accipiens aquam allatam bibere noluit; sed semetipsum reprehendit, et Domino eam libavit. Non enim aqua erat, sed sanguis*[14]: "David, receiving of the water (that his men had gotten with great danger from the midst of their enemies), would not drink of it; but found fault with himself, and poured it out unto the Lord. For it was not water, but blood."

Chrysost. in Psal. l. Hom. 1.

2 Sam. xxiii.

I beseech thee, good christian reader, mark well these words. The story is clear. It was indeed only a cup of water, and nothing else: yet Chrysostom saith, "It was blood: it was no water."

In those days it was no danger thus to say. The people was instructed, and well acquainted with this phrase or manner of speech, and knew the meaning. They were taught that the rock, the oil, and the manna in the wilderness were only sacraments of Christ; and that, notwithstanding they were called by the[15] name of Christ, yet indeed and in substance they were not Christ.

Therefore I may answer M. Harding herein as St Augustine sometime answered the Pelagian heretics: *Vobis* [*Pelagianis*] *nondum litigantibus, securius loquebantur* [*patres de his articulis*][16]: "Before that you, the Pelagians[17], began to quarrel, the fathers and doctors spake without fear and freely of these articles." Athanasius saith of the Arian heretics: *Incorporalia corporaliter excipientes, quæ probe dicta erant, interpretationibus depravaverunt*[18]: "Taking spiritual things in a corporal or fleshly meaning (as doth M. Harding and others his fellows), by their interpretations they have depraved the things that were rightly spoken."

August. contr. Jul. Lib. i. cap. ii.

Athanas. contr. Arian. Serm. 4.

St Ambrose saith of the bread and the wine: *Sunt quæ erant, et in aliud mutantur:* "They remain the same that they were, and are changed into another thing." Now is the field won: M. Harding bloweth a main triumph. "Here," saith he, "sir defender, construe me these words." Soothly, good reader, I distrust not greatly but this poor defender might easily "construe these words," were he never so simple a clerk. The "natural creatures of the bread and wine" in the supper of our Lord (saith St Ambrose) "remain still in substance as they were before; yet are they changed into another thing;" that is to say, they are made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which before they were not.

Notwithstanding this short construction, being clear and plain, may seem sufficient, yet, for that M. Harding so deeply apposeth us, and willeth us to "construe him these words," we will both construe and parse them too for his pleasure.

[8 Id. ibid. p. 144.]

[9 Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 10. Tom. II. col. 268; where *sacramentum*, and *nuncupavit*.]

[11 Τὸ δὲ μύρον ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς.—Paraphr. Pachym. in Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iv. Tom. I. p. 353.]

[12 German. de Miss. in Liturg. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 147.]

[13 The sentences from *heaven* are not in 1567.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. In Psalm. l. Hom. i. Tom. V. p. 581. The Greek text is οὐ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀλλ' αἷμα. This homily is not genuine.]

[15 Thy, 1567.]

[16 August. Op. Contr. Jul. Pelag. Lib. i. cap. vi. 22. Tom. X. col. 511; where *loquebatur*.]

[17 You Pelagians, 1567.]

[18 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Contr. Arian. Orat. iii. 1. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 551.]

It is Christ.

Therefore, to warrant our former construction, St Augustine saith thus: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*[1]: "Let the word be added to the element or outward creature, and it is made a sacrament," that is to say, "another thing." Again he saith: [*Sacramenta*] *sunt signa rerum, aliud existentia, aliud significantia*[2]: "Sacraments are signs or tokens of things, being by substance one thing, and signifying another thing." So saith Chrysostom of the water of baptism: *Cum hoc elementum acceperit Spiritum Sanctum, fit sacramentum; et jam non erit aqua potationis, sed sanctificationis. Non erit aqua communis, sed refectionis*[3]: "When this creature of water hath received the Holy Ghost, it is made a sacrament; and now is[4] not water to drink, but water to sanctify; not common water, but water to refresh."

August. in Johan. Tract. 80. August. contr. Max. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Chrysost. in Psal. xxii.

Thus the element or outward creature both "remaineth" and is "changed." It remaineth in proper and plain kind of speech: it is changed unproperly, that is to say, by the way of a sacrament or a mystery. So M. Harding's own gloss saith upon the decrees: *Cœleste sacramentum . . . dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. Unde dicitur, Suo modo: . . . non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio; ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat* [*corpus Christi*][5]: "The heavenly sacrament is called the body of Christ, but unproperly (that is to say, not in plain and simple manner of speech). Therefore St Augustine saith it is so called after a sort; that is, not in truth of matter, but by a mystery signifying; that the sense may be this, It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." So saith St Augustine: *De signis disserens, hoc dico, Ne quis in eis attendat quod sunt, sed potius quod signa sunt, id est, quod significant*[6]: "Entreating of signs (or sacraments) thus I say, Let no man consider in them that they be in substance, but rather that they be signs, that is to say, that they signify" some other thing. In this sense and meaning St Augustine saith again: *Dominus ait, Ipse* (*Johannes*) *est Elias; Johannes autem ipse ait, Ego non sum Elias. . . . Recte ergo . . . Johannes proprie respondit; nam Dominus figurate*[7]: "Our Lord said of John the Baptist, 'This is Elias;' but John himself saith, 'I am not Elias.' Therefore John answered well in plain manner of words; for our Lord spake in a figure." Thus in sundry sorts of speech "John is Elias," and the same "John is not Elias;" and both are true.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. In Gloss. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i. August. in Johan. Tract. 4.

But what better expositor of St Ambrose can we find than St Ambrose himself? I trust M. Harding will not say that so holy a father was a "falsifier" and a "liar," specially in declaring his own mind. Thus therefore he saith: *Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus* [*Christi*] *significatur*[8]. *In comedendo et potando, carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*[9]. *In similitudinem . . . accipis sacramentum. . . . Est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini. . . . Similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis*[10]: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kind: after the words of consecration the body of Christ is signified." "In eating and drinking we signify the body and blood that were offered for us." "Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude or for a likeness. It is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord. Thou drinkest the likeness of the precious blood."

Ambros. de iis qui init. cap. ix. Ambros. 1 Cor. xi. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. et v.

The like form of words the same St Ambrose useth of the sacrament of baptism: *Vidisti aquam? Sed non omnis aqua sanat. Sed aqua sanat, quæ habet gratiam Dei. Aliud est elementum, aliud consecratio*[11]: "Hast thou seen the

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. i. cap. v.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703; where *accedit.*]

[2 Id. contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725; where *signa sunt.*]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Expos. Psalm. xxii. et cxvi. Hom. Tom. I. col. 710; where *cum istud.*]

[4 Now it is, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937; where *significati mysterio*, and *vocatur Christi corpus.*]

[6 August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. i. 1. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 19.]

[7 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. iv. 5, 6. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 314, 5; where *Quare ergo ille, Non sum Elias: et Dominus, Ipse est Elias.*]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[9 Id. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149. See before, page 493.]

[10 Id. de Sacram. Lib. VI. cap. i. 3; Lib. IV. cap. v. 21; cap. iv. 20. Tom. II. cols. 380, 70, 1; where *figura est.*]

[11 Id. ibid. Lib. I. cap. v. 15. col. 352; where *non aqua omnis.*]

water? But all water healeth not. But that water healeth that hath the grace of God. The element (or creature of water) is one thing; and the consecration is another thing."

Changed into another thing.

Thus the bread "remaineth;" and thus it is "changed." It remaineth in substance: it[12] is changed in mystery.

But M. Harding heavily presseth these words, *Mutantur in aliud*: "That is," saith he, "into a thing of another substance. For by this phrase is signified a substantial changing, which aptly is called transubstantiation." I will not here use your courteous eloquence, M. Harding, nor say unto you as you say to others, "I pray you, good sir;" but thus I say: I pray you, M. Harding, who gave you this rule? Who taught you this lesson? *De cœlo est, an ex hominibus?* "Came it from heaven, or is it of men?" Have the holy fathers thus taught you, or is it only your own fantasy? What grammar, what logic, what philosophy, what divinity ever told you that *aliud* evermore signifieth "a thing of another substance?" If ye have an author, why come you without him? If it be only of yourself, why should we believe you?

If *aliud* signify only a "substance," and nothing else, why doth St Augustine say, as it is before alleged, *Sacramenta sunt signa rerum, aliud existentia, aliud significantia*[13]? Why saith St Augustine again, *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti*[14]? Why saith St Ambrose, *Aliud est elementum, aliud consecratio*[15]? For by your divinity the sacrament, the form, the consecration, be accidents only, and may not be taken for the substance. Verily, for ought that I can learn, *aliud* is nothing else but *res alia*, "another thing," whether it be the substance or the accident. For I think ye have not forgotten the old rule: *Unumquodque in suo genere est quid.*

August. contr. Max. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.
August. in Johan. Tract. 26.
Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. i. cap. v.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Who would think that a man of your study and learning, and of that place, would say, and maintain it, that St Ambrose meaneth bread and wine after consecration to remain still in substance that which they were before?" *The answer.* Who would think that a man of your learning, M. Harding, would be so vain or so wilful? Have you forgotten that Gelasius saith, *Non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis et vini*[16]? "It ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine?" Have you forgotten that St Chrysostom saith, *Natura panis remanet in sacramento*[17]? "The nature or substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament?" Or that Theodoretus saith, *Christus naturam panis non mutat*[18]? "Christ changeth not the nature of the bread?" Who would think you would refuse to expound one father by another?

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 347. b. [Detect.]
Gelas. contr. Eutych.
Chrysost. ad Cæsar.
Theodor. Dial. 1.

M. Harding: "I will construe these words for him, and will shew his extreme blindness. *Ergo*, 'then,' *si tanta vis est*, 'if so great strength be,' *in sermone Domini Jesu*, 'in the speech of our Lord Jesus,' *ut*, 'that,' &c. M. Jewel supplieth bread and wine to be the nominative case to the verb *sint*, 'be,' or rather to the verb *sunt*. He beginneth the construction with the verb *sint*, whereas *quæ erant* should go before. Again, between *quæ* and *erant* M. Jewel conveyeth in a pronoun demonstrative, which hath no place there, saying, 'which they were,' &c. Is *sunt* to be Englished 'they remain the same?' *Sunt* is no more but 'they be,' &c. All St Ambrose' reason proceedeth to prove that God's word is of force to change creatures; and he meaneth of change in substance. For all his comparison consisteth about the words *non esse* and *esse*, and *esse* and *aliud esse*, &c. And who would not wonder to see St Ambrose labour so vehemently to prove that God's word is able to change a creature in quality; as though a man were not able to change a thing in quality? &c. When consecration is come unto it, *de pane*, 'from of bread,' it is made Christ's flesh." *The answer.* Good reader, the words that I have already written may suffice thee for

M. Hard. fol. 348. b. [Detect.]
fol. 349. a. [Detect.]
fol. 349. b. [Detect.]

[12 But it, 1567.]

[13 August. Op. Contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See before, page 500, note 2.]

[14 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 11. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498.]

[15 Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. I. cap. v. 15. Tom. II. col. 352.]

[16 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See Vol. I. page 11, note 11.]

[17 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See Vol. I. page 545, note 12.]

[18 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Immut. Dial. I. Tom. IV. p. 18.]

Changed into another thing.

answer in this behalf. But, whereas M. Harding seeketh to prevail by his pretty constructions, and thus nicely teacheth thee to expound St Ambrose, "*Ergo*, 'then,' *si*, 'if,' *ut*, 'that,' *sunt*, 'be,' that is to say, have a being, *quæ erant* should go before, *sint* should follow after; his dealing herein is light and childish, as thou mayest see, and not worthy of answer. "The bread and the wine," saith St Ambrose, "are still that they were, and yet are changed into another thing."

M. Hard. fol. 349. a. [Detect.]

Here M. Harding crieth out: "These words, 'bread and wine,' are not in St Ambrose. These words M. Jewel hath supplied to be the nominative case to the verb *sint*." To answer your grammatical divinity, M. Harding, if St Ambrose meant not bread and wine, I pray you tell us what things meant he? If ye say he meant nothing, the children will laugh at you: if ye say he meant any other things than bread and wine, it must needs follow that some other things besides bread and wine are changed into Christ's body; which would be the overthrow of all your doctrine. St Ambrose saith, by your own translation, as clear as midnight: "The things that were, be, or have a being, and they are changed into another thing." What things were they? What things have a being? What things are changed? Once again I say unto you, if St Ambrose meant not bread and wine, I pray you tell us what things meant he? If bread and wine be not changed, where is then your transubstantiation of bread and wine? If the bread and wine remain not, how say you that the bread and wine have a being? Will you say they have a being and yet be nothing? Leave these devices, M. Harding: they become you not. Why should you so vainly encumber the world with such follies? St Ambrose saith: "They are changed into another thing." So may they be, though the former substance and nature of bread and wine remain still.

Fol. 349. b. [Detect.]

But you say: "All St Ambrose's reason proceedeth to prove that God's word is of force to change creatures," meaning, as you say, of change in substance. How know you that, M. Harding? Verily St Ambrose himself seemeth not to know it.

Ambros. de illis qui init. cap. ix.

Behold his words: thus he saith: "Moses lifted up his rod; and the water was divided, and stood as a wall: the water of Jordan turned his course, and, contrary to nature, flowed backward to his head. Is it not clear that nature was changed?" &c.[1] Now tell us, M. Harding, call you this a change in substance? Was not the water both of the Red Sea and of Jordan in nature and substance as it was before? By these and such other like examples it appeareth that, notwithstanding St Ambrose say "the nature is changed," yet he meant a change in quality only, and not in substance. But he saith: "Of bread is made Christ's body."

Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 16.

So Chrysostom saith: "The baptism of Christ is Christ's blood[2]." But St Ambrose saith not, The bread is no longer bread; or, The bread is really changed into Christ's body. His words agree thoroughly with the words of Tertullian, that lived before him. For, as St Ambrose saith, "Of the bread is made Christ's body;"

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

even so saith Tertullian: *Christus accepit panem, ... et corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[3]: "Christ took bread, and made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,' that is to say, This is a figure of my body." The bread, saith he, is made the body of Christ. What thing can there be more plainly spoken? But he thought it good further to open his own meaning, lest any man should be deceived. "He made it his body," saith he, "that is to say, he made it a figure or a sacrament of his body." Even so meant St Ambrose; and the same meaning he hath many ways plainly uttered, as I have said before. These be his words: "The body of Christ is signified:" "We signify the flesh and blood of Christ:" "Thou receivest the sacrament for a likeness:" "Thou drinkest the similitude of the precious blood:" "It is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord." In this sense St Ambrose saith "the bread is made Christ's body." You must give him leave of courtesy, M. Harding, to expound his own meaning, unless you know it better than he himself.

M. Hard. fol. 349. b. [Detect.]

You say: "Who would not wonder to see St Ambrose labour so vehemently

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[1 ...virgam levavit Moyses, separavit se aqua, et in murorum specie congelavit....Jordanis retrorsum conversus contra naturam in sui fontis revertit exordium. Nonne claret naturam...esse mutatam?—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 51. Tom. II. col. 338.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 159. See Vol. I. page 518, note 4.]

[3 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 447.]

to prove that God's word is able to change a creature in quality; as though a man were not able to change a thing in quality?" And marvel you so much hereat, M. Harding? It appeareth ye have not so advisedly considered the holy fathers. St Cyprian, speaking only of the holy oil, saith thus: *Sanctificatis elementis, jam non propria natura præbet effectum; sed virtus divina potentius operatur: ... adest veritas signo, et Spiritus sacramento*[4]: "When the elements (of the oil) be sanctified, it is not the nature thereof that giveth effect; but the power of God worketh more mightily: the truth is present with the sign; and the Holy Ghost is present with the sacrament." "It is not nature," he saith: "it is the power of God." So earnestly he laboureth to prove a change; and yet is it a change, not in substance, as you know, but only in quality. Such extraordinary speeches be very common in the ancient writers. Bertramus, that lived about eight hundred years past, saith thus: "Christ of the manna that fell from heaven in the wilderness invisibly made his own body; and of the water that flowed from the rock invisibly he wrought his own blood[5]." These words be vehement, as none may be more. Yet was this change in quality only, and not in substance. So saith Beda: *Panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis Christi ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur*[6]: "The creature of bread and wine, by the unspeakable sanctification of the Holy Ghost, is turned into the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood." He saith not, It is changed in substance, or, It is really turned into Christ's flesh and blood; but only, "It is turned into the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood." And therefore St Ambrose, after all other his vehement words, saith thus: *Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est; vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est. Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus, Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus* [*Christi*] *significatur*[7]: "That was the very true flesh of Christ that was crucified, and that was buried; therefore this is verily a sacrament of that flesh. The Lord Jesus himself saith, 'This is my body.' Before the benediction of the heavenly words it is named another kind; after the consecration the body of Christ is signified."

Changed into another thing.

Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

Bertram. de Sacram. Euch.

Bed. in Octav. Epiph.

Ambros. de illis qui init. cap. ix.

And, lest any man should wonder at these strange kinds of speeches, like as St Ambrose speaketh of the changing of the bread in our Lord's supper, even so he speaketh of the changing of the water in the sacrament of baptism. These be his words: "First of all the apostle teacheth thee not to behold (in baptism) the things that are seen, but the things that are not seen, &c. Believe, therefore, the presence of the Godhead. Believest thou the work, and believest thou not the presence? &c. Believe not only the eyes of the body. That thing is better seen that is not seen, &c. This is that mystery that eye never saw, that ear never heard, that never entered into the heart of man, &c. To them of the Jews an angel came down; unto thee cometh down the Holy Ghost. Unto them the creature of the water was stirred: unto thee Christ himself worketh, that is, the Lord of the creature, &c. Believe, therefore, that our Lord Jesus is present in baptism at the prayer of the priest, &c. Say not, How are we regenerate? I know not here the use of nature. The order of nature is not there where as is the excellency of God's grace[8]." These and such other like words St Ambrose uttereth only touching the sacrament of baptism. "Believe not," saith he, "thy bodily eyes: God's word is workful. Here is no order of nature: grace excelleth:

De illis qui init. cap. iii.

Cap. iv.

Cap. v.

Cap. ix.

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 47.]

[5 Ipse tunc quoque manna de cœlo datum corpus suum, et aquam de petra profusam proprium sanguinem, invisibiliter operatus est.—Ratramn. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. Oxon. 1838. cap. xxv. p. 14.]

[6 Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Hom. Hyem. de Sanct. In Epiph. Dom. Tom. VII. col. 320. See before, page 497, note 15.]

[7 Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 53, 4. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[8 Primo omnium docuit te apostolus non ea contemplanda nobis quæ videntur, sed quæ non videntur, &c. Crede ergo divinitatis illic adesse præsentiam. Operationem credis, non credis præsentiam? &c. Non ergo solis corporis tui credas oculis: magis videtur quod non videtur; &c. Hoc est illud magnum mysterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis adscendit &c. illis angelus descendebat, tibi Spiritus sanctus: illis creatura movebatur, tibi Christus operatur ipse Dominus creaturæ, &c. Crede ergo adesse Dominum Jesum invocatum precibus sacerdotum, &c. nec dicamus, quomodo regenerati sumus?...non agnosco usum naturæ. Sed nullus hic naturæ ordo, ubi excellentia gratiæ est.—Id. ibid. cap. iii. 8, 15; iv. 19, 22; v. 27; ix. 59. cols. 327, 8, 9, 30, 2, 42.]

Sunt quæ erant.

nature yieldeth: Christ is the Lord of the creature: God is present: Christ is present." So earnestly he laboureth to prove this change. And yet is it a change not in substance, but only in quality. Such change is there in the water. Such change is there in the bread and wine.

M. Hard. fol. 349. a. [Detect.]

Last of all, whereas I have thus Englished these words, *sunt quæ erant*, "they remain the same that they were," ye charge me with false translation: "Is *sunt* (say you) to be Englished 'they remain the same?' *Sunt* is no more but 'they be.' If St Ambrose would have said as you untruly translate him, his words had been these: *Manent eadem.*" Your objection is pretty, M. Harding. We will not here dispute of the propriety of words. Be it that *est* may not commonly be Englished "to remain;" yet sometimes perhaps and in some sentence it may well bear this English. Jeremy saith: *Rachel plorat filios suos, quia non sunt.* David saith: *Laudabo Dominum quamdiu sum.* What if a man would thus English these words, "Rachel bewaileth her children, because they remain not;" "I will praise the Lord while I remain alive?" Would you therefore condemn him of heresy? Or would you say *sum* may not be Englished "to remain?" As for the place of St Ambrose, it seemeth it may well be so[1] Englished: *Sunt quæ erant:* "They remain that they were before." If this mislike you, we will follow your own English, and say thus: "They are that they were before." Now, I pray you, what advantage have you gotten by this exchange? But you say: "If St Ambrose had thus meant, he would have said, *Manent eadem.*" That may well be doubted; for St Ambrose is not always most curious in choice of words. Howbeit, although he say it not, yet others have said it. For, as it is alleged before, St Chrysostom saith: *Natura panis remanet in sacramento*[2]: "The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament." And Gelasius saith: "It ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine[3]." If it cease not to be, then must you confess "it remaineth still." And thus have you found that very same word that so hath offended you.

Jer. xxxi.

Psal. cxlvi.

Chrysost. ad Cæsar.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

We say, "The nature and substance of the bread and wine is not clearly changed or consumed into nothing, as many have dreamed in these latter[4] days." Here M. Harding cometh roughly in, as his manner is, and saith: "Ye belie us:" "we say not so:" "God forbid!" Thus he crieth out before he be stricken. Salomon saith: *Impius fugit, nemine persequente:* "The guilty flieth[5] before he be chased." For, notwithstanding there be multitudes of follies in his doctrine, yet with this folly we charge him not. But whether any of his fellows have so said or no, I report me to his master, Peter Lombard. His words be these: *Quid ergo fit de substantia panis et vini? Illi dicunt, vel in præjacentem materiam resolvi, vel in nihilum redigi*[6]: "What then becometh of the substance of the bread and wine? They say either that it is resolved into the matter that was before, or else that it is consumed into nothing."

Prov. xxviii.

Iv. Sent. Dist. 11. Quidam.

What? "Into nothing[7]? Marry, God forbid!" saith M. Harding. So coy and so careful[8] he is for his holy forms, and his kingdom of accidents. He saith, The whole substance of the bread is clean abolished, not one part thereof remaining; yet may it not be turned into nothing. And, as if the matter were well worth somewhat, he assureth the same sadly with a great detestation: "God forbid!" God shield the bread[9]! Hereof something might be said, if it were any thing worth the hearing. But, good reader, thou shalt lose nothing by the silence; for I assure thee, verily it is worth nothing.

Yet M. Harding first giveth us his courteous *menti;* and afterward, in his familiar manner, chargeth us by plain terms with a lie; and suddenly crieth out, as he saith, "beyond the modesty of his natural disposition, What is juggling, what is lying, what is falsehood[10], what is falsifying, what is wickedness of fal-

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[1 So be, 1570, 1609.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See Vol. I. page 545, note 12.]

[3 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See Vol. I. page 11, note 11.]

[4 Later, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Fleeth, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xi. D. fol. 353. 2.]

[7 These three words are not in 1567.]

[8 And careful, 1567.]

[9 1567 omits this clause.]

[10 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

saries, if this be not?" I might say, O sirs, hold the man. Good christian reader, in all these "whats" thou wilt happily think there should be somewhat. Howbeit, indeed it is but a pang of M. Harding's rhetoric. He speaketh not thus of his own natural disposition, as he himself saith, but of art and study[11]; lest thou shouldest think that, having spent so many waste words, in the end he had said nothing.

Changed into another thing.

But what is the matter, M. Harding? What moveth you to make this piteous outcry? Forsooth, because we say, "The bread and wine remain the same they were before." But these be St Ambrose's own words, they be not ours: we make them not, we change them not, but report them simply as we find them. As they were written in Latin by the author, these they are: (*Panis et vinum*) *sunt quæ erant, et in aliud mutantur:* "The bread and wine are the same that they were, and are changed into another thing." Therefore it appeareth all these exclamations of "What is juggling, what is lying?" &c., pertain unto St Ambrose, the author hereof, and not unto us.

Now, forasmuch[12] as it hath pleased M. Harding so earnestly to call us forth to construe him these words, I beseech thee, good reader, mark well what constructions he and his fellows have imagined and fancied upon the same. First of all, Lanfrancus, the chiefest champion of that side, thought it the wisest way utterly to deny these words, and to say, "They were never written by St Ambrose." For thus he stormeth against Berengarius: *O mentem amentem! O hominem impudenter mentientem! O puniendam temeritatem! Ambrosium accire testem præsumis, quod panis et vinum altaris per consecrationem non desinant esse quod erant, sed commutentur in aliud quod non erant? et quidem si de sacramentis, seu [de] ceteris, de quibus Ambrosius scripsit, omnes revolvat libros, quos ecclesia in usu nunc habet, tale quid ab Ambrosio dictum taliterque expositum nusquam reperire valebit*[13]: "O mad mind! O impudent liar! O rashness worthy of punishment! Darest thou to allege St Ambrose for a witness, that the bread and wine of the altar leave not by consecration to be that they were before, but are changed into another thing, that they were not? Now, truly, if he peruse all the books that St Ambrose hath written, either of the sacraments or of other matters, I mean such books as the church hath now in use, he shall never find any thing so written by St Ambrose, and so expounded."

Lanfranc. de Euch.

But M. Harding thought he might not well thus do without impeachment of his modesty. For the very same words are to be found extant and apparent in every book. Therefore, allowing the words, he thought it best to follow his master, Peter à Soto, and to delay and qualify the same with some construction. Thus therefore he saith: "*Sunt quæ erant, et in aliud mutantur:* doth it not follow by good logic, *Mutata sunt; ergo sunt?* 'They be changed; *ergo*, they be'?" In Lovain, perhaps: in other universities I doubt whether it have hitherto been allowed or no. For by this logic, whereas St Hierome saith, *Superbia mutata est in humilitatem*[14]; M. Harding may conclude as he doth now: *Superbia mutata est; ergo est:* "Pride is changed into humility; *ergo*, pride is or remaineth still." And, whereas St Paul saith, *Commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium;* by this logic M. Harding may say: *Mutata est; ergo est:* "The truth of God is changed into a lie; *ergo*, it is God's truth still notwithstanding."

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xviii.

Rom. i.

And, to take further view of M. Harding's construction, thus he saith: *Panis et vinum sunt quæ erant, id est, qualia erant:* "The bread and wine be in substance the same that they were; that is to say, they be in qualities or accidents as they were." They are changed *in aliud*, "into another thing;" that is, into another substance. "They are changed;" that is, they are transubstantiate. "They be;" that is, they be not: "that they were;" that is, that they were not. Thus substance is *accidens; accidens* is substance; being is not being; not being is being; remaining is not remaining; changing is not changing; and the same thing is not the same.

[11 The clause from *rhetoric* is not in 1567.]

[12 Forsomuch, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Lanfranc. Op. Par. 1648. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. ix. p. 238; where *testem accire, revolvas, tale aliquid*, and *valebis*.]

[14 ...ut superbiam in humilitatem mutaret.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Matt. cap. xviii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 81.]

With such pretty constructions M. Harding can teach us to expound the ancient fathers. These be their keys of the kingdom of heaven. Herewith there is nothing so close shut but they can open it; there is nothing so open but they can shut it. Here might I conclude with M. Harding's own words, and rightly say as he saith, "What is juggling, what is lying?" &c. But it shall be best to leave his own eloquence and modesty to himself.

M. HARDING.

The places of Gelasius and Theodoret in appearance seem to make much[1] *for you, and more than any other doctors.... And, though these two doctors were altogether of this opinion, that after consecration the substance of bread and wine remaineth; what reason is it they only in so great a matter should prejudicate all others*[2] *holy and learned fathers, and, which is more, the general councils and* [a]*the whole church of Christ?... The catholic faith we find in them both within few lines after the words of this defender's objection, first by Gelasius thus expressed:* Sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Domini in divinam transeunt, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam; permanent tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ[3]: "*The sacraments," saith he, "of the body and blood of our Lord pass over into a divine*[4] *substance by the working of the Holy Ghost. Yet remain they still in the propriety of their own nature." By "divine substance" he meaneth the flesh of our Lord assumpted of the Word. "Now," saith Theodoretus, "the mystical tokens be understanded to be the things which they be made, and are believed and adored as being the things which they are believed to be*[5]*." But every man knoweth they are believed to be made the body and blood of Christ, and therefore be duly adored and worshipped: so, after the mind of Theodoret, they be the body and blood indeed, not bread and wine, as before consecration....*

[a] Untruth. For this fantasy was never allowed through the whole church of Christ, as it shall appear.

The truth confessed by Theodoretus, Dial. 2.

"*The substance or nature of bread and wine ceaseth not to be," saith Gelasius; (whereas your interpreter addeth of his*[6] *own head this word "so"). [b]We tell you and him*[6]*, in Theodoret it is not so.* Ergo, *it remaineth, say ye. We grant the substance or nature of bread and wine remaineth after consecration, so as Gelasius understandeth by the name of substance, [c]which is nothing else but the very nature (as commonly we speak of nature), that is to say, the natural properties*[7] *of bread and wine; for so he expoundeth himself afterward, saying: "Yet they remain in the property*[8] *of their own nature." "They remain," likewise saith Theodoret, "in their former substance, figure, and form, and be seen and felt as before."...*[9]

[b] Untruth. Without question it is so. For the words be, *Non desinit esse substantia panis.*

[c] A peevish untruth. It had been too great a folly.

"Nature" in Gelasius, and "substance" in Theodoret is taken for natural property.

Dial. 2.

And thereto may Damascene's definition of substance pertain, who saith that "substance is every that, whatsoever by itself is being, and hath not being in another[10]*." And therefore, [d]sith the accidents have their being by themselves in this sacrament, and be not stayed on any other thing in this consideration, substance of them may so be reported as if themselves were substance. Which [e]substantial consisting of the accidents, lacking a proper name, because it is the mighty and extraordinary hand of God, is also extraordinarily called of Gelasius and Theodoretus by the name which the thing had before, to wit, the substance of bread and wine. And no marvel if they spake not in [f]most exact wise of this secret point of doctrine* (of forms and accidents) *at what time it was not as yet by the church so clearly and fully discussed* (as it was never yet until this day). *But sithence of the schoolmen* (ignorant and fantastical sophisters) *it hath been more distinctly named the ex-*

In Logica, cap. xxiii.

[d] Untruth manifest. Read the answer.

[e] Substantial consisting of accidents. O folly!

[f] O exact folly! A heap of untruths without sense.

[1 More, Conf.]

[2 Other, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 ...ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam transeant, Sancto Spiritu &c. permanente &c.—Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 11, note 11.]

[4 Into divine, Conf.]

[5 ...νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται.—Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Inconfus. Dial. II. Tom. IV. p. 85.]

[6 Her, Conf.]

[7 Proprieties, Conf.]

[8 Propriety, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Here in Harding's Confutation are some of the paragraphs which Jewel has placed and discussed afterwards.]

[10 Οὐσία μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ κυριώτερον, ὡς ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑτέρῳ, ἔχον τὴν ὕπαρξιν.—Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. Dialect. cap. iv. Tom. I. p. 10.]

istence of accidents without their subject, that is, without another thing whereupon they might stay.

Substance.

Again, whereas bread and wine by their nature do nourish, [g] this virtue also remaineth in the accidents given to them by the almighty word of God, who changeth creatures to their bettering, not to their impairing. This was the meaning of Gelasius and Theodoretus, where they say the bread and wine to remain in the[11] *former substance or nature. Otherwise should they be contrary to themselves, as they which also do acknowledge the nature of bread and wine to be changed into a more excellent substance by the workful word of Christ.*

[g] Untruth. M. Harding by one dream expoundeth another.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

As for these two fathers, Gelasius and Theodoretus, notwithstanding M. Harding would seem to make small account of them, for that they be, as he saith, "but only two," yet he rather catcheth hold in some dark or doubtful word by them uttered than he would seem utterly to give them over. Gelasius saith: "The sacraments pass over into a divine substance." If he had said, They pass over into a divine accident, it would somewhat better have shadowed these men's purpose. But other "divine substance" M. Harding can imagine none, saving only Christ's body substantially and really contained under the forms of bread and wine. And this fantasy, notwithstanding Gelasius never knew it, must needs be allowed against all that Gelasius himself can say to the contrary.

But, if M. Harding had better remembered the placing and meaning of this word *substantia*, and that as well Gelasius as other learned fathers use the same as[12] divines, and not as natural philosophers, he should easily have found his own error.

It may please thee therefore, good christian reader, to understand that the promise of mercy, the grace of God, our faith in Christ, God's word, and the holy sacraments, that are the aids and helps of our faith, are of the holy ancient writers called a "substance." So St Cyprian saith: *Substantiam salutis amittunt*[13]: "They lose the substance of salvation." So saith Irenæus: *Quamvis sint in operibus materialibus, tamen putant se non amittere spiritualem substantiam*[14]: "Although they live in worldly or filthy works, yet they think they lose not the spiritual substance." Likewise again he saith of the follies and vanity of the Valentinian heretics: *Insubstantiativum*[15] *ostendit figmentum ipsorum*[16]: "He shewed that their inventions and devices were void of substance." So St Chrysostom: *Fides dat substantiam rebus; imo potius non dat substantiam, sed ipsa est substantia earum*[17]: "Faith giveth things their substance; or rather, it giveth not substance unto things, but itself is their substance." In like manner saith Tertullian: *Deus idololatriæ substantiam cohibuit*[18]: "God forbad the substance of idolatry." So saith abbat Panormitane: *Continentia non est . . . de substantia ordinis*[19]: "Single or sole[20] life is not of the substance of holy orders." And another saith: *Enim, non est de substantia consecrationis*[21]: "This word *enim* is not of the substance of consecration." By these and other like examples it may appear that in cases of religion "substance" is not evermore taken for Christ's body covered with accidents.

Cypr. de Simp. Præl. Iren. Lib. I. cap. i.

In eod. cap.

Ἀνύπαρκτον, ἀνυπόστατον. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 21.

Tertull. adv. Marc. Lib. ii.

Abbas, Extr. de Cleric. Conjug. Cum olim. Pupil. Oculi. p. 14.

If all these examples will not yet suffice, to grow near to our purpose, St Ambrose saith: *Quid est . . . jejunium, nisi substantia et imago cœlestis*[22]? "What is fasting but a substance and an heavenly image[23]?"

Ambros. de Elia et Jejun. cap. iii.

[11 Their, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Of, 1570.]

[13 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 119; where *amittit.*]

[14 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. I. cap. vi. 2. pp. 29, 30.]

[15 Insubstantivum, 1567; insubstantativum, 1570.]

[16 Id. ibid. cap. ix. 4. p. 47. But ἀνύπαρκτον does not appear here.]

[17 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xi. Hom. xxi. Tom. XII. p. 197.]

[18 Proinde et similitudinem vetans fieri...ostendit et causas, idololatriæ scilicet substantiam cohibentes. —Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. II. 22. p. 470.]

[19 Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Cler. Conj. Tit. iii. cap. 6. fol. 16.]

[20 Lose, 1570.]

[21 J. de Burg. Pupill. Oculi. Argent. 1514. Pars I. cap. iv. fol. 18; where *substantia formæ.*]

[22 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. De Elia et Jejun. cap. iii. 4. Tom. I. col. 537.]

[23 An image of heaven, 1567.]

Substance.

Tertull. de Baptism. This is one of Tertullian's errors.

Likewise Tertullian calleth baptism *divinam substantiam*, "a divine substance." His words be these: *Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agitur in secularibus; ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, divina credatur*[1]: "Why hasteth this innocent age (he meaneth children) to the remission of their sins? We are much more wary in worldly things. It is meet[2] we should commit the sacrament of baptism, which is a divine substance, unto them unto whom we would not commit the substance of the earth."

By these we may see in what sense Gelasius calleth the sacrament of thanksgiving "a divine substance." Verily none otherways[3] but even as St Ambrose calleth "fasting a heavenly substance;" and as Tertullian calleth the "sacrament of baptism" by the same words, "a divine substance." And what can this[4] avail M. Harding, to prove either his "transubstantiation," or his "real presence?"

But why dealeth he so doubly? Wherefore dissembleth he the words of Gelasius that immediately in the same sentence went before? For Gelasius himself so clearly and plainly expoundeth his own mind, as no Lovanian doctor can do it better. Thus he saith: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebratur*[5]: "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread or the nature of wine. And indeed the image or representation and likeness of the body and blood of Christ is published in the ministration of the mysteries." And again, in the words next immediately following: *Sacramenta transeunt in divinam, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam; permanent tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ*[6]: "The sacraments, by the working of the Holy Ghost, pass into a divine substance; yet notwithstanding they remain still in the property[7] of their own nature."

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

This image, or representation, or likeness, or memory of the body and blood of Christ is it that Gelasius calleth the "divine substance."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est, quod dicimus.

And in like sense St Augustine calleth the same *cœlestem panem*, "the heavenly bread." Thus he writeth, as he is alleged by Gratian: *Cœlestis panis, qui . . . caro Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi; cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi*[8]: "The heavenly bread (of the sacrament), which is the flesh of Christ, after this[9] sort is called the body of Christ, whereas indeed it is the sacrament of Christ's body." Likewise saith St Cyprian: *Diversa nomina vel species ad unam reducuntur essentiam; et significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censentur*[10]: "Divers names or kinds (of things) are brought unto one substance; that is to say, the things that do signify, and the things that be signified, are reckoned both by one name;" that is, as the body of Christ is called bread, so is the bread called Christ's body.

Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

To be short, as Gelasius calleth the sacrament "a divine substance," even so Gratian saith to the same purpose: *Quidam non improbabiliter exponunt hoc loco carnis et sanguinis veritatem ipsam earundem efficientiam, id est, peccatorum remissionem*[11]: "Some there be that in this place, not without good reason, by these words, 'the truth of Christ's flesh and blood,' understand the effect or working of the same, that is to say, the remission of sins."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Species.

For answer unto Theodoretus it may please thee, for sparing of time, to read my former Reply to M. Harding[12]. It is true that Theodoret saith: "The mystical tokens," that is to say, "the sacraments, be understood to be the things which they be made and believed[13];" that is, that they be mysteries of Christ's body; or that in a mystery, or by way of a sacrament, they be the body of Christ. But it

Art. viii. Div. 26. et Art. x. Div. 4.

[1 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 18. p. 264; where *agetur*.]

[2 Is it meet, 1567.]

[3 Otherwise, 1567.]

[4 Can all this, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 ...et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini: et certe &c. celebrantur.—Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671.]

[6 Id. ibid. See before, page 506, note 3.]

[7 Propriety, 1570.]

[8 August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937; where *Christus caro est*.]

[9 His, 1567.]

[10 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48; where *reducerentur*, and *censerentur*.]

[11 Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 34. col. 1926; where *non improbabiliter quidam*.]

[12 See Vol. I. pages 547, &c.; Vol. II. page 571.]

[13 And be believed, 1567.]

is true also that he saith, both immediately following in the same place, and also before: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua; manent enim in priori substantia, et figura, et forma*[14]: "The mystical tokens (or sacraments) after the consecration depart not from their own nature; for they remain still in their former substance and form and figure." And, as I have often alleged out of St Augustine: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent*[15]: "In sacraments we must consider not what they be (indeed and of their own nature), but what they signify."

Theodor. in 2 Dial. Inconfusus.

August. contr. Max. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.

So saith St Chrysostom: *Antequam panis sanctificetur, panem eum nominamus; divina autem illum gratia sanctificante, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est dominici corporis appellatione; etiamsi natura panis in illo remanserit*[16]: "Before the bread be sanctified, we call it bread. But, after that, by the mean of the priest, the heavenly grace hath hallowed it, it is discharged from the name of bread, and is vouchsafed to be called by the name of our Lord's body, notwithstanding the nature of the bread remain still."

Chrysost. ad Cæsar.

So saith Theodoret himself: *Servator noster commutavit nomina; et corpori quidem symboli nomen dedit, symbolo vero nomen corporis*[17]: "Our Saviour hath made exchange of the names; and unto his body hath given the name of (bread, which is) the sacrament; and unto the sacrament hath given the name of his body."

Theodor. Dial. I.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these words both of Theodoretus and of Gelasius ("The substance of bread and wine, after the words of consecration, remaineth still,") be so plain that no man without blushing may deny them, yet hath M. Harding one good shift left in store. "The substance," saith he, "sometimes is used for the accident:"—even as discreetly and to so good purpose as if he had said, Fire is water, or light is darkness. And so by this construction "substance" sometimes is no "substance." This is M. Harding's own peculiar divinity, without the witness of any of all the learned fathers, Greek or Latin, one or other. For, good reader, thou mayest not think that any man, either well-advised or learned, would say the like.

"The fathers," saith he, "spake not hereof in most exact wise." Perhaps they had not learned their logic rules, or understood not the principles of natural reason, no not so much as a child may easily understand; but used "substance" for "accidents," "accidents" for "substance," and one thing for another, as men that knew not what they said. Indeed, M. Harding, this is not, as you say, "exact wise:" it seemeth rather to be "exact folly."

Ye add further: "Damascene saith, Substance is every that whatsoever by itself is being, and hath no being in another." What needed you here to allege Damascene? Children know that Aristotle and others long before him wrote the like. Notwithstanding, to this *major* ye set a *minor* of your own. "The[18] accidents," say you, "have their being by themselves, and be not stayed in any other thing." O M. Harding, this thing would have had some better proof. Why allege you not either St Augustine, or St Ambrose, or St Chrysostom, or St Hierome, or some other catholic father, to this purpose? Your simple word is no good warrant. Ye prove that thing that is universally confessed, and needed no proof; but that ye should prove, ye leave unproved. This in sophistry is called *petitio principii*, the simplest shift that can be used. Damascene's *major* is confessed, and true; but your *minor* and conclusion are both untrue. For, whereas you say of yourself, "The accidents have their being by themselves;" we say: The same accidents have their being in the bread and wine, as in their subjects. Sundry of your own fellows have said: *Accidentia illa sunt in aere, tanquam in subjecto*[19]: "These accidents are in the air, as in their subject." Therefore, by their

De Consec. Dist. 2. Species. In Gloss.

[14 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Inconfus. Dial. II. Tom. IV. p. 85.]

[15 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See Vol. I. page 467, note 21.]

[16 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See Vol. I. page 545, note 12.]

[17 Theodor. Op. Immut. Dial. I. Tom. IV. p. 17.]

[18 These, 1567.]

[19 ...et eorum quidam dicunt, quod in aere.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 34. col. 1926.]

Nature. Virtue.

judgment, they have not "their being (as you say) by themselves." You may also remember that your master himself never durst precisely to determine this matter, but only passeth it over darkly and doubtfully, as being not well resolved what to say. His words be these: *Mihi videtur fatendum* [*accidentia illa*] *existere sine subjecto*[1]: "It seemeth unto me, or, as I can guess, these accidents have their being without a subject." Such is the assurance and certainty of your doctrine[2].

Iv. Sent. Dist. 21. Si autem.

M. HARDING.

"*We must not behold," saith Euthymius, a Greek doctor, "the nature of the things which be set before us, *but the virtue or power of them*[3]....

* What is the virtue and power of your accidents?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Euthymius, although one of the meanest doctors, saith right well, and as the learned fathers said before him. But, M. Harding, do you take your authors at all adventures, as they come to hand, or do you consider what they say? Tell us, I beseech you, in your fantasy, what are those things that Euthymius saith are set before us? Whether are they the body and blood of Christ, or else your accidents? If it be Christ's very body and blood substantially, really, and indeed, why should we not consider the nature of them? What have they offended you? Or what imperfection find you in them? Cyrillus saith: *Caro Christi natura vivifica est*[4]: "The flesh of Christ by nature hath power to give life." And Christ himself saith: "My flesh is verily meat; and my blood is verily drink." Therefore the nature hereof is well worthy to be considered. But, if there be nothing else there[5] set forth, but only your bare and naked accidents, what power, what virtue is there in them? What doctor or father ever taught us that we should have remission of sin and be saved by your accidents?

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xii.

But, as I said, Euthymius writeth well, following herein the doctrine of the ancient learned fathers. St Basil saith: *Si qua gratia est in aqua, ea non est ex natura aquæ, sed ex præsentia Spiritus*[6]: "If there be any grace in the water (of baptism), it is not of the nature of the water, but of the presence of the Spirit." Cyprian, speaking of the oil, saith thus: *Sanctificatis elementis jam non propria natura præbet effectum, sed virtus divina potentius operatur*[7]: "It is not nature that giveth effect or force unto the elements, being sanctified, but the divine power worketh more mightily." So saith St Chrysostom: *Petra erat Christus: non enim ipsius petræ natura aqua scaturiebat;... sed alia quædam spiritualis Petra omnia operata est, hoc est, Christus*[8]: "The rock was Christ. For it was not by the nature of the rock that the water gushed out; but a certain other spiritual Rock wrought all these things, that is to say, Christ." In like manner the ancient father Origen, speaking of the power and virtue of our Lord's supper, saith thus: *Illud, quod sanctificatur per verbum Dei et per obsecrationem, non suapte natura sanctificat utentem*[9]: "The thing that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer sanctifieth not him that useth it by the nature of itself." By these and other like advertisements these godly fathers meant to withdraw our minds from the outward corruptible creatures to the spiritual and inward understanding of the sacraments. Therefore Euthymius in the same place saith: *Panis habet similitudinem quandam ad corpus, et vinum ad sanguinem*[10]: "The bread hath a certain likeness unto the body, and the wine a certain likeness unto the blood."

Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xv. οὐκ ἐν τῇ φύσεως ἐστι τοῦ ὕδατος. Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 23.

Orig. in Matt. cap. xv.

Euthym. in Matt. cap. xxvi.

[1 Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xii. A. fol. 355. 2.]

[2 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[3 ...χρὴ μὴ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῶν προκειμένων ὁρᾶν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν.—Euthym. Zigab. Comm. in Quat. Evang. Lips. 1792. Matt. cap. xxvi. v. 28. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 1017.]

[4 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 354.]

[5 Nothing there, 1567.]

[6 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xv. Tom. III. p. 29.]

[7 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 47.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiii. Tom. X. p. 203.]

[9 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XI. 14. Tom. III. p. 499.]

[10 Euthym. Zigab. Comm. in Quat. Evang. Matt. cap. xxvi. v. 28. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 1019.]

M. HARDING.

The doctrine of transubstantiation.

*When it pleased our Saviour Christ at his last supper to institute this blessed sacrament, at which he took bread and wine, and turned them into his body and blood, he would in such wise advance these creatures to a much excellenter condition, as they should lose no whit of their former virtues. *"For the Son of man came not to destroy, but to save;" as*[11] *St Augustine saith, is not cause that any thing tend unto not being....*

Change in Accidents.

Lib. lxxxiii. Quæst.

* Untruth, fond and childish. As though Christ had died to save accidents. Luke ix.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

At the last M. Harding hath found some scripture; and that, God wot, full aptly he applieth to serve his purpose. "The Son of man," saith he, "came not to destroy, but to save; *ergo*, the bread and wine lose no whit of their former virtues."

Here[12], I beseech you, M. Harding, what came the Son of man to save? Must we believe he came from heaven to save your accidents? Was this the cause of Christ's coming? Is this the religion ye have learned in Lovaine? St Paul saith: *Nunquid de bubus cura est Deo?* "Hath God any special care for oxen?" Might not one much better say to you[13], Hath God any care for your forms, for your shews, for your empty accidents? 1 Cor. ix.

Perhaps ye will say, I press you over heavily: ye meant that Christ came to save bread and wine, and not only accidents[14]. Howbeit, so ye cannot say. For, by your own doctrine[15], the nature and substance of the bread and the wine, by the coming and presence of Christ, is[16] quite abolished, nothing remaining but only the accidents. But be it that Christ came to save these creatures; then is your religion much like unto the divinity of the old heretics called the Manichees. Of them St Augustine writeth thus: *Herbas,... atque arbores sic putant vivere, ut [ea]... et sentire credant, et dolere cum læduntur; nec aliquid inde sine cruciatu eorum quenquam posse vellere*[17]: "They think that herbs and trees have life, so far forth that they believe they have sense and feeling, and suffer grief and pain when they be hurt; and that no man can pull or pluck ought from them without their smart." And again he saith: *Nec ova... sumunt, quasi et ipsa, cum franguntur, expirent*[18]: "They eat no eggs, imagining that, when they be broken, their life or soul passeth from them." Such a careful consideration it appeareth ye have for your poor accidents[19]. August. ad Quodvultd. Ibid. Hær. 86.

These be mere follies, M. Harding. Christ himself saith he "came to save," not your accidents, but "sinners;" not bread and wine, but "the thing that was lost." And will ye tell us that your accidents were lost? Or that bread and wine were such sinful creatures as could not otherwise be saved than by the blood of Christ[20]?

O M. Harding, have more reverence to God's word. It is holy. It is it whereby you shall be judged. Have better regard henceforth to that ye write. Christ himself saith: *Filius hominis non venit, ut perdat animas hominum, sed ut servet:* "The Son of man came not to destroy the souls of men, but to save them." Here, in favour of your case[21], ye have left out the souls of men, which was the knot of the whole, and have thrust[22] in accidents[23]. And so there must needs appear in you either gross ignorance, wherewith you charge others[24], or wilful corruption. Luke ix.

[11 And as, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[12 Hear, 1609, 1611.]
[13 These two words are not in 1567.]
[14 The last four words do not appear in 1567.]
[15 Your doctrine, 1567.]
[16 Are, 1567.]
[17 Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. xlvi. Tom. VIII. col. 16.]
[18 Id. ibid. col. 15.]
[19 This sentence is not in 1567.]
[20 The closing part of the sentence from *creatures* is not in 1567.]
[21 Your accidents, 1567.]
[22 Trust, 1570.]
[23 1567 has not the last five words.]
[24 The four preceding words are not in 1567.]

Change in Accidents.

M. HARDING.

Seeing then there is a change by all consent, [a]and certain[1] it is that the change is not in the accidents, because we see them remain as they were before, and God deceiveth not our senses in their true and proper object, which is colour, taste, smell, &c.; it must needs be that the change be in substance, [b]which is to sense incomprehensible....

Change in substance.

[a] Untruth, evident and sensible. Read the answer.
[b] Untruth, trifling and sophistical. For substance is perceived by the senses, although by mean of the accidents.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"There is a change in the bread," saith M. Harding, "but not in the accidents thereof; *ergo*, in the substance." In the like[2] order of reason he might have said, It is not a fern-bush; *ergo*, it is a fox. Ye may not look, M. Harding, to steal thus away with so simple sophisms. This poor shift among children is called *petitio principii.*

Your *minor*, wherein standeth the whole doubt, and which, by some authority or shew of reason, one way or other, ye should have proved true, ye have passed slily[3] over without any manner of proof at all, and presume it only to be true. And so the whole weight hereof standeth not by truth or reason, but hangeth only by presumption.

For what doctor or father ever told you, or made you so certain, that in the bread there is no change touching the accidents? Ye say your "senses tell you that the accidents remain still as they were before." And the same senses may also[4] tell you, as St Augustine saith, that the substance of the bread remaineth still as it was before[5]. But will you so suddenly forsake your old lesson? Will you now put this matter in compromise to your senses? How often and how sadly have you told us, that "these be cases of only faith, and that in the judgment hereof both sense and reason must be abandoned?" And have you forgotten that Chrysostom saith, *Nihil sensibile traditum nobis est a Christo. Quæcunque Christus tradidit, insensibilia sunt*[6]*:* "There is no sensible thing delivered unto us by Christ" (in these mysteries)? And again, "Whatsoever things Christ hath given us, they are unsensible." If they be things utterly[7] unsensible, how then can they be judged by your senses? Why come ye not forth with the learned doctors and catholic fathers, of whom ye say ye have such plenty? If it be true, as you say, that "there is no change in accident," why is it not proved? If it be false, why is it avouched? Tell us, how long shall we be bound to your bare word?

Ad Infant.: "Quod...videtis, panis est:...quod...etiam oculi...renuntiant."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Verily, St Augustine would have told you that this change is in accident, and not in substance. For thus he saith, as it hath been often remembered: *Nisi sacramenta similitudinem quandam haberent earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerunque rerum ipsarum nomina accipiunt*[8]*:* "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of the things of which they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments. And of this likeness oftentimes they bear the names of the things themselves that are represented by the sacraments[9]." Again he saith: *Secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est*[10]*:* "The sacrament of Christ's body after a certain manner is Christ's body." And again: *Non ... dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*[11]*:* "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a token of his body." Likewise saith Tertullian, expounding and opening the meaning of Christ's words: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[12]*:* "'This is my body,' that is to

August. ad Bonifac. Epist. 23.

In ead. Epist.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

[1 And most certain, Conf.]
[2 In like, 1567.]
[3 Passed it slily, 1567.]
[4 Senses also, 1567.]
[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. ad Infant. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4.]
[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787.]
[7 Utter, 1570.]
[8 August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See Vol. I. page 503.]
[9 The last six words are not in 1567.]
[10 Id. ibid.]
[11 Id. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit*, and *signum daret.*]
[12 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 447, note 13.]

say, this is a figure of my body." You know, M. Harding, that *modus, simile, dissimile, signum*, and *figura*, be in the predicament of quality; and therefore pertain to accident, and not to substance.

Change in Accidents.

So Chrysostom, whereas he amplifieth the change of the bread in the sacrament of thanksgiving, he addeth immediately withal: *Sic etiam in baptismo*[13]: "Even so is it," that is to say, the like change there is "in the water of baptism." In these mutations the substance, as well of the bread and wine as of the water, remaineth still[14]; but the respect, or quality, or accident, is changed. And this is it that St Ambrose said before: *Sunt quæ erant, et in aliud mutantur*[15]: (In substance) "they are the same they were before; but (in accident or quality) they are turned into another thing."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

M. HARDING.

Theodoret falsified by the defender.

And here we put you in mind of your falsifying of Theodoret's words, in that ye make him to say in your English, "The mystical signs do[16] *remain in their former substance, form, and kind;" where he saith *not so, but, in their former substance, figure, and shape. Ye know, pardy, there is great difference between the kind of a thing and his shape. The oftener ye use that falsehood*[17]*, as ye use it very often, the more shall ye be espied to be false teachers, and grow out of credit where truth is loved.*

* Untruth. Even so he saith. Otherwise M. Harding hath a substance without kind.

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If there be any falsehood or fault herein, by your own confession it is the interpreter's, and not the author's. You know well our contention is not of the shape of bread, but of the substance. Theodoretus saith: "The bread departeth not from his own nature, but remaineth still in the former substance, figure, and form." Say you as Theodoretus saith: confess plainly as he doth, that "the substance of the bread remaineth still," and with good leave take the shape unto yourself.

And yet I see no great cause why ye should so mightily cry out, "False teachers," "falsehood[18]," "falsifying," for that the interpreter hath expounded this Latin word *forma*, by this English word "kind." For, as it is proved before by sundry examples more at large[19], in the ancient fathers these two words, *forma* and *natura*, are often used for one thing. Athanasius saith: *Natura, essentia, genus, forma, unum sunt*[20]: "Nature, substance, kind, and form, be all one." Certainly, if the very substance of the bread should remain, as Theodoretus saith, and yet the kind of the bread should not remain, it were a wonder: for, as there is no kind without substance, so is there no substance without kind.

Before in the second part, i. cap. 1 Div. Athanas. de Defin.

M. HARDING.

Answer to the place alleged out of St Augustine.

The words which ye recite out of St Augustine's sermon ad Infantes *we find in Bede, upon the tenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. The whole place is this: "This thing which ye see in the altar of God, ye have seen it also in the night past. But what it was, what it meaneth, the sacrament of how great a thing it containeth*[21]*, as yet ye have not heard. That then which ye saw is bread and chalice, which even your eyes tell you. But, that which your faith requireth to be instructed of, bread is the body of Christ, the chalice his blood*[22]*."... If the substance of bread remained as before*

[13 Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι δι' αἰσθητοῦ μὲν πράγματος γίνεται τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ δῶρον, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον, ἡ γέννησις καὶ ἡ ἀναγέννησις, ἤτουν ἀνακαίνισις.—Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787.]

[14 Substance remaineth still, 1567.]

[15 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 369. See before, page 497, note 16.]

[16 To, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17 Falsehead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[19 See before, pages 261, 2.]

[20 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Lib. de Def. i. 8. Tom. II. p. 244.]

[21 Contained, Conf.]

[22 Hoc quod videtis in altari Dei etiam transacta nocte vidistis: sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnæ rei sacramentum contineret, nondum audistis. Quod ergo &c.—August. Op. Ad Infant. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4. Conf. Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. I. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365. See before, page 483, note 22.]

consecration, what need had they to learn[1] *what it were? For of themselves they might know the things proponed to be bread and wine. But St Augustine, ye say, calleth that they saw bread and wine. Yea, sir, so it was, so far as their eyes told*[2]*. But what their faith ought to tell them he instructeth them, saying: "Bread, to wit,... is... the holy body of Christ." To this construction must we stand, by St Augustine himself so set forth....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Augustine's words are plain enough, howsoever it like you to shadow them with your glosses. Thus he saith: *Quod vidistis panis est et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant:* "The thing that you saw is the bread and the cup; which thing your eyes do report unto you." Where also may be noted, as by the way, that St Augustine, contrary to your doctrine, M. Harding, referreth the judgment hereof to the report and trial of the senses. And again he saith of himself in the like case: *Vereor ne ipsis sensibus nostris facere videamur injuriam, quando id loquendo suademus, ubi omnes vires officiumque sermonis facillime superat evidentia veritatis*[3]*:* "I fear me we should do wrong unto our senses, if we would go about to prove that thing by speaking, wherein the evidence of the truth itself passeth all duty and power of speech."

August. ad Dard. Epist. 57.

Howbeit, St Augustine saith further: *Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis.* This objection may be answered by that is said before. These two sayings are both true. Hesychius saith: *Mysterium* [*nostrum*]... *simul* [*et*] *panis et caro est*[4]*:* "Our mystery is both bread and flesh." It is bread in substance and indeed; it is also the body of Christ, not in substance, but in a mystery. Your own gloss saith, as it is before alleged: *Dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie:... ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat* [*corpus Christi*][5]*:* "It is called the body of Christ, but unproperly, or not in due and usual form of speech; the meaning thereof may be this, It is called Christ's body, that is to say, it signifieth Christ's body."

Hesych. in Levit. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est quod. In Gloss.

In a sacrament we must behold not only the outward element, but also the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament. St Augustine saith: *Si... ad ipsas res visibiles quibus sacramenta tractantur, animum conferamus, quis nesciat eas esse corruptibiles? Si autem ad id quod per illas* [*res*] *agitur, quis non videat non posse corrumpi*[6]*?* "If we consider the visible creatures wherein the sacraments are ministered, who knoweth not they be things corruptible? But if we consider the thing that is wrought thereby, who seeth not it cannot be corrupted?"

August. de Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. ii. cap. x.

And, in the same place before alleged, St Augustine fully expoundeth his own meaning, in what sense the bread may be called the body of Christ. These be his words: [*Christus*] *levavit corpus suum* [*in cœlum*], *unde venturus est, ut judicet vivos et mortuos. Ibi est modo sedens ad dextram Patris. Quomodo est panis corpus ejus? Et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur*[7]*:* "Christ hath lifted up his body into heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. There is he now sitting at the right hand of the Father. How then is the bread his body? And the cup, or that is in the cup, how is it his blood?" His answer is this: "O my brethren, these be called sacraments, for that in them one thing is seen and another thing is understanded."

August. in Serm. ad Infant.

Thus, therefore, the thing that we see with our bodily eyes is the very nature and substance of bread; but the thing that we see with our faith is the very natural body of Christ sitting in heaven, and represented unto us in the mysteries.

[1 Hear, Conf.]

[2 Told them, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. vii. 25. Tom. II. cols. 685, 6.]

[4 Isych. in Levit. Libr. Sept. Basil. 1527. Lib. II. cap. viii. fol. 49. 2.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937. See before, page 500, note 5.]

[6 August. Op. De Bapt. Contr. Donat. Lib. III. cap. x. 15. Tom. IX. col. 113.]

[7 Id. ad Infant. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. col. 1104; where *inde est venturus*.]

Now I beseech thee, good christian reader, mark what descant M. Harding playeth upon these words. St Augustine saith, Believe the judgment of your eyes; M. Harding saith, Senses be deceitful: believe not the judgment of your eyes. St Augustine saith, "The thing that you see is bread;" M. Harding saith, It is not so: it is no bread. So handsomely this gloss groweth to the text.

The Apology.

Or that which Origen saith, "The bread, which is sanctified by the word of God, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy[8]."

M. HARDING.

Origen's words examined. Origen falsified by the defender.

In alleging Origen, sir defender, ye play your accustomed false play, [a]*corrupting his sentence and falsifying his words. For they be not as you recite them, but thus:* Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, perque obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur[10]: "*That meat, which is consecrated by the word of God and by prayer, according to that material which it hath, it goeth into the belly, and is voided forth into the privy.*" *Here neither nameth he* [b]*bread, as you do (to cause the people to think it is but very bread), but meat. And that you have in your Latin,* Quod quidem ad materiam attinet; *which is, by your interpreter,* "*As touching the material substance thereof;*" [c]*it is not Origen's, but your own forged stuff to deceive the ignorant withal, to the end they might be moved, by your false handling of that doctor, to believe the matter and substance of very bread to remain. He speaketh not of the* [d]*matter of bread, but of that which is material in this sacrament, meaning the accidents or qualities remaining after consecration, which be material, but not the matter itself of bread (as matter is taken for the one part of a perfect substance),* [e]*and the same accidents be voided forth, as Origen had good cause by occasion of Christ's word*[12] *to declare, you had none to record the same. But it liketh*[13] *your filthy spirit with vile words to bring that holy mystery and blessed sacrament into contempt. Wherein ye do the devil, author of heresies*[14]*, the greatest service that may be devised....*

[a] Untruth. For we have corrupted neither[9] word nor sentence. "To that material:" a proper translation.
[b] Untruth. For he nameth it bread seven times in that one place.
[c] Untruth, unless you[11] will rather call it the material accident.
[d] Untruth. For in the same place he saith: *Nec materia panis.*
[e] Untruth, vain and void of sense[15]. For what accidents be voided forth?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Heresies, false play, falsehood[16], falsifying, vile words, filthy spirits," are now become M. Harding's ordinary and usual eloquence. Here have we "corrupted," as he saith, "and belied Origen," for that we place this word *panis* instead of *cibus;* and for that we say, *Panis, quod ad materiam attinet,* instead of these words, *Cibus, juxta id quod habet materiale.* "This," saith M. Harding[17], "is forged stuff:" this is "horrible and shameful corruption to deceive the ignorant." He that knew not M. Harding's modesty and manner of writing would think these tragical terms should bear some weight: for sober men seldom use thus to cry without some cause. Touching these words, *cibus, panis, materiale, materia,* if there be any thing that may mislike him, it shall be lawful for him to reform the same, and to use either the one word or the other at his pleasure. We stand only upon the substance of matter, and seek no such wanton advantages by shift of words.

Nevertheless, Origen himself, as it appeareth, was not so dangerous in the case. For, whereas M. Harding so sharply overlooketh us for once using this word *panis* instead of *cibus,* Origen himself useth the same word *panis* seven times together

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[8 This sentence is repeated here from the paragraph, page 483.]
[9 Nor, 1567.]
[10 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XI. 14. Tom. III. p. 499. The Greek text has τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται.]
[11 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[12 Words, Conf.]
[13 Liked, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[14 Of all heresies, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[15 Untruth, shameless and without sense, 1567.]
[16 Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]
[17 These three words are not in 1567.]

1 Cor. xi. in the self-same place without reproof[1]: like as St Paul also five times in one place calleth it *panis;* and St Cyril calleth the portions thereof *fragmenta panis*[2], "pieces of bread;" and yet were none of these ever condemned therefore as "corrupters" and "falsifiers."

Cyril. in Joan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

But I beseech you, M. Harding, if this word *cibus,* "meat," which Origen useth, and you seem to allow, were not "bread," what kind of "meat" then will you call it? Flesh, fish, or fruit, I trow it was not. You say, Origen meant thereby your "forms," and "accidents," and "shews" of bread. Now verily this was but a *quasi* "meat;" and I marvel that ever any wise man would call it "meat." Irenæus saith: "Of the same meat is increased and consisteth the substance of our flesh[3]." And Rabanus saith: *Sacramentum . . . in alimentum corporis redigitur*[4]: "The sacrament (which is the bread) is turned into our bodily nourishment." "Shews" and "accidents" are but a simple food to increase the substance of our bodies[5].

Iren. Lib. v. cap. iv. Augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia. Raban. Maur. Lib. i. cap. xxxi.

Touching the other foul fault, M. Harding saith his "accidents and qualities be things material; but the matter itself," he saith, "they be not." But where learned he this strange doctrine? What divine, what philosopher, what logician, what sophister, what wise man ever taught him thus to say? Who ever said that "accidents are things material?" It is well known that *materia* evermore is *substantia,* and never otherwise. Therefore M. Harding might as easily have said, Accidents be things substantial[6]. Certainly "accidents" and "qualities" be *accidentales formæ,* and in the schools are called things "formal;" which are as far from things "material" as fire from water. Notwithstanding, these men have power to make of "accidents" "substance," of "forms" "matters," of things "formal" things "material," and of one contrary to make another; and all this only of themselves, without any manner other authority.

M. Harding saith that "the meat whereof Origen speaketh is a material" (for this is the light and clearness of his eloquence), "but not *materia;*" and by this pretty distinction he thinketh the whole matter is fully discharged. And among[7] the ignorant that cannot judge perhaps he may seem to say somewhat. But Origen himself, that best understood his own meaning, calleth the same meat, in the same place, by express and plain words, not only a "thing material," or "a material," as M. Harding rather delighteth to call it[8], but also the very "matter of bread itself." His words be these: *Nec materia panis, sed super illum dictus sermo est, qui prodest non indigne Domino comedenti*[9]: "It is not the matter of the bread, but the word spoken over it, that profiteth him that eateth not unworthily for the Lord." Now judge thou indifferently, gentle reader, how just causes M. Harding had to move these tragedies.

Orig. in Matt. cap. xv.

Vile Speech.

Further he saith it liked our "filthy spirit with vile words to bring the holy mysteries into contempt, and therein we do[10] the devil great service." O M. Harding, some other speech would better become a man of your gravity. Such liquor seldom floweth from the Spirit of God. We neither increase nor[11] diminish, nor any way alter the words of Origen, but lay them forth plainly and simply as we find them. For thus he writeth: *Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, et per obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur. Ceterum juxta precationem quæ illi accessit, pro portione fidei fit utilis*[9]: "The meat, that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, according to that material part that is in it, passeth into the belly, and so forth into the privy," &c. If there be any "filthiness" or "villany" herein, it is this ancient father's, whom ye ought not so uncourteously to revile for uncleanness of spirit: it is not ours.

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. pp. 498-500.]

[2 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See Vol. I. page 149, note 14.]

[3 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 3. p. 294.]

[4 Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626. De Inst. Cler. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11.]

[5 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6 These three sentences are not in 1567.]

[7 Amongst, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 The last eleven words are not in 1567.]

[9 Orig. Op. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. pp. 499, 500.]

[10 Therein do, 1567.]

[11 Or, 1567, 1570.]

Vile Speech.

Howbeit, this is not Origen's only judgment, but the general and agreeable doctrine of all others the catholic fathers. And, to allege one instead of many, St Augustine saith, as he is before alleged: *Si... ad res ipsas quibus sacramenta tractantur animum conferamus, quis nesciat eas esse corruptibiles? Si... ad id quod per illas [res] agitur, quis non videat non posse corrumpi*[12]*?* "If we consider the things themselves wherein the sacraments be ministered, who knoweth not that they be things corruptible? But, if we consider the thing that is wrought thereby, who seeth not that it cannot be corrupted?" The holy fathers speak not thus of Christ's body, but of the bread, which is the sacrament of Christ's body. So saith St Ambrose: *Non iste panis... qui vadit in corpus; sed... panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*[13]*:* (The bread that I mean is) "not this bread (of the sacrament), that passeth into the body; but the bread of everlasting life, that maintaineth the substance of the soul."

August. de Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. iii. cap. x.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Non iste.

Now, if there were such "filthiness" as you have imagined in the holy learned bishops and doctors of the church, for uttering these and other like words of the corruptible creatures of bread and wine, what clean spirit then is there in them that speak so filthily of Christ's body itself, being now uncorruptible and glorious at the right hand of the Father? Hereof I had occasion to speak somewhat in my former Reply[14].

In the 23 article.

Alexander of Hales saith: *Quidam dicunt, ubicunque ponantur species, sive in mundo loco, sive in immundo, sive in ventre muris, ibi est corpus Christi:* "Some say, wheresoever the forms or accidents be laid, whether the place be clean or unclean, yea, although[15] it be in the mouse's belly, yet there is the body of Christ." Again he saith: *Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam integram, non video quare corpus Domini non simul trajiceretur in ventrem canis vel porci*[16]*:* "If a dog or hog should swallow down the host consecrate, being whole, I see no cause to the contrary but the body of Christ may pass withal into the belly of the dog or of the hog."

Alex. Halens. Pars iv. Quæst. 45. Mem. 1.

Likewise your own Clemens, whom ye so often call "the apostles' fellow," writeth thus: *Ne murium stercora inter fragmenta dominicæ portionis appareant*[17]*:* "Let not mice-dung be found among the fragments or pieces of the Lord's portion." By which "portion[18]" he meaneth the sacrament. Your own catholic allowed gloss saith: *Corpus Christi potest evomi*[19]*:* "The body of Christ may be vomited up again."

Clement. Epist. 2.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Si quis. In Gloss.

It abhorreth my heart to utter these words; they be so horrible and full of filth. Yet this, M. Harding, is your own doctrine: this is your "spirit:" this is it that ye have so long maintained with fire and sword. By such unclean and uncivil speech ye bring Christ's body itself into contempt and loathsomeness in the hearts of the people.

But, that you may the better see the consent and certainty of your own doctrine, whereas you are well content to expound these words of Origen as undoubtedly spoken of the sacrament of Christ's body, your instructor and master, Doctor Gardiner, telleth you that the same words pertain nothing at all unto the sacrament; and yet unto what thing else they should pertain, it seemeth by the doubtfulness of his answer he was never well resolved. His words be these: *Non de eucharistia loquitur Origenes, sed de pane sanctificato per verbum Dei et orationem, quem communiter manducamus; vel de eo qui solebat dari catechumenis, de quo Augustinus*[20]*:* "Origen speaketh not (these words) of the sacrament; but either of the bread that is sanctified by our Lord's word and by prayer, which we commonly

Marc. Anton. Constant. ad Object. 166.

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[12] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. Contr. Donat. Lib. III. cap. x. 15. Tom. IX. col. 113.]

[13] Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 56. col. 1942.]

[14] See Vol. II. pages 782, &c.]

[15] Though, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Alex. Alens. Op. Col. Agrip. 1622. Summ. Theol. Pars IV. Quæst. xi. Memb. ii. Art. 4. p. 407. See Vol. II. page 783, note 7.]

[17] Clement. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 42; where *non* for *ne*.]

[18] These three words are not in 1567.]

[19] Si quis per ebrietatem...eucharistiam evomuerit, &c.—Ex Pœn. Bed. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 28. col. 1924. The gloss on *eucharistiam* is: id est, sacramentum eucharistiæ, id est, corpus Christi.]

[20] Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. fol. 115.]

use to eat; or else he speaketh of the bread that was given to the novices, called *catechumeni*, whereof St Augustine speaketh." If this tale be true, then is yours untrue, M. Harding; and all your long commentary of "forms" and "accidents" is but in vain. It were good ye took a day, that ye may be better agreed upon that ye tell us.

And whereas, to shift the matter, ye put your poor "spiritual forms" and "holy accidents" to all the pains to pass into the belly, and so forth into the draught, and avouch the same in such sober wise as if ye partly understood what ye said, it may please you to understand that, by the judgment of your own school-fellows the canonists, ye are foully deceived. For thus they determine the matter quite against you: *Species illæ aliis cibis non permiscentur; non enim in stomachum descendunt; quare per secessum non emittuntur*[1]: "These forms or accidents are not mingled with other meats. For they go not down into the stomach; and therefore they pass not into the privy." Now, M. Harding, if the bread be utterly consumed, and have no being at all, and if the "accidents" pass not into the privy, what other thing else remaineth there to pass that way? It is a strange kind of passage where as is nothing to pass[2].

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Trib. Grad. in Gloss.

Hereby it may appear that either the gloss or M. Harding is in error. But the gloss is allowed and counted catholic; therefore the error must be M. Harding's. Howbeit, to say the truth, M. Harding and his gloss too are both in error.

The Apology[3].

Or that which Christ himself said, not only after the blessing of the cup, but also after he had ministered the communion: "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine." It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood[4].

M. Harding.

... Christ (say they) himself said, not only after the blessing of the cup, but after he had ministered the communion, "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine[5]*." Hereunto they add of their own heads,* [a]*"It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood." But*[6] *this they would signify, that in the chalice we have not Christ's blood, as himself said, but mere wine, as against Christ they labour to persuade...*

[a] Untruth. For these be St Chrysostom's words, and not ours.

But we say that those words, "I will not drink from henceforth of this generation of the vine," either were spoken only before the communion, or only after, or in both times. If they were spoken before the communion[7] *(which opinion is the more probable), it is very clearly proved by them, that wine remaineth not, as it shall hereafter be deduced....*

This is M. Harding's undoubted certainty.

... For these causes it may well be said that we should rather follow the order of St Luke[8]*, who witnesseth that Christ spake these words before his maundy,* [b]*than Matthew and Mark, who tell it as spoken after. Secondly, the order of Luke is confirmed by the circumstance of the things that he describeth, more than the other evangelists*[9]*.... Now, because in the chalice of the old law there was certainly not blood, but wine (whereas Christ teacheth that in his chalice his own blood is* [c]*contained), let the discreet reader judge whether we must not rather think that these words of Christ, "I will not from henceforth drink of this generation of the vine," do not rather pertain to the cup of the old law (as Luke placeth them), than to the chalice of Christ after the consecration, whereof Matthew and Mark rehearse them....*

Cap. xxii.

[b] M. Harding refuseth St Matthew's and St Mark's order.

[c] As by way of a sacrament. Otherwise it is untrue.

[1 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 23. col. 1921; where *nec species*, the *non* being omitted.]

[2 The last two sentences do not appear in 1567.]

[3 This portion is here repeated from the paragraph, page 483.]

[4 ...ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματός, φησι, τῆς ἀμπέλου. ἄμπελος δὲ οἶνον, οὐχ ὕδωρ, γεννᾷ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 784.]

[5 Wine, Conf.]

[6 By, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Before communion, Conf.]

[8 Of Luke, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 In the sentence omitted, Harding declares that Luke mentions two chalices.]

Fourthly and lastly, when Matthew and Mark rehearse that Christ said he would not from henceforth drink of that generation of the vine, they both, in much like sort of speaking, add thereunto these words (which in the Apology are[10] *guilefully left out), "Until that day when I will drink it new with you in the kingdom of God my Father." If Christ spake*[11] *of a new drinking which is to come, by likelihood the drink*[12] *past is old.... What exclamation would be sufficient to express that in this* [d]*weighty point of salvation our English clergy are content* [e]*to blind the people, the right worshipful, yea, the honourable of our country, in so vile a sort, that, after many fathers' words misreported and wrongfully wrested, they doubt not to attempt the same in Christ's own sayings, and in those sayings of his which evidently prove the contrary?*

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

New drinking.

[d] A weighty point of salvation; yet M. Harding himself by his confession understandeth it not.

[e] Untruth, vain and arrogant.

But now let us grant of our free liberality, contrary to many[13] *good and strong reasons, that Christ said after consecration, "I will not from henceforth drink of this generation of the vine, until the kingdom of God come;" then it must be further understanded that the kingdom of God is taken in scripture sometime for the present state of the church after Christ's resurrection of*[14] *this world, according to that is said oftentimes in scripture, "The kingdom of God draweth nigh;" sometimes also for the joy of heaven, as when Christ saith, "I dispose for you a kingdom, as my Father hath disposed for me, that ye may eat and drink at my table," &c. Now, if we take these words of Christ spoken before consecration, it is not unconvenient to understand them of either of both kingdoms; that is to say, of the kingdom of resurrection or of glory, as Chrysostom and other do witness, because both were to come at that time. But, if we take them spoken after consecration, as we rather upon confidence of the truth than for necessity at this time do grant, then these words, "until the kingdom of God come," are to be meant only of the kingdom of glory. For these holy mysteries belong to the kingdom of Christ's resurrection and ascension. Neither were they practised by the apostles in the church of Christ until the Holy Ghost came down upon them....*

The kingdom of God taken two ways.

Matt. iii.

Luke xxii.

And so the newness of it there is fruition of it, not under the forms of bread and wine, [f]*as we have it now, but face to face, without all figure and form. Then is it*[15] *to be noted, that Christ said not, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, but, "I will not from henceforth drink of this generation of the vine:" of this, I say, whereof now I have drunken,* [g]*which is (under the form of wine) my blood, which am the true Vine. For, whereas this Apology saith, "It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood," it seemeth to declare that the authors thereof are ignorant in the holy scriptures, where* [h]*they might have found the fruit of some vine to be called blood. For Jacob said to his son Judas, bearing the figure of Christ, "He shall wash his robe in wine, and his cloke in the blood of a grape." Lo, a grape hath his blood; a grape is the fruit of the vine; and therefore it is not "well known that the fruit of the vine is not blood." The Holy Ghost did in these words of Jacob prophesy that Christ, the true Vine, should give the grape of his body to be pressed upon the cross, from whence the wine was shed* [i]*which is in our chalice, as Chrysostom also noteth*[16]*.... And now it is*[17] *no wonder if we expound the word "vine" mystically....*

[f] Untruth, grounded upon a mere folly.

[g] Untruth, threapt upon Christ himself.

[h] A fond cavil. For we speak only of a natural vine.

[i] As in a mystery. Otherwise it is untrue.

Gen. xlix.

In 1 Cor. x.

O what strength truth hath! How plainly she dareth to shew her face, not[18] *nipping the scriptures, nor mis-Englishing them, nor dissembling any jot that may seem to make against her!*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Mark, gentle reader, how mightily M. Harding wrestleth, and what pains he taketh to draw this place to his purpose. First, he assureth us for certain that Christ spake these words before the consecration; and that therefore they per- 1.

[10] Were, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[11] Speake, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[12] Drinking, Conf.]
[13] To so many, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[14] In, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[15] It is, Conf.]
[16] ...ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἐν ποτηρίῳ ὄν, ἐκεῖνό ἐστι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς ῥεῦσαν, καὶ ἐκείνου μετέχομεν.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. pp. 212, 3.]
[17] Is it, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[18] Nor, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

The Fruit of the Vine.

tain nothing to the sacrament. Nevertheless, afterward he granteth, as he saith, of his "free liberality, that Christ spake the same words after the consecration;" and that they pertain specially to the sacrament. And yet again, upon further affiance and boldness of the cause, he seemeth to say, it may be that Christ
2. spake the same words at both times; that is, as well after the consecration
3. as before.

4. Again he saith: St Luke's rehearsal is more likely than St Matthew's, for that St Luke writeth each thing in order, and St Matthew out of order.

5. Again, One cup is first the wine of the old testament; and immediately after[1], The same cup is the wine of the new testament.

6. Again: The kingdom of God sometime is the state of the church, sometime
7. it is the state of glory. Again: The fruit of the grape sometime is very natural wine, sometime it is the very blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, Stephen Gardiner saith that neither the natural wine nor Christ's very blood, but the accidents and forms, are the fruits of the vine[2]. Yet again he saith: "Christ drank his own
8. very blood at the supper; and even now himself drinketh the same his own blood in the kingdom of heaven[3]."

Anton. Constant. ad Object. 27.

In the end M. Harding, after he hath well wandered and walked himself, both before and after, in order and out of order, this way and that way, with the old cup and with the new, and hath well stayed himself by conjectures and likelihoods, at the last he bloweth up the triumph with a jolly courage, and crieth out with an end of an old song[4]: "O what strength truth hath, and how plainly she dareth to shew her face!"

Here, by the way, a man might demand of M. Harding, notwithstanding the great confidence he pretendeth to have in[5] his cause: If Christ spake these words before the consecration of the very natural wine of the grape, and of the ceremonial cup of the old law, how drank he then afterward of the same natural wine of the grape after a new sort? Or how was the same natural wine fulfilled in the kingdom of God? If Christ spake the same words after the consecration, the substance of wine by these men's fantasy being utterly abolished, and nothing there remaining but only the accidents, how was it then the fruit or generation of the vine? Thus, howsoever he take it, either before or after, he shall hardly be able to shift his hands[6].

Before.

After.

But, to leave these unfruitful guesses until M. Harding hath[7] better agreed with himself upon some certainty, we say that the cup of blessing, which Christ calleth the cup of the new testament, notwithstanding it were made in a mystery the sacrament of Christ's blood, yet in nature and substance was very wine still; and, as Christ himself calleth it, the very fruit and generation of the grape, as it was before.

Matt. xxvi.

The words of the evangelist St Matthew are very plain: "He took the cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins. I say unto you, that I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father." To avoid the manifest truth of this rehearsal, M. Harding saith, St Matthew uttered one thing for another, the latter[8] for the former, the cup consecrate for the cup unconsecrate, and placed his matters out of order. And by this poor shift he thinketh the plain story[9] of the gospel is fully answered.

But let us see what the learned fathers have judged and written in this behalf. So shall the weight of these conjectural guesses, and the face of M. Harding's truth, which he so much magnifieth without cause, the better appear. Clemens

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[1 1570 prints these words from the beginning of the sentence twice.]

[2 ...quid prohibet Christum appellare accidentia vini in sacramento genimen vitis.—Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. fol. 28. 2.]

[3 Eucherius sic scribit: Regnum Dei ecclesia est in quo quotidie bibit sanguinem suum per sanctos suos &c. Ergo necesse est illius pronominis (Hoc) aliquam esse emphasim, ut significet secundum Hieronymum, genimen vitis veræ, nempe suum sanguinem &c.—Ibid. fol. 28.]

[4 1567 has not these seven words.]

[5 Pretendeth in, 1567.]

[6 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[7 Have, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Later, 1567, 1570.]

[9 The story, 1567.]

Alexandrinus hereof writeth thus: *Quod vinum esset quod benedictum est, Christus ostendit, dicens discipulis, Non bibam ex fructu vitis hujus, donec bibero ipsum vobiscum in regno Patris mei*[10]: "That it was wine that was blessed (at the supper), Christ himself shewed his disciples, saying, 'I will no more drink of the fruit of this vine, until I shall drink it with you in the kingdom of my Father'." The Fruit of the Vine. Clemens in Pædag. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

St Basil saith: *Fructus terræ genituras et genimina, non natos appellamus; non enim bibam, inquit, de genimine vitis hujus*[11]: "We call the fruits of the earth the generations or springs of the earth; but the children of the earth we do not call them. For so saith Christ: 'I will no more drink of the generation of this vine'." Here the wine that Christ had blessed is called by St Basil, after the time of consecration, not only the generation of the vine, but also the fruit of the earth[12]. Whatsoever it shall please M. Harding to think of the sense hereof, he must needs confess the words are very plain. Likewise saith St Cyprian: [*Dominus*] *sanguinem suum vinum appellavit, de botris et acinis plurimis expressum, atque in vinum coactum*[13]: "The wine pressed out of clusters and many grapes, and so made wine, our Lord called his blood." St Augustine saith: *Et vinum fuit in redemptionis nostræ mysterio, cum* [*Dominus*] *diceret, Non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis*[14]: "There was wine in the mystery or sacrament of our redemption when our Lord said, 'I will no more drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine'." Basil. contr. Eunom. Lib. ii. Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 6. August. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. lxxv.

Here note thou, good reader, how handsomely St Augustine and M. Harding agree together. St Augustine saith plainly, it was the sacrament: M. Harding saith plainly, it was not the sacrament. St Augustine saith, These words were spoken after the consecration: M. Harding findeth fault with St Matthew's order, and saith, "They were spoken before the consecration." St Augustine, following the plain words of Christ, saith it was wine: M. Harding, following his own words, against both St Augustine and Christ too, saith undoubtedly it was no wine.

Again St Augustine saith: [*Dominus*] *per vini sacramentum commendat sanguinem suum. Quid* [*enim*] *aliud novum vinum nisi immortalitatem renovandorum corporum intelligere debemus*[15]? "Our Lord by the sacrament (not of forms or accidents, but) of wine, commendeth unto us his blood. For what other thing may we understand the new wine to be, but the immortality of our bodies that shall be renewed?" St Chrysostom saith: *Cum Dominus hoc mysterium traderet, vinum tradidit. Et jam post resurrectionem sine mysteriis in simplici mensa vino usus est. Ex genimine, ait, vitis; quæ certe vinum, non aquam producit*[16]: "Our Lord, when he delivered this mystery, delivered (not accidents, but) wine. And after his resurrection, being at a plain table without the mysteries, he used wine. For so he saith, 'Of the fruit of the vine'; which vine surely beareth not water, but wine." August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. i. cap. xliii. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

M. Harding saith, Whosoever expoundeth these words as spoken of the mysteries, believeth both the holy fathers and Christ himself. St Chrysostom expoundeth the same words "as spoken of the mysteries," and to that purpose applieth the words of Christ. Therefore, by M. Harding's conclusion, "he believeth both the holy fathers and Christ himself."

In like manner St Hierome saith: [*Christus*] *in typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam sed vinum*[17]: "Christ, in the signification of his blood, offered not water but wine." Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. ii. p. 74. Tom. II.

By these few I trust it may easily appear to the indifferent reader, how just cause M. Harding had thus to proclaim and publish "the face," as he saith, "of his truth;" and with such courage and countenance to cry out, that we have "wilfully corrupted the words of Christ."

[10 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. II. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 186. The Greek text is: οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης.]

[11 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Adv. Eunom. Lib. II. 8. Tom. I. p. 244.]

[12 The sentences from *Father*, with the marginal reference, are not in 1567.]

[13 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Magn. Epist. lxix. p. 182; where *appellat, atque acinis*, and *in unum coactum*.]

[14 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xlii. Tom. VIII. Append, cols. 79, 80; where *cum dixit*.]

[15 Id. Quæst. Evang. Lib. I. Quæst. xliii. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 248; where *renovatorum*.]

[16 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 784.]

[17 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. II. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 198.]

The Fruit of the Vine.

M. Harding saith further: "These defenders add of their own heads, 'It is well known that the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood'." I thought M. Harding would not have picked so simple a quarrel to these words, of whose head soever they had been added: for, I trow, he hath but seldom heard or seen that a natural vine hath borne natural blood. Howbeit, these words proceeded not altogether "of our own heads." St Chrysostom also of his head uttereth[1] the same. For thus he writeth: *Ex genimine vitis; quæ certe vinum producit, non aquam*[2]: "Of the fruit of the vine; which vine verily bringeth forth not water, but wine." St Cyprian saith: *Invenimus ... vinum fuisse, quod [Dominus] sanguinem suum dixit*[3]: "We find it was wine that our Lord called his blood." And Dionysius, Lyra, and other like doctors of M. Harding's own side, say: *De hoc genimine vitis; id [est] de vino, quod generatur in vinea*[4]: "Of this fruit of the vine; that is to say, of the wine that groweth of the vine."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Dion. et Lyra, in Matt. cap. xxvi.

Again M. Harding saith: "It is to be noted that Christ said not, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine; but, 'I will not from henceforth drink of this generation of the vine;'" as if there were some marvellous great difference between these two words, "fruit" and "generation." "And this thing," he saith, "is well worthy to be noted." Verily, the difference between these two words is as great as is the difference between *ensis* and *gladius*, or *liber* and *codex*; between which words, sound only excepted, it is hard to discern whether is other. M. Harding saith: "It is to be noted that Christ said not, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine." Yet St Hilary saith: *Bibentes ex vitis istius fructu*[5]: "Drinking of the fruit of this vine." If these words, as being doubtfully spoken, may be shifted into some other sense, yet Clemens Alexandrinus, as he is before alleged, and as he is translated by Gentianus Hervetus, saith plainly: *Non bibam de*[6] *hoc fructu vitis*[7]: "I will no more drink of this fruit of the vine." And St Cyprian, somewhat in plainer wise, saith: *Non bibam ... ex ista creatura vitis*[8]: "I will no more drink of this creature of the vine." Therefore I think M. Harding himself will say this note was not greatly worth the noting.

Hilar. in Matt. can. 30.

Clemens. in Pædag. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Yet further[9] he saith: "These defenders seem to be ignorant of the holy scriptures, where they might have found the fruit of some vine to be called blood. For Jacob said of Christ, 'He shall wash his robe in wine, and his cloke in the blood of a grape'." It is a hard shift, M. Harding, so suddenly to convey the matter from ordinary use of speech unto an allegory. We speak of a natural growing vine, which, we say, beareth not blood, but only wine. But, as touching that ye say, Christ is sometimes called[10] a "Vine" in the holy scriptures, it is only an allegory or a figure of speech. And in that sort he is called also sometimes a "Lamb," and sometimes a "Rock[11]." For, although Christ for certain properties may be resembled unto a vine, yet is he not therefore verily and indeed a natural growing vine; no more than he is a natural lamb, yeaned of a ewe, or a natural growing rock[12]. Therefore it was great violence thus to force the words of the scriptures to this purpose. Otherwise, by the like phrase of speech one saith: *Lacryma est quidam animæ sanguis*: "A tear is a certain blood of the soul." And St Augustine saith: *Vident sanguinem corporum; animarum sanguinem non vident*: "They see the blood of the bodies, but the blood of the souls they see not." Another called wine *terræ sanguinem*, "the blood of the earth." Yet may not M. Harding therefore say[13], that either the soul of man or the mould of the earth indeed hath natural and real and very blood. These be only certain figures and forms of speech. But Christ, when he said, "I

Androcides.

[1 Uttered, 1567.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 784.]

[3 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 152.]

[4 Dion. Carthus. in Quat. Evang. Enarr. Col. 1532. In Evang. Matt. cap. xxvi. Art. xli. fol. 90. 2. Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xxvi. Pars V. fol. 79. 2.]

[5 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. xxx. 2. col. 740.]

[6 Bibam sed de, 1611.]

[7 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. II. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 186. See before, page 521, note 10.]

[8 Cypr. Op. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 152.]

[9 Farther, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Is called, 1567.]

[11 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[12 The clause from *growing vine* is not in 1567.]

[13 M. Harding say, 1567.]

will no more drink of this fruit of the vine," spake plainly and simply, and without figure. And therefore Chrysostom saith, as it is alleged before: *Ex genimine vitis; quæ certe vinum producit, non aquam*[14]: "Of the fruit of the vine; which vine verily bringeth forth not water, but wine." But Chrysostom saith: "The wine that was shed from Christ's body, that is to say, the blood of Christ, is in the cup[15]." This is true as in a mystery or by a figure of speech; because Christ's blood is represented in the cup. Otherwise, if we speak simply and plainly, and without figure, Chrysostom saith: *In vasis sanctificatis non est ipsum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur*[16]: "In the sanctified vessels there is not the very body of Christ indeed; but a mystery of that body is therein contained."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Chrysost. I Cor. x. Hom. 24.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf.[17] Hom. 11.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 1.

And in speaking thus we mean not to abase the Lord's supper, or to teach that it is but a cold ceremony only, and nothing to be wrought therein (as many falsely slander us we teach). For we affirm that Christ doth truly and presently give himself wholly in[18] his sacraments; in baptism, that we may put him on; and in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and spirit, and may have everlasting life by his cross and blood. And we say not this is done slightly or[19] coldly, but effectually and truly. For, although we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him by faith, by understanding, and by spirit[20]. And it[21] is no vain faith that comprehendeth[22] Christ; neither is it received[23] with cold devotion that[24] is received with understanding, faith, and spirit[25]. For Christ himself altogether is so offered and given us in these mysteries, that we may certainly know we be "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones;" and that Christ "continueth in us, and we in him."

M. HARDING.

By whom is our Lord's supper more abased, by the defenders or by the catholics?

It is easy to be perceived who abaseth more our Lord's supper, whether ye, that teach it to be very [a]*baker's bread and wine, with the* [a]*only figure of Christ's body and blood; or we, who believe it to be his true body and blood, with the only forms of bread and wine.* (Of which forms neither Christ nor his apostles ever told us one word.) *Whether ye, that will have it a figure of Christ's whole body absent; or we, who will have Christ's body present indeed, with a figure of his death, which* [b]*death is absent only. Whether ye, that call it an* [c]*idol when it is worshipped; or we, that do, according to our duty, adore it, because "that royal body," as Chrysostom saith, "which is set before us* [d]*to be seen now in earth, is worthy of the most high honour*[26]*." But whether of those two is the colder ceremony and more simple supper, to have bread and wine, with a sign only of flesh and blood, or to have real flesh and blood, with such form*[27] *of bread and wine as* [e]*by the power of God do no less bodily nourish us than the substance itself would have done, we doubt not of wise men's judgment. Ye have your carnal banquets fat and full enough of the best flesh, and it is with you superstitious to eat dry and lenten meats. But ye will have your spiritual banquets*

[a] Untruths, two together. For we never called it either baker's bread or only figure.

[b] Untruth. For Christ's death is as present as his body.

[c] Whatsoever corruptible creature is honoured as God, it is an idol.

[d] Untruth, standing in wrong exposition. For Chrysostom saith: *Ascende ad cœli portas; imo non cœli, sed cœli cœlorum.*

[e] Untruth, grounded upon a dream. No learned doctor ever said thus.

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[14] See preceding page, note 2.]

[15] Id. in Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. pp. 212, 3. See before, page 519, note 16.]

[16] Id. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. ex cap. v. Tom. VI. p. lxiii. See before, page 467, note 11.]

[17] In Matt. 1567.]

[18] His own self in, Conf.]

[19] And, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[20] By the spirit, Conf.]

[21] This, Conf.]

[22] Which doth comprehend, Conf.]

[23] And that is not received, Conf.]

[24] Which, Conf.]

[25] With faith and with spirit, Conf.]

[26] ...οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδεῖν.—Id. in Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 218.]

[27] Forms, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

so lean and carrion as a man may well discern whether ye have more fantasy to your flesh or to your spirit.

Ye write that many falsely slander you, saying that ye teach nothing to be wrought in the Lord's supper, whereas ye affirm, that "Christ doth truly and presently give his own self in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and spirit." And other work in the Lord's supper ye shew none. And this which ye shew a man may doubt whether it be a thing wrought in the Lord's supper or no. Well may ye say that it is a thing wrought in them which come to the supper; but that it is wrought in the supper itself, ye shew it not; the supper being that which is called cœna, *to wit, the meat received; not* cœnatio, *which is the act of supping. For, sith that supper is nothing else but meat and drink, set upon the table to be received by such as come unto it, that which is wrought in the Lord's supper must be wrought* [f] *in the meat and drink which our Lord hath at his table. And, as the matter whereof our Lord's supper is made is bread and wine; so the supper made thereof is our Lord's body and blood, into which the bread and wine by the almighty power of the Word is changed. So that, if ye will shew Christ himself to be* [g] *made or* [h] *wrought in our Lord's supper, ye must shew bread and wine to be changed into Christ himself, and so to be eaten of his faithful at his table. But, whereas there are three things, Christ that maketh the supper, the communicants that receive the supper, and the supper itself; ye say that Christ for his part "giveth his own self verily present;" likewise that the communicants for their part "eat him by faith and spirit." And so ye shew that the maker of the supper worketh, and that the communicants work. But all this while ye shew us not what is wrought in the matter of the supper, that is to say, in the bread and wine, nor what is made of them. O great slander that ye were charged withal, which not so much as by your own word ye are discharged of!*

The sacramentaries teach nothing to be wrought in the Lord's supper.

1 Cor. xi. What is supper properly.

[f] The bread is for us, not we for the bread.

[g] Christ made, Christ wrought. A strange divinity.
[h] Untruth. For M. Harding well knoweth that this fond folly was never catholic.

How much sounder is the [i] *catholic doctrine, which teacheth the proper work of our Lord's supper to be the turning of the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood! Which work because ye will not confess, ye have devised a work of your own working, which is not proper to our Lord's supper. For, if I can receive Christ in my house at home by faith and spirit, how is that work* [k] *proper to his supper which may be wrought without his supper? Or can I not believe in Christ, or lift up my spirit unto him,* [l] *except I come to supper? Or, if I do call for Christ, doth he not give himself by grace unto me?*

The proper work of our Lord's supper.

[i] Untruth. For Abraham and Isaac received Christ's very body before the sacrament was ordained. It is not peculiar to the supper.
[k] Such unchristian scorns against Christ's ordinances are very unseemly.
[l] Christ offereth himself unto our faith; and by our faith he is received.

But (say ye) at[2] *the Lord's supper "Christ giveth himself verily present." To what purpose, I pray you? "That we may eat him (say ye) by faith and spirit." Well reasoned, forsooth. Have ye forgotten the giving to eat, and eating that which is given, to be relatives, one of them having relation to the other? If Christ do exhibit himself*[3] *verily present, as your Latin text hath, or giveth*[4] *his own self verily and presently, as your interpreter*[5] *telleth your tale for you,* [m] *doth not he so exhibit or give himself as he will be received? Or doth he shew in one hand a piece of bread, and with the other strike us on the head with a stone? If he give himself*[6] *verily present, as ye say, we take him verily present. And then (unless ye mean by "himself" his grace which is of Christ, and not Christ*[8] *himself) we eat him verily present, not only by faith and spirit, but by taking him into* [n] *our mouth and body. If it please him at any time to be eaten by faith and spirit alone (after which sort he is daily eaten by those that humbly call upon him), then he giveth not himself verily present, but by faith and spirit, otherwise named grace, or some spiritual effect of his working. But in our Lord's supper the scripture requireth a special and peculiar presence of Christ, to wit, of his flesh, so as it may be eaten. If then he give himself verily present, as ye say, he is present in his own person, God and man, with body, with blood, with soul, with Godhead. If ye mean the very presence of his Godhead, that presence belongeth no more*

How make the defenders Christ verily present in his supper?

[m] This is the cannibal's divinity. St Ambrose saith: *Non hic panis, ... qui vadit in ventrem?*.
[n] Untruth. For the finest and best-learned fathers have maintained the same, as shall appear.

[1 Their, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2 All, Def. 1570.]
[3 His own self, Conf.]
[4 Given, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]
[5 Gentlewoman, Conf.]
[6 Give us himself, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[7 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 24. Tom. II. col. 378. See before, page 517, note 13.]
[8 Not of Christ, 1609, 1611.]

to Christ than to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. And so have ye not declared any peculiar presence belonging to his supper. For by presence of his Godhead he is always verily present, as well before supper as at or after supper; because he filleth heaven and earth. It remaineth that either ye understand not yourselves, or wilfully deceive that infinite number of souls for whose sake Christ hath shed his blood.

The presence of Christ in baptism and in the supper is distinct, which the defenders make to be like.

[n] Your error in making the presence of Christ in baptism like to his presence in the supper is too gross. For, although Christ work both our regeneration and our nourishment by his divine sacraments, yet in baptism our regeneration is by name attributed in the gospel to the Holy Ghost also, to shew that Christ's presence there is spiritual. But his supper consisteth of his body and blood, which are so united to Christ as they are peculiar to the second Person in God[9]. Again, forasmuch as they are received into us as food to nourish our bodies to resurrection, [o] as the gospel saith, and no man's body is otherwise nourished than by eating indeed that meat whereof he is nourished, and the flesh of Christ, as himself saith, is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed, we are forced to believe another manner of presence in the sacrament of the altar than in baptism. And therefore ye have handled this matter too slightly and coldly.

[o] Untruth. For there is no such word in all the gospel.

[10] St Cyprian saith, *Cibus mentis, non ventris*[11].

That we touch Christ's body, and eat it with our mouth, and how.

Whereas ye say, "we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth," [p] are ye so accustomed to swallow down whole morsels as ye never touch them with your teeth? Or have ye learned to eat that which ye touch not with your mouth? If Christ said, "Take, eat; this is my body;" and the apostles took and ate the same, neither could they take and eat without touching; it seemeth ye handle eating too slightly and coldly, when ye will have it without touching. Chrysostom, a more substantial handler of things than any of you is, saith of Christ's body: Quod omnium maximum est atque præcipuum[12], in terra non conspicaris tantum, sed tangis; neque solum tangis, sed comedis, et eo accepto domum redis[13]: *"Of all things that be in earth, what is the greatest and the chiefest, [q] that dost thou not only see, but touchest; neither only dost thou touch it, but also eat it, and, having received it, thou goest home again." How we touch it we know, for it is not now a mortal and corruptible body, wherein we may fasten our teeth, but glorious and immortal, [r] and therefore we touch it by the reason of the accidents of bread and wine, with whose forms (as St Augustine speaketh) it is "covered or vailed[14];" and so cometh it to our teeth, and to our mouth, and nourisheth both our bodies and souls to life everlasting. Nay, but "we (say ye) hold him fast, and eat him by faith, by understanding, and by the spirit." I pray you, be not too hasty to hold him before ye have him. How came ye by him? His grace he giveth divers ways, but himself, bodily and presently as man, he never promised to give otherwise than when he said, "Take, eat; this is my body." And then Judas [s] (who had but a very mean faith), because he received the sacrament, received him also. And our blessed lady, although she had a most perfect[17] faith, received him not after that sort, because then she received not the sacrament. How can ye assure yourselves that your faith taketh the body of Christ, [t] which was never promised to your faith? If your faith take him not as he is in the sacrament, how can your faith hold him fast there? As here before ye have said much and proved little against the real presence, wresting and stretching certain fathers' sentences and the scripture itself to that purpose, not wholly and faithfully, but by piecemeal and patchedly alleged, so as ye might best make them serve to the maintenance of your false doctrine; right so, in the conclusion of that part of your Apology, with a like grace ye heap a number of mangled authorities together, whereby to persuade that, forasmuch as the fathers have advertised us to lift up our minds to*

In 1 Cor. Hom. 24.

In Lib. Sentent. Prosp.

The defenders' imaginary babbling of Christ holdeth not Christ as he is in the sacrament

Matt. xxvi.

[p] Heathenish and unchristian scoffing.

[q] As you see Christ's body in the sacrament, even so ye touch it, and so ye eat it; and none otherwise. St Ambrose saith: *Fide Christus tangitur: . . . non tangitur corpore*[15].

[r] Untruth, childish and unsavoury. The learned fathers never knew those[16] follies.

[s] Judas had a very mean faith.

[t] Untruth, as shall appear. But where was Christ's body promised to your mouths[18]?

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[9] Godhead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10] This note is inserted from 1567.]

[11] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44. See Vol. I. page 141, note 11.]

[12] Principium, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[13] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 219.]

[14] Caro ejus, quam forma panis opertam in sacramento accipimus, &c.—August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937.]

[15] Ambros. Op. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. VI. cap. ix. Tom. I. col. 1397. See below, page 529.]

[16] These, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17] Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] Mouth, Def. 1567.]

Baker's Bread.

heaven-ward, we should not think we eat the flesh of Christ as being here present with us under the form of bread. Therefore, whereas ye lay to the catholics' charge, as though by their sacrilege the people were bereft of a great benefit, in that they be taught to be content with the one kind, under the same receiving no less than if they had both; how much more worthily are ye to be charged with the crime of sacrilege, that [u]*rob them of the greatest treasure that is in the church, so much as in you lieth, the body and blood of our Lord, and instead thereof pretend to deliver unto them a piece of baker's bread and a cup of wine! But let us see what good reason or authority ye bring out of the fathers against the true presence of Christ in the blessed sacrament.*

[u] Untruth. For we rob them not, but offer them indeed and verily the body of Christ, and shew them where and wherewith they may receive it.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O M. Harding, your conscience knoweth, and will testify against yourself, that we never called the holy sacrament of Christ's body "baker's bread," no more than we call the sacrament of baptism a pail of water. We have always spoken honourably and reverently thereof[1], as it was meet we should speak of the mysteries of the death of Christ, and as the holy catholic fathers have evermore used to speak before us.

These wild, and wanton, and unseemly speeches agree rather with your doctrine. For call your own words a little to remembrance. In your first answer ye call the holy sacrament, as it is used and ministered by us, according to the order of the holy fathers, "a piece of bread not worth a point[3]." In this place ye call the holy ministration, so used by us, "a lean and a carrion banquet." In the next division ye call it "a toy." These be your words, M. Harding, and may well stand, both with the sobriety of your spirit, and also with the whole substance and tenor of your religion.

M. Hard. Art. xxiv.[2]

We call it the sacrament of thanksgiving, and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And, with the holy father St Augustine, we say: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent*[4]: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be (in themselves), but what they signify."

August. contr. Max. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.

We have no special regard to the bread, wine, or water; for they are creatures corruptible, as well after consecration as they were before. But we direct our faith only unto the very body and blood of Christ; not as being there really and fleshly present, as ye have imagined, but as sitting in heaven at the right hand of God the Father. The holy father Chrysostom saith, although in general words, not speaking specially of this sacrament: *Oculi fidei, quando vident hæc ineffabilia bona, ne sentiunt quidem hæc visibilia. Tantum inter hæc et illa interest*[5]: "The eyes of our faith, when they behold these unspeakable good things, they do not so much as mark these outward things that we see with our bodily eyes. So great is the difference between these things." And herein resteth the grossness of your error, that ye divide not the one thing from the other. St Augustine saith: *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti*[6]: "The sacrament of Christ's body is one thing, and the substance of the sacrament (or Christ's body represented by the sacrament) is another thing." And again he saith: *Ea demum est miserabilis animi*[7] *servitus, signa pro rebus accipere*[8]: "To take the signs (or sacraments) instead of the things themselves (that be signified, as M. Harding doth[9]), is the miserable bondage of the soul." In like manner Origen saith: *Simpliciores . . . nescientes distinguere ac secernere quæ sint, quæ in scripturis divinis interiori homini, quæ vero exteriori deputanda sint, vocabulorum similitudinibus falsi, ad ineptas quasdam fabulas et figmenta inania se contulerunt*[10]: "Simple men, not able to discern in the holy scriptures what things ought to be applied to the outer[11]

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 24.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v.

Orig. in Prolog. in Cant. Cantic.

[1] Hereof, 1567.]

[2] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[3] See Vol. II. page 787.]

[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See Vol. I. page 467, note 21.]

[5] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. vii. Gen. Hom. xxiv. Tom. IV. p. 228.]

[6] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 11. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498; where *virtus* for *res*.]

[7] Animæ, 1567, 1570.]

[8] Id. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 47; where *animæ*.]

[9] These four words are not in 1567.]

[10] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cantic. Canticor. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 28; where *contulerint*.]

[11] Utter, 1567, 1570.]

man, and what to the inner, being deceived by the likeness of words, have turned themselves to a sort of peevish fables and vain fantasies." Figure.

You[12] call our doctrine naked and cold, for that we say the sacrament is a figure. And yet, because ye cannot in any wise deny but the same word "figure" to the same purpose is commonly used of all the ancient catholic fathers and doctors of the church, therefore ye thought it good to qualify and to mince the matter, and to say, "It is a figure, not of the body, but of the death of Christ." And here it is a world to see how pitifully ye trouble yourself with your variety, and change, and shift of figures.

First you say, "The sacrament, by the judgment of Damascene, is called a figure before the consecration;" that is to say, before the sacrament be a sacrament[13]: for before consecration it is no sacrament[14]. Afterward, upon better advice[15], ye say, "The forms only and the shews and accidents are the figure of Christ's body." Again you say, "Christ's body invisible is a figure of Christ's body visible;" that is to say, a thing uncertain is a figure of a thing most certain. Now last of all ye say, as I think no man ever said before, "The very body of Christ itself is a figure of the death of Christ." Thus many pretty strange unknown figures ye are driven to devise, thereby to avoid one simple, plain, usual, and common figure. For, to leave an infinite number of other ancient fathers, St Augustine saith: *Dominus figuram corporis sui discipulis* [*suis*] *commendavit et tradidit*[16]: "Our Lord commended and delivered to his disciples a figure (not, as ye say, of his death, but) of his body." M. Hard. Art. xii. Div. 2. August. in Psal. iii.

Whereas you say, "The body of Christ is present indeed, and that his death is absent only;" if ye list to cavil, as ye do, and, as your manner is, idly to play with the words and phrases of the ancient fathers, ye might as well and by as good warrant say that Christ's death is as present as his body. For St Cyprian saith: *Passio Christi est sacrificium, quod offerimus*[17]: "The sacrifice that we offer is the passion of Christ." Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis mors Christi perficitur*[18]: "The death of Christ is wrought in the mysteries." St Hierome saith: *Christus nobis quotidie crucifigitur*[19]: "Unto us Christ is crucified every day." And St Gregory saith: [*Christus*] *iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*[20]: "In this mystery (of the holy communion) Christ is put to death again." By these words, thus pressed and racked, as your manner is, ye may easily prove, not only that Christ's body, but also that his passion and death and blood-shedding is verily present. Christ's Death. Absent or present. Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3 Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 21. Hieron. in Psal. xcvii. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit.

Ye say ye "adore the sacrament with godly honour." We answer you, as Christ sometime answered[21] the woman of Samaria: *Vos adoratis quod nescitis*: "Ye adore and worship ye know not what." For who ever willed you thus to adore the sacrament? Who taught you, who bade you so to do? What prophet? What apostle? What father? What doctor of the church? John iv.

But here, M. Harding, ye do us great wrong, to say we call Christ's body an idol, saving that ye have a charter to speak what ye list[22]. For we know and have evermore confessed with Chrysostom, that "the body of Christ is worthy of the highest honour[23];" and we adore it and worship it even as the very body of the Son of God. Howbeit, as it is said before, Christ's body is one thing, and the sacrament is another. The sacrament is in earth: Christ's body is in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father. And therefore Chrysostom saith in the same place: *Ascende ergo ad cœli portas, et diligenter attende; imo non cœli, sed cœli cœlorum; et tunc quod dicimus intueberis*[24]: "Mount up therefore unto the gates of heaven, and diligently consider. Nay, I say not, unto the gates of hea- Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 24. Chrysost. in ead. Hom.

[12 Ye, 1567.]

[13 See Vol. II. page 593, note 14.]

[14 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[15 Cause, 1570.]

[16 August. Op. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7. See below, page 532.]

[17 ... passio est enim Domini sacrificium &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 156.]

[18 Chrysost. Op. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[19 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. xcv. Tom. II. Append. col. 377; where *quotidie nobis Christus.*]

[20 Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953. See Vol. II. page 726, note 5.]

[21 Answer, 1570.]

[22 The last eleven words are not in 1567.]

[23 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. pp. 218, 9.]

[24 Id. ibid. p. 218.]

ven, but unto the gates of the heaven of heavens; and so shall you[1] see the things that we speak of."

But what meant you, M. Harding, thus out of season to press in with your lenten argument, and to[2] say, "It is superstitious with you to eat dry and lenten meats?" If ye say there can be no superstition in choice of meats, either ye are deceived yourself, or else ye seek occasion by the way to deceive others.

Tertull. in Epist de Cib. Jud.

Tertullian saith: *Deus ventre non colitur nec cibis, quos Dominus dicit perire, et in secessu naturali lege purgari. Nam qui per escas Dominum colit prope est ut Dominum habeat ventrem suum*[3]: "God is not honoured with the belly, nor with meats, which the Lord Christ saith do perish, and are purged in conveyance by natural order." For whoso by meats honoureth the Lord, in a manner maketh his belly to be his Lord.

Hilar. in Psal. lxiv.

St Hilary saith: *Hæretici sicco panis cibo vivunt. Sed quis tandem otiosi hujus propositi profectus est? Totum hoc inane atque ridiculum est, et cum ipsis superstitionis causis miserabile*[4]: "Heretics live by dry bread; but what profit is there in this idle purpose? It is altogether vain and foolish, and, in respect of the causes of their superstition, it is also miserable."

Hieron. ad Nepot.

St Hierome saith: *Quid prodest oleo non vesci, et molestias quasdam difficultatesque ciborum quærere, caricas, piper, nuces, palmarum fructus, similam, mel, pistacia?... Audio præterea, quosdam contra regulam hominumque naturam aquam non bibere, nec vesci pane; sed sorbitiunculas delicatas, et contrita olera, betarumque succum, non calice sorbere sed concha. Pro pudor! Non erubescimus istiusmodi ineptiis? Nec tædet superstitionis? Insuper etiam famam abstinentiæ in deliciis quærimus*[5]: "What availeth it to eat no oil, and with pain and much ado curiously to seek for meats, figs, pepper, nuts, dates, fine white bread, honey, and pistacia? Beside this, I hear say there be some which, contrary to the common order and nature of men, will neither drink water nor eat bread; but seek for delicate suppings, and herbs shred together, and the juice of beets, and receive the same, not out of a cup, but out of a shell. Fie, for shame! Do we not blush at such foolishness? Are we not weary of such superstition? And yet beside all this, living in such curious delicacy, we look to be praised for our fasting."

Erasm. in Annot. in xiv. ad Rom.

To leave all others, Erasmus, a man of great judgment, saith: *Major est in his rebus superstitio apud Christianos, quam unquam fuit inter Judæos*[6]: "There is more superstition herein among Christians than ever was among the Jews." We weigh not the choice of fish or flesh, but the burden of the mind and the snare of the conscience.

But, to pass over your needless lenten talk, the feast that we set before the people is neither dry nor carrion (notwithstanding it liketh you by your uncivil terms so to call it), but spiritual, holy, and heavenly; I mean the very body of Jesus Christ the Son of God, to the comfort and relieving of body and soul. And yet, forasmuch as it so well delighteth your ears to call it carrion, we refuse not the name.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 24.

Chrysostom likewise, although in more reverend and civil sense, calleth it carrion. These be his words: *Ubi est cadaver, ibi sunt aquilæ. Cadaver Domini corpus est propter mortem.... Aquilas autem appellat, ut ostendat, ad alta eum oportere contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit, et nihil cum terra debere illum habere commune, nec ad inferiora trahi, et repere, sed ad superiora semper volare, et in Solem justitiæ intueri, mentisque oculum habere acutissimum. Aquilarum enim, non graculorum, est hæc mensa*[7]: "Where as the carrion is, there are the eagles. The carrion is the body of Christ, in respect of his death. But he nameth eagles to shew, that whoso will approach to his[8] body must mount alôft, and have no dealing with the earth, nor be drawn and creep downward; but must evermore fly[9] up, and behold the Sun of justice, and have

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[1 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2 1611 repeats *to*.]

[3 Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. De Cib. Jud. Epist. p. 654. The work here quoted is not by Tertullian: it is ascribed to Novatian.]

[4 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. In Psalm. lxiv. Tractat. 3. col. 163; where *qui tandem*.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Nepot. Epist. xxxiv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 264; where *contra rerum hominumque*.]

[6 At hodie videmus inter Christianos prope plus esse superstitionis in ciborum delectu, quam unquam fuerit apud Judæos.—Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. In Epist. ad Rom. cap. xiv. Tom. VI. col. 638.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216.]

[8 This, 1567, 1570.] [9 Flee, 1567, 1570.]

the eye of his mind quick and sharp. For this is a table of eagles (that fly[9] on high), not of jays" (that creep beneath). Verily present.

Ye add further: "But, say ye, 'at the Lord's supper Christ giveth himself verily present.' To what purpose, I pray you? 'That we may eat him (say ye) by faith and spirit.' Well reasoned, forsooth." Now, forsooth, M. Harding, this is hick-scorner's logic, far unmeet for a man of your gravity.

"Have ye forgotten," say you, "the giving to eat, and eating that which is given, to be relatives, one of them having relation to the other? If Christ do exhibit himself verily present, doth not he so exhibit or give himself as he will be received?" "If he give himself verily present, we take him verily present, and then we eat him verily present, not only by faith and spirit, but by taking him into our mouth and belly."

Verily, M. Harding, this of your part was not very well reasoned. For a man may have Christ verily present, although he have him not in his mouth. St Augustine saith: *Habes Christum ... in præsenti per signum; in præsenti per fidem; in præsenti per baptismatis sacramentum*[10]: "Thou hast Christ in the time present by his sign or token, in the time present by faith, in the time present by the sacrament of baptism." Thus many ways we have Christ present, and verily present[11]. And St Augustine imagineth Christ thus to say unto the people of Capernaum: *Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis*[12]: "Ye shall not eat (with your bodily mouth) this body of mine that you see." We remember well the relation that is between giving and receiving; and therefore we marvel so much the more that you so unskilfully would abuse it. For, as Christ offered[13] his body spiritually to our faith and spirit, even so spiritually by our faith and spirit we receive it. And where ye say, "We take Christ's body into our mouths and bodies," as having forgotten that Christ saith, "The words that I have spoken be spirit and life;" St Augustine would soon have removed you from this gross error. For thus he saith unto you: *Quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*[14]: "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly?" (This eating is spiritual.) "Believe (in Christ), and thou hast eaten."

August. in Johan. Tract. 50.

August. in Psal. xcviii.

St Ambrose saith: *Fide tangitur Christus; fide ... videtur. Non tangitur corpore; non oculis comprehenditur*[15]: "By faith Christ is touched: by faith he is seen. He is not touched with body: he is not seen with eye."

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. vi. cap. viii.

Likewise saith Gregorius Nyssenus, St Basil's brother: *Ego aliam escam agnosco; quæ similitudinem quandam proportionis escæ hujus corporis gerat; cujus voluptas atque suavitas ad animum solummodo transeat*[16]: "I know another kind of meat, bearing the likeness and resemblance of our bodily meat (for that this inwardly feedeth the mind, as the other outwardly feedeth the body); the pleasure and sweetness whereof (goeth not into the mouth or belly, but) passeth only into the soul." Thus we understand ourselves, M. Harding, and deceive not, as you say, the souls that Christ hath bought. God forgive you and others that so have done, that the blood of many be not required at your hands!

Gregor. Nyss. De Creat. Hom. cap. xix.

"Your error," ye say, "in making the presence of Christ in baptism like to his presence in the supper, is too gross." Here is one error more than any of the learned catholic fathers ever noted. St Chrysostom saith: "In the sacrament of baptism we are made flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones[17]." St Bernard saith: *Lavemur in sanguine ejus*[18]: "Let us be washed in his blood." Leo saith: *Christi sanguine rigaris, quando in mortem ipsius baptizaris*[19]: "Thou art washed in the blood of Christ, when thou art baptized in his death."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. Hom. 20. Bernard. Sup. Missus est, Hom. 3. Leo in Serm. de 4 Per. cap. i.

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679–1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xii. Tractat. l. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 633; where one clause is transposed.]

[11 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[12 Id. in Psalm. xcviii. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1066.]

[13 Offereth, 1567, 1570.]

[14 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. col. 489. See before, page 486, note 5.]

[15 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686–90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. VI. cap. viii. 57. Tom. I. col. 1397; where *corpore tangitur*.]

[16 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Hom. Opific. cap. xix. Tom. I. p. 95.]

[17 Πῶς οὖν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστῶν αὐτοῦ;...οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς γεννώμεθα ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. v. Hom. xx. Tom. XI. p. 147.]

[18 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Sup. Missus est, Hom. iii. 14. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 748.]

[19 Probably the sermon from which this passage is taken is not rightly attributed to Leo. It is found among Augustine's works; but the Benedictine editors imagine it not really from the pen of

Spiritual eating.

By these few it may appear that Christ is present at the sacrament of baptism, even as he is present at the holy supper: unless ye will say we may be made flesh of Christ's flesh, and be washed in his blood, and be partakers of him, and have him present, without his presence. Therefore Chrysostom, when he hath spoken vehemently of the sacrament of the supper, he concludeth thus: *Sic et in baptismo*[1]: "Even so is it also in the sacrament of baptism." The body of Christ is likewise present in them both. And for that cause Beda saith: *Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquenque fidelium corporis sanguinisque dominici participem fieri, quando in baptismate membrum Christi efficitur*[2]: "No man may doubt but every faithful man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made the member of Christ." As for your real and fleshly presence, it hath been often talked of on your part, but never proved.

Beda in 1 Cor. x.

We say: "We touch not Christ's body with our mouth or teeth." "What," say you, "be ye used to swallow down whole morsels?" Such childish and wanton talk, M. Harding, specially in the debating of matters of religion, would better become some lighter person. We know that, as St Augustine saith, *Gratia Christi non consumitur morsibus*[3]: "The grace of Christ is not consumed by morsels." Ye might have made the like answer to St Augustine; for he saith to you, as I have alleged him before: "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly[4]?" O M. Harding, the eating of the body of Christ[5] is a work spiritual, and needeth neither bruising of tooth, nor swallowing of the throat[6], nor help of the outward and bodily mouth. If ye know thus much, why do ye[7] dissemble it? If ye know it not, ye come too rathe to speak of these things.

August. in Johan. Tract. 27.

August. in Johan. Tract. 25.

St Basil saith: *Est spirituale os interioris hominis, quo*[8] *nutritur, recipiens Verbum vitæ, quod Verbum est panis qui descendit de cœlo*[9]: "There is a spiritual mouth of the inner man, by which he is[10] nourished by receiving (Christ) the Word of life, which is the bread that came from heaven."

Basil. in Psal. xxxiii. Ἔστι...καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου.

Again he saith: *Gustate, et videte quod suavis est Dominus. Sæpe observavimus vires animi habere nomina ab aliqua similitudine membrorum corporis. Quoniam ergo Dominus noster est verus panis, et ejus caro est verus cibus, necesse est eam voluptatem, quæ ex illius panis delectatione affertur, in*[11] *nobis per gustum existere spiritualem*[12]: "Taste ye, and see that our Lord is gracious. We have oftentimes marked that the powers of the mind have their names from some likeness of the parts of the body. Therefore, seeing our Lord is bread indeed, and his flesh is verily meat, it cannot be chosen but the pleasure and sweetness of that bread must be wrought in us (not by our bodily mouth, but) by the spiritual taste of the soul."

Basil. in eund. Psal. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρτος... ἀληθινὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἀληθής...βρῶσις, ἀναγκὴ τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς εὐφροσύνης τοῦ ἄρτου διὰ γεύσεως ἡμῖν νοητῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι.

St Cyprian saith: *Esus ... carnis ejus quædam est aviditas et quoddam desiderium manendi in eo*[13]: "The eating of that flesh is a certain greediness and a certain desire to dwell in him." St Augustine saith: *Ipse est panis cordis nostri*[14]: "Christ is the bread (not of our belly, but) of our heart." And again: *Intus esuri, intus siti*[15]: "Hunger thou within, thirst thou within." Likewise again he saith: *Videte, ... fratres, panem cœlestem; spirituali ore*[16] *manducate*[17]: "O my brethren, behold this heavenly bread; eat it with the spiritual or inner mouth of the mind."

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. August. in Psal. xlviii. August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

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that father. See August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. de Quart. Fer. cap. ii. 3. Tom. VI. col. 598; where *ejus* for *Christi*, and *in morte*.]

[1 See before, page 513, note 13.]

[2 Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. I. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365. See Vol. I. page 132, note 2.]

[3 ... gratia ejus, &c.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 502.]

[4 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxv. 12. col. 489. See before, page 529.]

[5 Body Christ, 1611.]

[6 Of throat, 1567, 1570.]

[7 You, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Quod, 1567.]

[9 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Psalm. xxxiii. Hom. i. Tom. I. p. 144.]

[10 Man which is, 1567.] [11 Id, 1570.]

[12 Id. ibid. 6. pp. 148, 9.]

[13 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 41; where *carnis hujus quædam aviditas est*, and *in ipso*.]

[14 August. Op. In Psalm. xlviii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 8. Tom. IV. col. 441.]

[15 Id. in Psalm. ciii. Enarr. Serm. iii. 14. col. 1160.]

[16 Manducare, 1570.]

[17 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 11. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498; where *spiritaliter manducate*.]

Thus are we taught to eat that spiritual meat without chewing or swallowing, or use or office of the bodily mouth. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Non manducans manducat; et manducans non manducat*[18]: "He that eateth not eateth, and he that eateth eateth not." Spiritual eating. iv. Sent. Dist. 10. Secundum hos.

But Chrysostom saith: *Quod omnium maximum est atque præcipuum, in terra non conspicaris tantum, sed etiam tangis; nec tangis tantum, sed etiam comedis*[19]: "The greatest and worthiest thing that is thou dost not only behold in the earth, but also touchest it; neither dost thou only touch it, but also eatest it." Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 24. Here I beseech you, M. Harding, dissemble no longer, but speak plainly. How do you behold the body of Christ in the sacrament? With what senses, with what eyes do you see it? If ye say, with your bodily eyes; why say you, Christ's body is there invisible, covered with accidents, and cannot be seen? If ye say (as it is indeed) that ye see the same body only with the spiritual eyes of your mind, then ye allege Chrysostom directly and plainly against yourself.

But St Augustine saith: *Habet ... fides oculos suos*[20]: "Faith hath her eyes to see withal." August. Epist. 84. And St Bernard saith: *Visio ... animæ intellectus est*[21]: "The seeing of the soul is understanding." Bernard. Medit. cap. iii. With these eyes we see Christ, that is to say, we understand Christ, or believe in Christ. St Augustine saith: *Velamen positum erat contra faciem eorum, ne viderent Christum in scripturis*[22]: "There was a veil laid over their face, that they should not see Christ in the scriptures." August. in Evang. sec. Luc. Serm. 49.

Chrysostom saith: *Non tantum præstare possunt corporales oculi, qui visibilia cernunt, quantum oculi spiritus, qui ea quæ non videntur neque subsistunt videre possunt*[23]: "These bodily eyes, that see things visible, cannot do so much as the eyes of the spirit. For these eyes are able to see the things that be not seen, and have no being." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 10. Likewise again he saith: *Oculi animi, etiamsi parietes, etiamsi mœnia, etiamsi montium moles, etiamsi cœlorum corpora compererint obstantia, omnia facile prætercurrunt*[24]: "The eyes of the mind, notwithstanding they find walls, or mountains, or the bodies of the heavens to stand against them, yet will they easily pass through them all." Chrysost. de Verb. Esai. Vidi Dom. Hom. 2. With these eyes, saith Chrysostom, we see that most worthy and most glorious body of Christ. Therefore he saith: *Credamus, et videmus præsentem Jesum*[25]: "Let us believe, and we see Jesus present before us." Chrysost. in Marc. Hom. 6. Likewise St Hierome saith: *Est intelligentia spiritualis qua Christus cernitur*[26]: "There is a spiritual understanding wherewith Christ is seen." Hieron. in Amos, Lib. iii. cap. ix. Otherwise St Ambrose saith: [*Christum*] *nunc secundum veritatem videre non possumus*[27]: "As now according to the truth (with bodily sight) we cannot see Christ." Ambros. in Orat. de Fid. Resurr.

Now, as the body of Christ is seen, so is it touched; and, as it is touched, so is it eaten. But it is not seen with bodily eyes; it is not touched with bodily fingers; for St Ambrose saith: *Fide tangitur Christus; fide Christus videtur*[28]: "By faith Christ is touched; by faith Christ is seen." Ambros. in Luc. Lib. vi. cap. viii. Therefore the body of Christ is not eaten with the bodily mouth, but only by faith, which is the spiritual mouth of the soul.

"Judas," ye say, "who had but a mean faith, because he received the sacrament, received him also." O how much is poor Judas beholden to these men! Christ calleth him the "child of perdition." St John saith: "The devil was entered into him." John vi. Again Christ saith: "He was a devil." John xiii. Therefore this mean faith that you allow him must needs be a very little pretty faith; even such a faith as ye might well allow the devil.

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[18] Id. in Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. ix. C. fol. 350.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 219.]

[20] August. Op. Ad Consent. Epist. cxx. cap. ii. 8. Tom. II. col. 349.]

[21] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Medit. Piis. cap. v. 15. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 326. This work is not genuine.]

[22] August. Op. De Verb. Evang. Johan. cap. x. Serm. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. V. col. 666.]

[23] Chrysost. Op. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. x. Tom. IV. p. 76.]

[24] Id. in illud, Vidi Dom. &c. Hom. Tom. VI. p. 107.]

[25] Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In Marc. Hom. vi. Tom. II. col. 1262.]

[26] ...intelligentiæ spiritualis, in qua &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Amos Proph. cap. viii. Tom. III. col. 1443.]

[27] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Fid. Resurr. Lib. II. 109. Tom. II. col. 1164.]

[28] Id. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. VI. cap. viii. 57. Tom. I. col. 1397.]

Spiritual eating. Judas.

Yet with the same mean faith, ye say, "receiving the sacrament, he received Christ also." First, it is not well and thoroughly agreed upon, that Judas received the sacrament, or was present at all at the last supper. St Hilary saith plainly: "He was gone forth about his wicked purpose, and received it not[1]." But be it that St Hilary were deceived, and that Judas indeed received[2] the sacrament; yet, as it is said[3] before, Christ's[4] body is one thing, and the sacrament of Christ's body is another thing.

Hilar. in Matt. can. 30.

St Augustine saith: [*Discipuli*] *manducabant panem Dominum; Judas panem Domini, contra Dominum*[5]: "The disciples did eat the bread, which is the Lord; but Judas did eat (not the Lord, but) the (sacrament, which is the) bread of the Lord, against the Lord." And yet in plainer sort he saith: [*Christus*] *adhibuit* [*Judam*] *ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis* [*suis*] *commendavit et tradidit*[6]: "Christ admitted Judas unto his table, whereat he gave and delivered unto his disciples a figure of his body."

August. in Johan. Tract. 59.

August. in Psal. iii.

Again St Augustine saith, as in the person of Christ: *Qui in me non manet, et in quo ego non maneo, ne se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut sanguinem meum bibere*[7]: "He that abideth not in me, and I in him, let him not say or think that he either eateth my body or drinketh my blood."

August. de Civ. Lib. xxi. cap. xxv.

The objection that ye make of the resurrection of our bodies is light and vain, and to small purpose. For, if no man shall have part in the resurrection but only they that have received the sacrament of Christ's body, then are all the holy fathers, patriarchs, and prophets of the old testament, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and such others; then are infinite numbers of christian children; then are many godly martyrs, which, being baptized in the blood of Christ, were taken out of this life before they could receive the sacrament, utterly excluded for ever from all hope of resurrection: which were a thing too horrible to enter into christian ears[8]. But Christ, when he spake these words, meant not the receiving of the sacrament, but the spiritual eating of his very body, and the spiritual drinking of his very blood; whereof he is made partaker unto resurrection and life everlasting, whosoever believeth in the death of Christ. And therefore St Basil saith of the sacrament of baptism: *Baptisma est vis et efficacia ad resurrectionem*[9]: "Baptism is a power and a strength unto resurrection." But hereof we shall have occasion offered to say more hereafter.

Basil. de Sanct. Bapt. Τὸ δὲ βάπτισμα δύναμις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

Further: "How can ye assure yourselves," say you, "that your faith receiveth the body of Christ, which was never promised to your faith?" By the way, I beseech you, M. Harding, when or where was Christ's body ever promised to your mouth? Verily, Christ promised his body to be received by faith, and by faith only, and none otherwise. For thus he saith: *Ego sum panis ille vitæ: qui venit ad me non esuriet; et qui credit in me non sitiet unquam*: "I am that bread of life: he that cometh unto me shall never hunger; and he that believeth in me shall never thirst." Here have you, M. Harding, a plain promise made unto your[10] faith. But of your "mouth" we hear nothing. If you have ought to shew out of the scriptures, doctors, or councils, let it appear, and that in plain words without colour. Otherwise, if ye cavil in words, we must say ye have nothing. Therefore the ancient father Origen saith: *Idcirco* [*dicitur*] ... *panis vitæ, ut habeat gustus animæ quod degustet*[11]: "Therefore is Christ called the bread of life, that (our faith, which is) the taste of our soul may have what to taste."

Promise made to Faith.

John vi.

Orig. in Cant. Hom. 2.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Comedite carnes meas, et bibite sanguinem meum; evidenter fidei et promissionis quod est* [*esculentum et*] *poculentum dicens allego-*

Clemens in Pædag. Lib. i. cap. vi.

[1 ...Judas...sine quo pascha accepto calice et fracto pane conficitur: dignus enim æternorum sacramentorum communione non fuerat.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. xxx. 2. col. 740.]

[2 Judas received, 1567.]

[3 It said, 1611.]

[4 Christ, 1611.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xiii. Tractat. lix. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 663; where *ille* for *Judas*.]

[6 Id. in Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[7 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. xxv. 4. Tom. VII. col. 647; where *qui non in me, non se*, and *bibere sanguinem meum*.]

[8 The clause after *resurrection* is not in 1567.]

[9 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Sanct. Bapt. Hom. xiii. 1. Tom. II. p. 114.]

[10 Our, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cantic. Canticor. Lib. II. Tom. III. p. 66.]

rice[12]: "'Eat my flesh, and drink my blood;' meaning hereby under an allegory, or by way of a figure, the meat and drink that is of (our) faith and (his) promise."

Tertullian saith: *Eundem sermonem* [*Christus*] *etiam carnem suam dixit, quia... Sermo caro factus est: proinde in causa vitæ recipiendus;...devorandus auditu;... ruminandus intellectu; et fide digerendus* [*est*][14]: "The same Word Christ called his flesh; for the Word was made flesh. Therefore he must be received in cause of life; he must be devoured by hearing; he must be chewed by understanding; he must be digested by faith." Tertull. de Resur. Carn.[13]

St Cyprian saith: *Quod est esca carni, hoc est animæ fides*[15]: "As meat is to the flesh, so is faith unto the soul." St Augustine saith: *Credere... in eum, hoc est manducare*[16]. *Illud bibere, quid est nisi vivere*[17]? "To believe in him is to eat him. That drinking of him, what is it else but to live by him?" Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. August. in Johan. Tract. 26. August. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 2.

I trust, M. Harding, it may appear hereby there is some promise made hereof unto your[18] faith. Now shew you as evident promise made to your mouth and belly; and then your reader happily will believe you.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 2.

And therefore, in celebrating these mysteries[19], the people are to good purpose exhorted, before they come to receive the holy communion, to lift up their hearts, and to direct their minds to heaven-ward; because he is there by whom we must be fed[20] and live. Sursum corda.

M. HARDING.

I pray you, which these mysteries mean you[21]? *Those that ye have in your new communion, or those that we have at the altar of God in the catholic church of Christ? If you*[22] *mean your own new-devised toy, thereof ye cannot bring any sufficient reason against the church, pardy, which condemneth the same. If ye mean the holy mysteries of the catholic church, ye misreport the matter: for by that exhortation ye speak of* [a]*the people are not prepared to receive the communion only, nor chiefly, but to dispose themselves accordingly, and as it becometh them to pray; for to that end be these*[23] *words,* Sursum corda, "*Up with your hearts,*" *pronounced by the priest in the preface before prayer. Read St Cyprian,* In Sermone 6, De Oratione Dominica[24], *and ye shall find him to refer the whole to prayer. But what if we admit your words, refusing your heretical meaning? We grant, the people are to good purpose so exhorted as ye say, and that he is in heaven whose flesh we feed on in this sacrament, thereby to attain to life everlasting. What conclude ye of this?* Ergo, *he is not here? For at that mark ye shoot, every man may see. Here we tell you, that your rhetoric is better stuff than your logic: for your argument is foolish. With the one ye may lead the simple, perhaps: with the other ye move the learned to laugh at you. For Christ is in heaven, and also here, as Chrysostom saith:* Et hic plenus existens, et illic plenus, unum corpus[25]: [b] "*He is here fully, and there fully, one body.*" *These two propositions,* "*Christ is in heaven,*" *and* "*Christ is here,*" *may well stand together without jutting the one the other out of place. He is there at the right hand of the Father visibly; he is here under the forms of bread and wine invisibly; there in glory, here in mystery*[27]; *yet as truly and fully*[28] *here as there concerning his* [c]*substance, as Chrysostom saith. Ye proceed forth, and say.*

A foolish argument.

In Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 17. Christ is both in heaven, and also here in the sacrament.

[a] Untruth Here M. Harding misreporteth his own mass-book.

[b] Christ is in heaven by the substance of his body; and here by working, or by grace[26].

[c] Untruth. For Chrysostom never neither wrote so nor meant so.

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[12] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. I. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 121.]

[13] The latter part of the marginal reference is supplied from 1567, 1570.]

[14] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resurr. Carn. 37. p. 406; where *caro erat factus proinde in causam vitæ appetendus.*]

[15] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 41; where *animæ est.*]

[16] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 494.]

[17] Id. de Verb. Evang. Johan. vi. Serm. cxxxi. 1. Tom. V. col. 641.]

[18] Our, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] Here Conf. inserts (*say ye*).]

[20] Full-fed, Conf.]

[21] Ye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[22] Ye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[23] Those, Conf.]

[24] See below, page 534, note 4.]

[25] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 169.]

[26] Graces, 1611.] [27] Majesty, 1609, 1611.]

[28] And as fully, Conf.]

Sursum corda.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It may become you, M. Harding, as well to call the reverend ministration of Christ's holy mysteries a toy, as to call the gospel of Christ error and heresy. So likewise Libanius the heathen, although a man, I trow, not of your profession, said sometime, that all the books, either of the scriptures or any of the[1] christian fathers, in comparison of Julianus the renegate's books, were toys and trifles[2]. Howbeit, our toys be the same toys that were once used and allowed universally throughout the catholic church of God, before your mass was ever known, and were then thought to be no[3] toys.

Socr. Lib. iii. cap. xxii. Christianorum libri ridiculi et nugaces, si cum Juliani libris conferantur.

Touching these words, *Sursum corda*, "Lift up your hearts," (ye say) they were applied in old times unto prayer, and not only or chiefly to the ministration of the sacrament, and that (as ye seem to say) by the witness of St Cyprian. As for these empty words, "only" or "chiefly," ye use them only as a false light to blind your reader: for in our Apology ye found them not.

Touching St Cyprian, ye thought it best to dissemble, and to shift his words, and to command him to silence. For thus he saith, even directly against the whole practice of your church: *Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, Sursum corda; ut, dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere*[4]: "Before prayer the priest with a preface prepareth the hearts of the brethren, saying unto them, 'Lift up your hearts;' that, when the people answereth, 'We lift them up unto the Lord,' they may be put in mind to think of nothing else but of the Lord." Where is this order, M. Harding? Where is this ecclesiastical tradition now become? Throughout your whole territory of Rome, in what church, in what chapel is it kept? Where doth your people answer the priest at the common prayer? Or where doth the people understand either the meaning of the sacraments, or any thing that is pronounced by the priest? Or why are you so unadvised to allege manifest authorities against yourself?

Cypr. in Orat. Dom.

Ye say: "The people was taught by these words not to consider what was meant only by the sacraments, but to give attendance unto the prayer." Wherein your own mass-book is easily able to control you. And in the Greek liturgies, not before any other public prayer, but immediately before the holy ministration, the priest saith: Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας[5]: "Let us lift up our hearts." And Chrysostom saith: *Clamamus in conspectu sacrificii, Sursum corda*[6]: "We cry aloud in the sight of the oblation, 'Lift up your hearts'." St Augustine saith: *Sursum corda habeamus. Si resurrexistis cum Christo, dicit fidelibus, corpus et sanguinem Domini accipientibus dicit, Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sursum sunt sapite, ubi Christus est in dextra Dei sedens: quæ sursum sunt quærite, non quæ super terram*[7]: "Let us lift up our hearts. If ye be risen again with Christ, he saith unto the faithful, he saith unto them that receive the body and blood of our Lord, 'If ye be risen again with Christ, savour those things that are above, where Christ is at the right hand of God: seek for the things that be above, not for the things that be in earth'." Again he saith: *In sacramentis fidelium dicitur, Ut sursum corda habeamus ad Dominum*[8]: "At the ministration of the sacraments of the faithful it is said, 'Let us lift up our hearts unto the Lord'."

Chrysost. ex Var. Loc. in Matt. Hom. 9.
August. in Psal. xxxix.
August. de Bon. Persev. Lib. ii. cap. xiii.

Likewise again: *Inter sacra mysteria cor habere sursum jubemur*[9]: "In the time of the holy mysteries we are commanded to lift up our hearts."

August. de Bon. Vid. cap. xvi.

But what need we to rehearse the ancient fathers? Your own late new doctors have said the like. And, to leave the rest, your own *Manipulus Curatorum*, that is to say, the ordinary and direction of all your whole clergy, saith

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[1 Any the, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxii. p. 161.]

[3 Thought no, 1567.]

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 152.]

[5 Liturg. Vet. Patr. Par. 1560. Lit. Jacob. p. 21; Basil. p. 53; Chrysost. p. 95.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ex Matt. cap. v. De Orat. Domin. Hom. Tom. V. col. 715.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxix. Enarr. 28. Tom. IV. col. 343; where *sursum corde habitemus.*]

[8 Id. de Don. Persev. cap. xiii. 33. Tom. X. col. 839; where *cor.*]

[9 Id. de Bon. Vid. cap. xvi. 20. Tom. VI. col. 380.]

thus: *Sacerdos ante canonem dicit, Sursum corda. Quasi dicat, Quod volens sumere istud sacramentum debet habere cor suum elevatum ad Deum*[10]: "Before the canon the priest saith, 'Lift up your hearts.' As if he would say, Whoso will receive this sacrament, ought to have his heart lifted up unto God." Alex. Alens. iv. Quæst. 37. Memb. 1. Art. iii. Par. I. cap. ix.

The[11] words be plain, and can in nowise be denied. It were wisdom, M. Harding, in such cases to avouch no more than ye know: otherwise your words will go for toys.

Howbeit, the matter being granted that these words pertain to the holy ministration, yet, if we would reason thus, Christ's body is in heaven, therefore it is not really and fleshly in the sacrament, ye say we should make a foolish argument; our rhetoric is better stuff than our logic.

Christ's Body in one place.

This argument, M. Harding, is taken of the nature of Christ's humanity; which, being the very natural body of a man, by the judgment of the ancient fathers must needs be in one only place at one time, and can reach no further: for otherwise it were not a very natural man's body. Therefore St Augustine saith, as he is alleged by Gratian: *Corpus...Domini in quo resurrexit [in] uno loco esse oportet*[12]: "The body of our Lord, wherein he rose again, must needs be in one place." Likewise again he saith: [*Christus*] *secundum præsentiam... corporalem simul et in sole, et in luna, et in cruce esse non potuit*[13]: "Touching bodily presence, Christ could not be in the sun, in the moon, and upon the cross all at once." De Consecr. Dist. 2. Prima. August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xi.

And again: *Christus ubique est virtute, non opere; Divinitate, non carne*[14]: "Christ is every where by his power, not in deed; by his Godhead, not by his flesh." August. Epist. 221.

St Cyril saith: *Christus cum discipulis suis, etsi non corpore, tamen virtute Deitatis semper futurus est*[15]: "Christ will evermore be with his disciples by the power of his Divinity, although not in his body." Cyril. in Johan. Lib. ix. cap. xxii.

Therefore, to conclude, St Augustine saith: *Videte ascendentem; credite in absentem; sperate venientem;... tamen per misericordiam occultam etiam sentite*[16] *præsentem*[17]: "Behold Christ ascending: believe in Christ being absent: trust in Christ that shall come again; and yet by his privy mercy feel him present." Believe, saith St Augustine, in "Christ being now absent," and not here. August. in Psal. xlvi.

Thus the ancient catholic fathers were bold reverently to reason of Christ's humanity; yet was not M. Harding yet born, that should so bitterly charge them with foolish arguments. Nay rather, Ruffinus saith: *Stulta... adinventio calumniæ est, corpus humanum aliud esse putare quam carnem*[18]: "It is but a foolish finding of a cavil to say, that the body of man[19] is any other thing than flesh." Ruffin. in Hieron. Invect. Prior.

But Chrysostom saith: "Christ is whole here, and whole there." But Chrysostom in the same place many ways expoundeth his whole meaning. For thus he saith, if it would have pleased M. Harding to have seen his words: *Offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem facientes mortis ejus.... Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est.... Hoc quod nos facimus, in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est.... Idipsum semper offerimus; magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur*[20]: "We offer indeed, but in remembrance of his death. This sacrifice is token[21] or figure of that sacrifice. The thing that we do is done in remembrance of that thing that was done before. We offer alway the same thing (that Christ offered). Nay rather, we work the remembrance of that sacrifice" (that Christ offered). Not- Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 17.

[10 Manip. Curat. Pars I. Tractat. iv. cap. ix. fol. 51.

Alex. Alens. Summ. Theol. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars IV. Quæst. x. Tractat. de Offic. Miss. Pars II. p. 284.]

[11 These, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935.]

[13 Id. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xi. Tom. VIII. col. 341; where *posset.*]

[14 Ego igitur elaborans approbare ubique esse Christum virtute &c.—Consent. ad August. in August. Op. Epist. cxix. 4. Tom. II. col. 344.]

[15 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IX. Tom. IV. p. 749. Conf. Opus Insig. Cyril. Alex. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. Lib. IX. cap. xxii. fol. 124.]

[16 Sentire, 1570.]

[17 August. Op. In Psalm. xlvi. Enarr. 7. Tom. IV. col. 411.]

[18 Ruffin. in Div. Hieron. Invect. Lib. I. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 362; where *putare esse.*]

[19 Of a man, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[20 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 168, 9.]

[21 Is a token, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

withstanding, to spare time, this objection is answered more at large in my former Reply to M. Harding[1].

Art. vi. Div. 8.

But, whereas M. Harding saith, "Christ's body is as fully here as it is in heaven concerning the substance, as Chrysostom saith," he would under the name of that holy father wilfully warrant a great untruth. For Chrysostom saith not Christ's body is present in substance: he hath no such words: he saith not so. He saith the contrary; as namely where he saith, as it is before alleged: "The very body of Christ itself is not in the holy vessels; but the mystery or sacrament thereof is there contained[2]."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 11.

Touching these words, unless ye can devise a new grammar, and make *sursum* to be *deorsum*, and, contrary to nature, turn all things upside down, and thus make your construction, *Sursum corda*, "Look downward;" they will but meanly make for your purpose. St Hierome saith: *Secundus adventus Salvatoris . . . in gloria demonstrandus est. Stultum est ergo illum in parvo aut abscondito loco quærere, qui totius est mundi Lumen*[3]: "The second coming of our Saviour shall be declared in glory. Seeing therefore he is the Light of the world, it is great folly to seek him in any small corner." Here, M. Harding, St Hierome saith: "It is great folly to seek Christ" as you seek him[4].

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxiv.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 3.

Cyrillus[5] saith, when we come to receive these mysteries, all gross imaginations must quite be banished.

M. HARDING.

*Why do ye not by your quotation direct us to the place where this saying of Cyril may be found? *Know ye not that we have good cause to suspect your dealing? Do we not almost every where find you in manifest lies? If ye mean plain truth, why deal ye not plainly? Christ's saying must needs be true, "Who evil doth hateth light." Because ye knew the place maketh directly against you, and subverteth your whole sacramentary doctrine, ye thought it good policy to take a word or two for your purpose, and leave the rest, trusting it should not be espied: wherein ye do like the scorpion, that casteth forth his venom with the spirt of his tail, and forthwith creepeth away into a hole. Would God, as ye abuse the name of Cyril, so ye would stand to the truth, by him (even in that place which ye allege) substantially declared! Who listeth to see the place, let him read Cyril's Answer to Theodoret's reprehension of the eleventh Anathematism against Nestorius. There he sheweth that Nestorius destroyed the mean of the union of both natures in Christ, to the intent the body of Christ might be found but a common body, as men have, and not a body proper of the Word, having power to vivificate or quicken all things. [a]For Nestorius divided Christ, and taught the Word to be the Son of God, not of Mary; and Christ man the Son of Mary only, as man; and dissolved the whole mystery of the incarnation, so as Christ should be another certain Son beside the Word. And, because the [b]nature of the Godhead[6] cannot be eaten, thereof he talked vainly and profanely, that in the sacrament we eat flesh, and not Godhead. For confutation of this detestable heresy, Cyril bringeth him to the consideration of the blessed sacrament, and apposeth[7] him, whether he thought that in the sacrament, Christ being [c]by his doctrine man, besides God the Word, we eat a man, as one would say, after such sort as the barbarous people of the new-found land, America, called cannibals, eat one another. But, because that were absurd and beastly, Cyril saith that we eat not a*

Cyril guilefully alleged.

John iii.

The place of Cyril turned upon the defenders.

The heresy of Nestorius.

* This is a quaint cast of M. Harding's *copia verborum*.

[a] Nestorius' heresy stood neither in transubstantiation nor in real presence.

[b] The meaning is this: We cannot be fed or nourished by Christ as he is in his divine nature, but only by the faith that we have in his flesh crucified.

[1] See Vol. I. pages 493, 4.]

[2] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. ex cap. v. Tom. VI. p. lxiii. See before, page 523.]

[3] ...quod secundus Salvatoris adventus...in &c. demonstrandus sit. Stultum est itaque eum in parvo loco vel abscondito quærere, qui totius mundi lumen sit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxiv. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 116.]

[4] The last sentence is not in 1567.]

[5] Cyril, Conf.]

[6] Nature of Godhead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7] Opposeth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

common body, though the nature of Godhead [c]*properly be not eaten, but that body which is* proprium Verbi, "*the proper body of the Word,*" *which quickeneth all things, by receiving whereof* [d]*we receive whole Christ, God and man. And here Cyril layeth to Nestorius' charge, as though he drave men to gross cogitations touching this sacrament. The words be these:* Num hominis comestionem, &c.[8]: "*What, dost thou pronounce this our sacrament to be eating of a man (the Greek is ἀνθρωποφαγίαν), and drivest unreverently the mind of them as have believed unto gross imaginations, and attemptest with human imaginations to treat of those things which are attained by an only, pure, and exquisite faith?*" *These be the gross imaginations which Cyril would to be banished at the receiving of this sacrament, and that we eat the body of Christ, not as being a common body, as the body of every mortal man; and, though the nature of Godhead be not eaten, that yet we eat that body which is the proper body of the Word, that quickeneth all things*[9]. *Now as* [e]*we have not that gross imagination of eating a common body (which of the Greeks by a term plainer to the learned is called ἀνθρωποφαγία) when we receive this sacrament; so it is*[10] *evident by Cyril, that in the same* [f]*we eat verily and indeed the body of Christ, the Word incarnate: for otherwise his sayings had not made ought against the heresy of Nestorius. And thus receiving Christ's body in the sacrament, we receive it truly, and with faith, and without gross imaginations. All this weighed, how prove ye now Christ to be so lodged in heaven, that, notwithstanding his own word,* [g]*we lack him here in these holy mysteries? But let us consider your other authorities.*

The gross imaginations that Cyril would to be eschewed in receiving the blessed sacrament.

[c] Untruth guilefully inclosed; for neither the flesh of Christ in proper speech can be eaten.

[d] We receive whole Christ, God and man, not with our mouth, but by faith and spirit.

[e] A fond evasion. For the grossness hereof stood not in Christ's body, but in the manner of eating.

[f] With our mouth we receive only the sacrament: with our faith we eat the body of Christ incarnate, verily and indeed.

[g] O fond grossness! We lack not Christ, although we have him not fleshly present in our mouths.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the quotation in the margin, escaped in the print, that fault, I trust, shall be amended. But how will you amend your fault, M. Harding, so often alleging such things as your conscience knoweth to be most untrue? I will not wander far to put you in mind. In the last line of your former division ye avouch that upon Chrysostom, that you know Chrysostom never neither wrote nor meant. As for the manifest lies wherewith ye so sharply and so often charge us, though there were some truth in your challenge, as there is none, yet might not we therein in any wise compare with you. Concerning the affiance ye would seem to have in these words of Cyril, ye thought it good skill thus to crow out with some courage before the fight.

In what sense the Godhead may be eaten or not eaten, I have already said so much as then seemed sufficient in my former Reply to your first answer[11]. The meaning of Cyrillus is this: We cannot neither know, nor believe on, nor feed upon the divine majesty of God, as it is pure and simple and in itself; but all our knowledge and all our faith, which is our spiritual feeding and life, is derived unto us through Jesus Christ, and standeth only and wholly in this, that the Son of God hath taken the very nature and substance of our corruptible flesh, and joined the same in one Person unto his Godhead. Therefore St Hilary saith: *Cognitus fieri Deus hominibus, nisi assumpto homine, non potuit; quia incognoscibilem cognoscere, nisi per naturam nostram, natura nostra non potuit*[12]: "God could not be known unto men but by the receiving of man unto him: for God, that surmounteth all knowledge, our nature could not know but by the mean of our nature." So saith St Augustine: "*Quærebam viam comparandi roboris, quod esset idoneum ad fruendum te; nec inveni, donec amplecterer Mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum*[13]: "I sought a way to get strength, whereby I might be able to enjoy thee; but I found it not before that I embraced Jesus Christ, which is the Mediator between God and man." Again he saith: [*Christus*] *cibum, cui capiendo invalidus eram, miscuit carni; quoniam Verbum caro factum est, ut infantiæ nostræ lactesceret sapientia tua*[14]: "Christ tempered and mingled his

Art. viii. Div. 16.

Hilar. in Psal. cxliii.

August. Confess. Lib. vii. cap. xviii.

[8] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193. See Vol. I. page 141, note 13.]

[9] Thing, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10] Is it, Conf.]

[11] See Vol. I. pages 528, &c.]

[12] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. In Psalm. cxliii. Tractat. 8. col. 556; where *Deus homini.*]

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VII. cap. xviii. 24. Tom. I. col. 142; where *inveniebam.*]

[14] Id. ibid.; where *miscentem.*]

Nestorius.

meat (which is his Godhead) with his flesh; which Godhead otherwise I was not able to receive. For the Word was made flesh, that thy wisdom (O God) might become milk unto our childhood."

Nestorius' heresy stood not either in transubstantiation or in real presence; but only in the dissolution of the person of Christ, in that he divided the manhood[1] of Christ from his Godhead, and so concluded in the end, that Christ was only a bare natural man in all respects as others were. If it had been so, then could we not have been saved by the death of Christ, no more than by the death of Codrus and Decius, who, being nothing else but very natural men, gave themselves to death for the safety of their countries[2]. Neither could we believe in Christ crucified; that is to say, we could not eat nor feed upon the body of Christ, or have life by it. Cyrillus saith: *Quomodo purgabit nos ab operibus mortuis? Sanguis enim communis hominis nihil habet majus quam sanguis tauri aut hirci*[3]: "How then shall Christ deliver us from deadly works? For the blood of a common[4] man hath nothing more (to work salvation) than the blood of a bull or a goat." And therefore the same Cyril[5] imagineth Christ thus to say[6]: *Mortalem carnem assumpsi; sed, quia naturaliter vita existens habito in ea, totam ad meam vitam reformavi*[7]: "I have taken mortal flesh upon myself[8]; but, forasmuch as I naturally being life dwell in the same, I have reformed that whole flesh unto my life." So saith Leo: *Verus ... venerator dominicæ passionis sic crucifixum Jesum oculis cordis aspiciat, ut illius carnem suam esse cognoscat*[9]: "Let the true worshipper of our Lord's passion so behold Christ crucified with the eyes of his heart, that he may understand that the flesh of Christ is his flesh." But hereof, I trow, M. Harding will move no great question.

Hieron. ad Ephes. cap. i.

Cyril. ad Regin. ex Epist. ad Heb.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xviii.

Leo de Pass. Dom. Serm. 13.

Spiritual eating.

Further, it is fully confessed of either side, that we by faith eat the very body of Christ, not as the body of any other common natural man, but as the body of the Son of God; and that the same body so eaten by faith, and none otherwise, giveth life. But how that body may be eaten, therein standeth the whole doubt. Hereunto St Cyril answereth thus: *Num hominis comestionem hoc nostrum sacramentum pronuntias? Et irreligiose ad crassas cogitationes urges mentem eorum qui crediderunt? Et attentas humanis rationibus tractare ea, quæ sola, pura, et exquisita fide accipiuntur*[10]? "Dost thou say that our sacrament is the eating of a man? And dost thou unreverently and without religion force the mind of the faithful unto gross (and fleshly) cogitations? And goest thou about with natural imaginations to deal those things that be received by only, pure, and perfect[11] faith?" These words seem plain, and free from quarrel. Yet hereof may grow another doubt. For, by M. Harding's judgment, to think that Christ's body is to be received into our mouths and bellies is no manner gross imagination. But we say, as Cyrillus saith, to avoid all such uncomely and fleshly vanities, Christ's body and blood are a spiritual food, and must be received, not with mouth or teeth, but "with only, pure, and perfect[11] faith."

Cyril. Anath. 11.

Only by Faith.

Concerning M. Harding's fantasy, Pope Nicolas under a solemn protestation would have us to say: *Ego ... corde et ore profiteor, ... non tantum sacramentum, sed etiam ... corpus Christi ... in veritate, sensualiter ... manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et dentibus fidelium atteri*[12]: "I profess with heart and mouth, that not only the sacrament, but also the body of Christ itself in very truth and indeed[13], is sensibly touched, and broken with the priests' hands, and torn with the teeth of the faithful." But this talk is so fond, and so utterly void of discretion, that the very barbarous gloss is fain to control it in this sort: *Nisi sane intelligas* (*ista*)

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Ego Berengarius.

[1 Manhead, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 328.]

[3 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Lib. de Rect. Fid. ad Regin. Tom. V. Pars II. p. 72.]

[4 Of common, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Same St Cyril, 1567, 1570.]

[6 To say thus, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Id. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. iii. Tom. IV. p. 366.]

[8 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Leon. Magni. Op. Lut. 1623. De Pass. Dom. Serm. xiii. 3. col. 172.]

[10 Cyril. Alex. Op. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193.]

[11 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[12 Ego...ore, et corde profiteor...non solum sacramentum, &c. sensualiter...in veritate manibus &c. fidelium dentibus &c.—Confess. Bereng. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 42. col. 1932.]

[13 And deed, 1567.]

verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim quam ipse habuit[14]: "Unless thou wisely understand these words of Berengarius, thou wilt fall into a greater heresy than ever he held any."

St Cyril's words be plain: *Sola, pura, et exquisita fide accipiuntur*: "These things be received (not by mouth, but) by only, pure, and perfect[11] faith." Likewise again he saith: *Initium et fundamentum in sanctificationem et justitiam Christus est, per fidem scilicet, et non aliter. Hoc enim modo in nobis habitat*[15]: "Christ is the beginning and foundation unto holiness and righteousness; I mean by faith, and none otherwise. For by faith Christ dwelleth in us." So saith Clemens Alexandrinus: *Hoc est bibere Jesu sanguinem, participem esse incorruptionis ejus*[16]: "This is the drinking of the blood of Jesus, to be made partaker of his immortality." Origen saith: *Est ergo ipse vulneratus; cujus nos sanguinem bibimus, id est, doctrinæ ejus verba suscipimus*[17]: "He was wounded, whose blood we drink, that is to say, the words of whose doctrine we receive."

Sola, pura, exquisita fide.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xxix.

Clemens in Pædag. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Orig. in Num. Hom. 16.

But what is there so plain as these words of Athanasius? *Quot hominibus suffecisset corpus ejus ad cibum, ut universi mundi alimonia fieret? Propterea ascensionis suæ in cœlum mentionem fecit, ut eos a corporali intellectu abstraheret*[18]. "Unto how many men could Christ's body have sufficed for meat, that he should be the food of all the world? Therefore he made mention of his ascension into heaven, that he might withdraw them from corporal and fleshly understanding."

Athanas. in illud Evang. Quicunque dixerit verbum.

Here, M. Harding, I beseech you tell us by the way, when ye teach us that Christ's body is fleshly present, that it is received into the mouth, that it is chewed and bruised with teeth, and that it passeth further into the belly, how do you withdraw our minds from "fleshly and corporal understanding?" If this eating be spiritual, what eating may be counted corporal? If this be ghostly, what is fleshly[19]?

Hereof St Augustine saith thus: *Cum videritis Filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius, certe vel tunc videbitis quod non eo modo quo putatis erogat corpus suum; certe vel tunc intelligetis quod gratia ejus non consumitur morsibus*[20]: "When ye shall see the Son of man ascending up where he was before, then shall ye see that he giveth not his body (to be eaten) in such sort as you imagine; then shall ye understand that his grace is not consumed by morsels." And therefore again he saith: *Nolite fauces parare, sed cor*[21]: "Prepare not your jaws, but your heart."

August. in Johan. Tract. 27.

August. de Verb. Dom. sec. Luc. Serm. 33.

This is the very, true, spiritual, and only eating of Christ's body; and whatsoever fantasy M. Harding hath devised besides of his mouth and teeth is, as St Cyril saith, "a vain, unreverend, gross, and fleshly imagination."

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 4.

The council of Nice, as it is alleged by some in Greek, plainly forbiddeth us to be basely affectioned or bent toward the bread and wine which are set before us[22].

M. HARDING.

As for the[23] *former part of the sentence which ye bring out of the Nicene council,* [a] *soundeth nothing against the catholics (for they also teach the same),* [a] *so the latter*[24] *part is directly contrary to your doctrine, which ye thought good to leave out, lest*

[a] Untruths, two together. Read the answer.

[14] Gloss. ibid.]

[15] Cyril. Alex. Op. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. iv. Tom. IV. p. 393.]

[16] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. II. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 177.]

[17] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Num. Hom. xvi. 9. Tom. II. p. 334.]

[18] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Serap. Epist. iv. 19. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 710.]

[19] The last sentence is not in 1567.]

[20] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 502; where *quia* twice for *quod*.]

[21] Noli parare fauces, &c.—Id. de Verb. Evang. Luc. xiv. Serm. cxii. 5. Tom. V. col. 566.]

[22] See below, page 540, note 1.]

[23] As the, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[24] Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

thereby ye should have marred your whole matter. Such nipping and rounding of sentences hath ever been taken for a mark to know heretics by. Among wise men such practice worthily bringeth you into suspicion of untruth. The words of the council truly reported be these: "Let us not at the divine table basely behold the bread and cup set before us; but, lifting up our mind, let us by faith understand on that holy table to be laid the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world, of priests sacrificed unbloodily. And, receiving his precious body and blood verily, let us believe these to be the pledges of our resurrection. For in consideration hereof we take not much, but a little, that we may know we receive not to filling (of the body), but to sanctimony[1]*." Take the end with the beginning, and what maketh this decree of that holy council for defence of your sacramentary doctrine? And here, who be more basely-affectioned and bent toward the things set on that table; ye that make them but bread and wine, or we that, after consecration, believe under the forms of bread and wine verily to be made present the body and blood of Christ? Whether is a baser exercise, to feed on* [b] *common bread and wine, and to dwell in the judgment of the senses, or to eat the very flesh of Christ, the bread of life that came down from heaven, to immortality of the body and soul; to forsake the senses, and follow the understanding of* [c] *faith? Well we agree with you, not to be over-basely intent to the bread and cup. But why do not ye perform that as followeth there after your own allegation out of that council? Why do ye not with those three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, and with the whole church of Christ, understand by faith on that holy table to be laid the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world? Why do ye not recant your wicked doctrine against the blessed sacrifice of the mass? Read the whole sentence, joining the end to the beginning. Say not all those holy and learned fathers, "The Lamb of God on this sacred table (they mean the altar) to be sacrificed of the priests unbloodily?" . . . Again, why bring ye the christian people from the body of Christ, whereby they are redeemed, to a* [d] *bare piece of bread, teaching it to be but the figure of his body? Saith not this council, that we receive the precious body and blood of our Lord* [e] *ἀληθῶς, that is, verily and indeed,* [f] *whereby indeed all your tropes and figures be quite excluded? Again, if these were but bread and wine, as ye teach, would the council say that we take them not to satiety, but to sanctimony and holiness? What holiness can we have of bread and wine? What holiness obtain we not by eating of the body of Christ, being the proper body of the Word, or God the Word's own body, that hath power to vivificate and quicken all things? Thus we come within you defenders, as it were, and, clasping with you, wring your* [g] *weapon out of your hands, and with the tother end of it strike you down. As it is not hard*[2] *to us by learning to overthrow you, so we beseech God to strike down the pride and stubbornness of your hearts, as he did Paul, wherewith ye resist the manifest truth.*

A mark to know heretics by.

The words of the Nicene council, which make plainly for the catholic doctrine touching the sacrament of the altar.

All tropes and figures of the sacramentaries be excluded by verdict of the Nicene council.

Acts ix.

[b] Untruth, vile and slanderous: we feed not upon common bread and wine: we feed upon the very body and blood of Christ.

[c] Your faith without God's word is no faith.

[d] Untruth. For we teach neither bare bread nor bare figure. Read the answer.

[e] We receive Christ verily and indeed, although neither fleshly nor with bodily mouth.

[f] Untruth. For the learned doctors and fathers used commonly the same tropes and figures.

[g] O brave captain!

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We allege this place, although briefly, yet simply and truly, and without any manner fraud or guile. But if rounding and clipping of the holy fathers be the mark of an heretic, as it is here avouched, then have we one mark more whereby to know M. Harding: for this is his ordinary usage and practice of course.

Touching either the beginning or the end of this decree, there is no cause wherefore any word therein written should of our part be dissembled. The holy fathers in that council teach us utterly to withdraw our eyes from the bread and wine, being nothing else but creatures transitory and corruptible, and by faith to behold the very body of Christ, which is represented in the mysteries. To like purpose St Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere, et supra creaturam corpoream oculum mentis ad hauriendum æternum lumen levare non posse*[3]: "This is the miserable

August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v.

[1 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 233. See Vol. I. page 464, note 3.]

[2 Heard, 1611.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 47.]

bondage of the soul, to take the signs instead of the things that be signified; and not to be able to lift up the eye of the mind above the corporal creature, to receive the light everlasting." And therefore, immediately before the holy ministration, the priest saith unto us, as it is said before: "Lift up your hearts." In this sort the same fathers spake[4] of the water of baptism: *Baptisma nostrum oculis sensibilibus spectandum non est, sed oculis intellectus. Vides aquam? Cogita vim et potestatem Dei, quæ in aquis latet*[5]: "Our baptism may not be considered with the sensible or bodily eyes, but with the inner eyes of the mind. Seest thou the water? Think of the might and power of God, that lieth hidden in the water." Thus, as in the one sacrament they withdraw us from the water, even so in the other sacrament they withdraw us from the bread.

The Lamb laid upon the table.

Conc. Nic. ὕδωρ ὁρᾷς· νόησον τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι κρυπτομένην τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν.

But it followeth in the same decree: "Let us by faith understand on that holy table to be laid the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." If the ancient fathers, to the end to stir up and to inflame the hearts of the people, had not sometime[6] used vehement phrases and extraordinary kinds of speech, M. Harding might many times spare his pen and keep silence. But he doth the fathers great wrong, that presseth only their bare words, and dissembleth their meaning. Gregory Nyssene, St Basil's brother, discreetly and learnedly openeth this whole matter. Thus he writeth: *Cum in habitudine loci alicujus, vel negotii in loco existentis, intelligibilium aliquod extiterit, abusive id ibi esse dicimus, propter operationem ejus quæ ibi est, locum pro habitudine et operatione accipientes. Cum enim dicere deberemus, Ibi operatur, dicimus, Ibi est*[7]: "When any spiritual thing is in the consideration of some place, or else in consideration of some matter being in a place, we say the same spiritual thing is there, by an abuse or by an extraordinary use of speech, because of the effect of that spiritual thing that there is wrought, taking the place instead of consideration or working in the place. For, where we should say, 'There it worketh,' thus we say, 'There it is'." Even so, whereas these fathers should have said, The effects or graces that we have by Christ's body are laid before us upon the table, by abuse of speech they say, The body of Christ is laid upon the table. Likewise saith Gratian: *Quidam non improbabiliter exponunt . . . carnis et sanguinis veritatem ipsam eorundem efficientiam, hoc est, remissionem peccatorum*[8]: "Some men, not without good reason, by the truth of Christ's flesh and blood understand the effect or working of the same, that is to say, the remission of sins."

Gregor. Nyss. de Anim. cap. xi.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Species.

And as these fathers say, "Christ is laid upon the table," even so, by like phrase of speech, St Gregory saith, "Christ is killed upon the table:" [*Christus*] *iterum in hoc mysterio moritur: . . . ejus caro in populi salutem patitur*[9]: "Christ dieth again in this mystery: his flesh suffereth for the salvation of the people." So saith Chrysostom: *Ut in cœlo celatur Deus, sic in scripturis absconditur. . . . Non . . . omnes intelligunt Deum veritatis, positum in scripturis*[10]: "As God is covered in heaven, so is he covered in the scriptures. All men understand not God that is laid in the scriptures." So saith Athanasius: *Est etiam in verbis scripturarum Dominus*[11]: "Our Lord is in the words of the scriptures." So saith St Hierome: *Supra nudam metuis humum exesa jejuniis membra collidere. Sed Dominus tecum jacet*[12]: "Thou art afraid to lay thy body, worn out with fasting, upon the bare ground. Yet the Lord lieth there with[13] thee." Again: *Nudus atque esuriens ante fores nostras Christus in paupere moritur*[14]: "Christ, naked and hungry, lying before our gate, dieth in the poor."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 4.

Athanas. de Interp. Psal.

Hieron. de Vit. Erem.

Hieron. ad Gaudent.

And, to leave other like sayings and sentences of the ancient fathers, pope

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[4 Speak, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 233.]

[6 Sometimes, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Anim. Tom. II. p. 111.]

[8 Gregor. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 34. col. 1926; where *non improbabiliter quidam*, and *id est peccatorum remissionem.*]

[9 Id. ibid. can. 73. col. 1953. See Vol. II. page 726, note 5.]

[10 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. iv. ex cap. iii. Tom. VI. p. xliii.; where *sicut enim in cœlo.*]

[11 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. In Interp. Psalm. ad Marcellin. Epist. 33. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 1002.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Heliod. de Vit. Erem. Epist. v. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 11; where *super.*]

[13 Lieth with, 1567.]

[14 Id. ad Gaudent. Epist. xcviii. Tom. II. Pars II. col. 799.]

The Lamb laid upon the table.

Adrian saith in your late council of Nice: *In scripturis sanctarum imaginum Agnus præcursoris digito ostensus depingitur*[1]: "In the scriptures of the holy images is painted the Lamb of God, that John Baptist shewed with his finger."

De Consecr. Dist. 3. Sextam sanctam. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iii.

These sayings must be qualified with a gentle exposition; and may not be racked extremely to the sound and rigour of the letter. Chrysostom thus expoundeth these words of St Paul to the Galatians: *Quibus Christus ante oculos prius depictus erat, in vobis crucifixus. Atqui Christus non apud Galatas, sed Hierosolymis fuit crucifixus. Quomodo igitur dicit, in vobis? Ut ostendat vim fidei, quæ potest etiam procul dissita cernere; indicans quod illi oculis fidei exactius cernerent, quam nonnulli qui præsentes adfuerant, eaque quæ gerebantur conspexerant*[2]: "Unto whom Christ was painted out and crucified among you before your eyes. Yet was not Christ crucified in Galatia, but at Hierusalem. How then saith St Paul unto the Galatians, 'Christ was crucified amongst you?' His meaning was to shew the strength of faith, which is able to see things though they be far away; and that they by the eyes of faith saw the death of Christ more plainly and perfectly[3] than many that were present at his death, and saw all that was done."

Thus the fathers in this council said, "Christ's body is laid forth upon the communion-table," that is, not unto our bodily eyes or senses, but unto the eyes of our faith; I mean, by way of a mystery or sacrament, but not verily or indeed. In this sense St Augustine saith unto the people: *Vos estis*[4] *in mensa; . . . vos estis in calice*[5]: "You are laid upon the table; you are in the cup." As the people is laid upon the table, so is Christ's body laid upon the table: and, as the people is in the cup, so is Christ's blood in the cup. The people is there by way of a mystery; even so is Christ's body and blood there by way of a mystery, and none otherwise. Thus, M. Harding, we withdraw not the people of God, as ye untruly say, from Christ's body to a piece of bread; but rather we lead them, as the ancient fathers ever did, from the creature of bread to the beholding, receiving, and eating of Christ's very body and blood.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quia passus.

In what sort and sense Christ is now "unbloodily sacrificed by the priest," for shortness sake, gentle reader, I must refer thee unto my former Reply to M. Harding[6].

Art. xvii. Div. 14.

How the holy mysteries be pledges of our resurrection, it hath partly been said before, and partly shall be said hereafter more at large.

How we may receive the body of Christ indeed and verily, without either transubstantiation or real presence, I have both touched before in this treaty, and also in my former Reply[7]. Certainly St Augustine saith, the receiving of Christ's body indeed, and the receiving of the sacrament, are sundry things. Thus he writeth: *Ostendit* [*Christus*] *quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed re vera corpus Christi manducare, et ejus sanguinem bibere*[8]: "Christ sheweth what it is to eat his body and to drink his blood, not by way of sacrament, but verily and indeed." For the eating of the sacrament with mouth and tooth is not the very true eating of Christ's body, but a token or mystery of the same. St Augustine saith: *Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente*[9]: "He that eateth within, not he that eateth without; he that eateth (Christ's body) in his heart, not he that bruiseth (the sacrament) with his tooth." Whoso by faith receiveth the body of Christ, receiveth it substantiately[10], really, verily, and indeed; and dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him. Thus is Christ's body received, as these holy fathers say, not to the filling or contentation of the body, but unto the holiness and sanctification of the mind.

Art. iv. Div. 8.

August. de Civ. Lib. xxi. cap. xxi.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Thus ye come within us, M. Harding, as ye say, and clasp with us, and overthrow us by learning, and wring our weapon out of our hands, and with the

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[1 Hadr. Papa in Act. sec. Sept. Synod. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iii. can. 29. col. 1973; where *in quibus pictura sanctarum.* Conf. Gloss. ibid.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. ii. Epist. ad Gal. Comm. Tom. X. pp. 695, 6.]

[3 Perfitely, 1567, 1570.] [4 Istis, 1611.]

[5 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 36. col. 1929.]

[6 See Vol. II. pages 733, &c.]

[7 See Vol. I. Art. v. pages 465, &c.]

[8 Id. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. xxv. 4. Tom. VII. col. 646, 7.]

[9 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[10 Substantially, 1567, 1570.]

other end thereof ye strike us down. Methinketh I hear one say, *Denique metuebant omnes jam me*[11]: if some handsome Gnatho[12] stood by you, I trow, we should have a pretty play. But unsensible men are we, that feel none of these deadly blows. I will answer you as St Augustine sometime answered Pascentius, the Arian heretic: *Facile est ut quisque Augustinum vincat; videris utrum veritate an clamore*[13]: "It is an easy matter to overcome Augustine; but see you whether it be by truth or by noise of words." And again: *Non . . . bonum homini est hominem vincere; sed bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem; quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem, sive confitentem*[14]: "It is not good for a man to conquer a man; but it is good for a man that the truth may conquer him with his good-will. For it is ill for a man that the truth should conquer him against his will. But whether he will or not[15], the truth must needs conquer him."

Thras. in Eunuch.

August. ad Pascent. Epist. 174.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 5.

And, as Chrysostom very aptly writeth, we say that "the body of Christ is the dead carcase, and we ourselves must be the eagles;" meaning thereby, that we must fly on high[16] if we will come to the body of Christ. "For this table," as Chrysostom saith, "is a table of eagles, and not of jays." Cyprian also: "This bread," saith he, "is the food of the soul, and not the meat of the belly[17]."

To receive or bear Christ.

M. Harding.

In 1 Cor. cap. x. Hom. 24.

Indeed, Chrysostom saith as ye report. But, sirs, what mean ye? To eat the body of Christ, which is the dead carcase, in respect of his death (for unless he had fallen we had not risen again), must we so be eagles as we use no office of man's body to this kind of eating? Must we fly so high as we look not to find this body in earth? Can we not eat this body except we fly up to heaven? Can we not come by it but there? Can we not eat him but there? Yes, forsooth. [a] *We need not to go*[18] *out of the earth for the matter. For Chrysostom himself, in the same homily from whence ye fetch this, saith that, "whiles we be in this life this mystery is cause that the* [b] *earth to us is become heaven*[19]*." He that desireth to know what eagles we must be, and how high we must fly, to come to the eating of this body worthily, let Chrysostom even there expound Chrysostom. "He nameth eagles," saith he, "to shew that he must get him on*[20] *high that cometh to this body, and that he*[21] *must have nothing to do with the earth, neither be drawn downward to base things and creep, but always fly upward and behold the Sun of Righteousness*[22]*," &c. Will ye yet hear him more plainly declare what he meaneth by this high eagle's flight? "Wipe away," saith he, "all filth from thy soul, prepare thy mind to receive these mysteries. If the king's child, arrayed in purple and diadem, were delivered unto thee to bear, wouldest thou not cast down on the ground all that thou holdest, and receive him? But now, when thou receivest not the king's child,* [c] *but the only-begotten Son of God, tell me, I pray thee, art thou not*[23] *afraid? And dost not cast away all love of worldly things, and garnish thyself with him only, but dost thou yet look down on the earth, art thou yet in love of thy money?*

What eagles must we be, and how high must we fly, to come to the eating of Christ's body?

What is meant by the high eagle's flight.

[a] O earthly divinity! Then have you little to do in heaven.

[b] Not by pulling Christ down to us; but by lifting up our hearts to him.

[c] With thy faith, not with thy mouth.

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[11] Terent. Eunuch. III. i. 42, 3.]

[12] Some Gnato, 1567.]

[13] August. Op. Ad Pascent. Epist. ccxxxviii. cap. v. 27. Tom. II. col. 862.]

[14] Id. ibid. 29. col. 863; where *bonum hominis.*]

[15] Or will not, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Fly high, Conf.]

[17] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44. See Vol. I. page 141, note 11.]

[18] Not go, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] Ἐνταῦθα γάρ σοι τὴν γῆν οὐρανὸν ποιεῖ τουτὶ τὸ μυστήριον.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 218.]

[20] Him up on, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[21] He that, 1611.]

[22] Ἀετοὺς δὲ καλεῖ, δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ ὑψηλὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν προσιόντα τῷ σώματι τούτῳ, καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινὸν ἔχειν, μηδὲ κάτω σύρεσθαι καὶ ἕρπειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω πέτεσθαι διηνεκῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνορᾶν, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. p. 216.]

[23] Art not, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

art thou yet given to the earth? If it be so, what forgiveness, what excuse shalt thou find[1]*?" This spiritual flying up requireth Chrysostom; and yet in that homily, he declareth* [d]*the body of Christ to be present here in earth (meaning in this holy sacrament), yea, that very body which "was nailed, beaten, which was not overcome by death, which the sun seeing crucified turned away his beams, for which the vail of the temple was rent asunder, stones and all the earth quaked, the body that was made all bloody, and, being thrust in with a spear, poured forth fountains of blood and water, to all the world healthful*[3]*." Thus ye see how far Chrysostom is from your strange doctrine concerning the very and* [e]*real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar. Of which altar, and of the sacrifice of that body made and offered by the priests, and of the adoration due thereto, in that homily he speaketh most plainly: that to prove your purpose, ye must seek for another homily, which ye are never like to find; for Chrysostom serveth not your turn. As neither Cyprian, whom ye allege, and against whom, God knoweth. Verily we confess with holy Cyprian and the fathers of the Nicene council, that the body of Christ which we receive in the blessed sacrament is the food of the soul, and not common meat to fill the paunch. And therefore of the outward forms we take but little,* [f]*according to the Nicene decree, acknowledging that spiritual food to serve to sanctimony, not to satiety. Lastly, ye bring for you St Augustine in these words.*

Chrysostom acknowledgeth Christ's very body[2] *present in the sacrament.*

Cyprian alleged by the defenders to no purpose.

[d] Untruth. For Chrysostom speaketh only of the presence of grace: of this gross and fleshly presence he saith nothing.

[e] Untruth. For Chrysostom not once nameth real presence. Read the answer.

[f] Untruth. For the Nicene council maketh no mention of any such forms. And, being but idle forms and shews, how are they a spiritual food, or how can they serve to make you holy?

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Here M. Harding casteth his colours to shadow that thing that will not be hid. Whereas Chrysostom saith, "Thou receivest not the king's child, but the only-begotten Son of God," he so racketh and presseth these words, as if the fathers in their writings had never used any kind of figure, and as if we were bound, under pain of damnation, to receive what sentence soever they have spoken, according to the very rigour and extremity of the letter.

But, the better to disclose the sensible grossness of this error, I trust, gentle reader, it shall not be neither painful nor unprofitable for thee to consider a few other such examples and phrases of speech, commonly and familiarly used by the catholic learned fathers to like purpose. Therefore, as Chrysostom saith, "We receive in the holy mysteries the only-begotten Son of God," meaning by faith only, not by mouth; even so he writeth of the sacrament of baptism: *Si quis tibi purpuram aut diadema dedisset, nonne præ quovis auro accepisses? Ego vero tibi non ornatum regium tribuam, sed ipsum Regem induendum exhibeo. Et quomodo, inquies, Christum poterit quis induere? Audi quid Paulus dicat, Quotquot in Christum baptizati estis, Christum induistis*[4]*:* "If any man had given thee a princely robe or a crown, wouldest thou not set more by it than by any gold? But I will give thee, not a princely robe, but the Prince himself, to put upon thee. Thou wilt say, How may a man put on Christ upon him? Hear what St Paul saith, 'As many of you as are baptized in Christ have put on Christ'." Here Chrysostom teacheth us, that in baptism we receive not only the King's princely robe, but also the King himself[5]. St Cyril saith: *Discant omnes, ... ne, antequam firmiores sint catechumeni, Christum eis antequam oporteat baptismi mysterio commendent*[6]*:* "Let all men take heed that they deliver not Christ in the sacrament

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Col. Hom. 10.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. ii. cap. xxxvi.

[1 Ἀπόσμηχε τοίνυν τὴν ψυχὴν, παρασκεύαζε τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὴν τούτων τῶν μυστηρίων ὑποδοχήν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ παιδίον βασιλικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀλουργίδος καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος ἐνεχειρίσθης φέρειν, πάντα ἂν ἔρριψας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· νυνὶ δὲ οὐ παιδίον ἀνθρώπου βασιλικὸν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ λαμβάνων τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖδα, οὐ φρίττεις, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ πάντα τὸν τῶν βιωτικῶν ἐκβάλλεις ἔρωτα, καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καλλωπίζῃ μόνον ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὁρᾷς, καὶ χρημάτων ἐρᾷς, καὶ πρὸς χρυσὸν ἐπτόησαι; καὶ τίνα ἂν σχοίης συγγνώμην; ποίαν ἀπολογίαν;—Ibid. p. 219.]

[2 Very and real body, Conf.]

[3 ...τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα προσηλούμενον καὶ μαστιζόμενον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὁ θάνατος, τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἥλιος σταυρούμενον ἰδὼν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἀπέστρεψε· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καταπέτασμα ἐσχίζετο τότε, καὶ πέτραι ἐρρήγνυντο, καὶ γῆ πᾶσα ἐτινάσσετο. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα ἐστι, τὸ ἡμαγμένον, τὸ πληγὲν, καὶ τὰς σωτηρίους πηγὰς ἀναβλύσαν, τὴν τοῦ αἵματος, τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ οἰκουμένῃ πάσῃ.—Ibid. p. 217.]

[4 Id. in Epist. ad Cor. cap. iv. Hom. x. Tom. XI. p. 402.]

[5 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. II. cap. i. Tom. IV. p. 144. Conf. Op. Insig. Cyril. Alex. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. Lib. II. cap. xxxvi. fol. 40.]

of baptism unto the beginners or novices, before they be strong in the faith, and before it be convenient."

St Augustine saith: *Sancti... Christum accipiunt in manu et in fronte*[7]: "Holy men receive Christ both in their hand and in their forehead." August. in Apoc. Hom. 11.

St Chrysostom saith: *Adest sacerdos, non ignem gestans, sed Spiritum Sanctum*[8]: "The priest is present, bearing not fire, but the Holy Ghost." Chrysost. de Sacerd. Lib. iii.

St Ambrose saith: *Portant in typo Christi munera; portaturi in evangelio munerum largitorem*[9]: "They carry Christ's gifts in a figure; in the gospel they shall carry (Christ himself), the giver of the gifts." And again: *Mortem non timebis, si geras Christum*[10]: "Thou shalt not fear death, if thou bear Christ." Ambros. de Jos. Patriarch. Ambros. de Fug. Sæc. cap. ix.

Athanasius saith: *Apud nos servatur puerulus ille, quem Herodes interficere satagebat*[11]: "The same child is kept amongst us whom Herod laboured so earnestly to destroy." St Chrysostom saith: *Credo apostolo Paulo, Christum in se loquentem circumferenti*[12]: "I believe the apostle Paul carrying Christ about speaking within him." Athanas. Orat. Prima contr. Arian. p. 119. Chrysost. in 2 Tim. Hom. 2.

St Augustine saith: *Concionatores tradunt Christum discentibus*[13]: "The preachers deliver Christ unto their learners." St Cyril saith: *Verum manna Christus erat, qui per figuram mannæ priscis illis a Deo dabatur*[14]: "Christ was the very true manna, whom, under the figure of manna, God gave unto the fathers of the old testament." It is written in M. Harding's own legend: *Christophorus... portavit... Christum... in humeris,... [et] in ore per confessionem*[15]: "Christopher bare Christ on his shoulders, and he bare Christ in his mouth by his confession." August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. Cyril. in Evang. Johan. Lib. iii. cap. xxxiv. Hist. Longob. Legend. 59.

Another of his doctors saith: *Christus venditus [fuit] in Josepho.... ligatus in Sampsono.... suspensus in botro.... et in serpente æneo.... crucifixus in Isaaco*[16]: "Christ was sold in Joseph, he was bound in Sampson, he was hanged up in the cluster of grapes and in the brasen serpent, and he was crucified in Isaac." Fortal. Fid. Lib. i.

Chrysostom saith: *Quocunque quis pervenerit, Paulum videbit ubique in omnium ore circumferri*[17]: "Whithersoever a man come, he shall see Paul carried about every where in the mouth of every man." And, to end this long rehearsal, St Augustine saith: *Detractor... diabolum portat in lingua*[18]: "The slanderer carrieth the devil upon his tongue." Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 16. August. de Salutar. Docum. cap. xxvi.

I doubt not but M. Harding will better bethink himself, and not require us to take all these sayings without any manner of favourable exposition, barely and nakedly as they lie. Otherwise he must needs encumber himself with a great number of inconveniences.

Of these phrases and manners of speech St Augustine giveth his judgment in this sort: *Omnia significantia videntur quodammodo earum rerum quas significant sustinere personas*[19]: "All signs or tokens seem in a manner to bear the persons of the things themselves[20] that they signify." As for example he saith: *Sicut dictum est ab apostolo, Petra erat Christus; quoniam petra illa, de qua hoc dictum est, significabat... Christum*[19]: "So the apostle saith, 'The Rock was Christ;' for that the rock whereof it was spoken signified Christ." August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xviii. cap. xlviii.

Likewise Athanasius saith: *Qui regis imaginem videt regem videt, et dicit, En tibi regem. Neque tamen duos reges constituit; neque imaginem particulam esse* Athanas. Orat. contr. Sabell. Gregal.

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In B. Johan. Apoc. Expos. Hom. xi. Tom. III. Append. col. 172.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerd. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 383.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Jos. Patriarch. cap. xiii. 77. Tom. I. col. 508.]

[10 Id. Lib. de Fug. Sec. cap. ix. 56. Tom. I. col. 440; where *timeas.*]

[11 ...παρ' ὑμῖν τετήρηται τὸ παιδίον, ὅπερ Ἡρώδης ἀνελεῖν ἐζήτει.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Episc. Ægypt. Epist. 20. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 291.]

[12 Chrysost. Op. In II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 669.]

[13 ...cur non et in eis, qui tradunt discentibus Christum?—August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. IV. cap. xv. 32. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 77.]

[14 Cyril. Alex. Op. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. III. cap. vi. Tom. IV. pp. 312, 3.]

[15 Opus Aur. et Legend. Insig. cum Hyst. Lomb. Lugd. 1526. Legend. xcv. fol. 73; where *Christum* precedes *portavit.*]

[16 Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. I. Consid. iii. fol. 19. 2; where *Samsone* and *clavis affixus in Ysaac.*]

[17 Chrysost. Op. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xvi. Tom. II. p. 164.]

[18 August. Op. Lib. de Salutar. Docum. cap. xxvi. Tom. VI. Append. col. 198. The Benedictine editors consider this a work of Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia.]

[19 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. xlviii. Tom. VII. col. 531.]

[20 Themself, 1567, 1570.]

regis, neque regem particulam imaginis esse judicat[1]: "He that seeth the image of a king seeth the king, and saith, Behold, there is the king; and yet (so saying) he maketh not two kings, nor thinketh he either that the image is a parcel of the king, or that the king is parcel of the image."

Gregor. in Job. Lib. xxix. cap. xxviii.

St Gregory in plainer wise saith thus: *Eundem Agnum Johannes ostendendo, Esaias prævidendo, Abel offerendo loquutus est. Et quem Johannes in ostensione, quem Esaias in loquutione, hunc Abel significando in manibus tenuit*[2]: "John the Baptist by pointing with his finger, Esaias by foreseeing, Abel by offering, spake all three of one Lamb. And Abel by signifying held the same Christ in his hands whom John held by pointing, and whom Esaias held by prophesying."

Gregor. in 1 Reg. cap. ii. Lib. ii.

Again he saith: *Intus ad Christum respicit, quem per considerationem portat in corde*[3]: "Inwardly he beholdeth Christ, whom by meditation he beareth in his heart."

Such amplifications and vehement and extraordinary speeches, notwithstanding in some cases they may be dangerous, yet oftentimes they seem necessary, the better to quicken the dulness and negligence of the people. And therefore Chrysostom saith: "Behold, the Lamb of God is slain: the blood even now is drawn from his side, and the whole people is coloured and made red and bloody with the same[4]." Not for that it was so indeed; but to lift up and to withdraw the hearts of the people from the outward corruptible creatures of the bread and wine to a spiritual and mystical understanding, that is to say, to the eating and drinking of the very body and blood of Christ. And to that end he saith: *Aquilas appellat, ut ostendat ad alta eum oportere contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit*[5]: "He calleth us eagles, to shew that he must mount on high and fly[6] aloft whoso will approach near to that body." Likewise he saith: *In cœlum vocat nos, ad magni Regis mensam*[7]: "Christ calleth us up into heaven, unto the table of the great King." And again: *Illum sursum sedentem . . . hic degustamus*[8]: "We being here beneath taste him sitting in heaven above." So saith St Hierome: *Ascendamus cum Domino [in] cœnaculum magnum, stratum atque mundatum; et accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem novi testamenti*[9]: "Let us ascend up with our Lord into that great dining-chamber, adorned and made clean, and there above let us receive of him the cup of the new testament."

Chrysost. de Sacerd. Lib. iii.

Eagles.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 24.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 61.

Hieron. ad Hedib.

August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. i. cap. xlii.

So saith St Augustine: *Ubi fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur aquilæ, id est, in cœlum: . . . illuc congregabuntur aquilæ: dictum est de spiritualibus, qui, ejus passionem humilitatemque imitando, tanquam de ejus corpore saturantur*[10]: "'Where as the carcase shall be, thither shall the eagles resort together,' that is to say, into heaven; thither shall the eagles resort together: this is spoken of the spiritual faithful men that, following his passion and humility, be filled as it were with his body."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. In quibus.

So saith Leo: *Circa hoc corpus aquilæ sunt, quæ alis circumvolant spiritualibus*[11]: "About this body there are eagles that fly[6] about with spiritual wings."

Thus are the faithful made "eagles." Thus is the "earth become heaven:" not for that Christ's body is pulled down, as M. Harding imagineth, but for that our minds and affections be lifted up. For so Chrysostom himself expoundeth his own meaning: *Hodie nobis terra facta est cœlum, non stellis de cœlo in terram descendentibus, sed apostolis ad cœlum ascendentibus: quia effusa est copiosa gratia Spiritus Sancti, et universum orbem operata est cœlum; non immutans naturam, sed*

Chrysost. in Hom. de Pentecost.

[1 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Contr. Sabell. Gregal. 6. Tom. II. p. 42. Conf. Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Contr. Sabell. Hom. xxiv. 4. Tom. II. p. 192.]

[2 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. xxix. 69. in cap. xxxviii. B. Job. Tom. I. col. 948.]

[3 Id. in prim. Reg. cap. iii. 24. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 92.]

[4 Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τὸν Κύριον τεθυμένον...καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένους αἵματι· κ.τ.λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerd. Lib. iii. Tom. I. p. 382.]

[5 Id. in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216.]

[6 Flee, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Sacr. Part. Myst. ad Ant. Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 404; where *vos vocavit.*]

[8 Id. ibid. col. 402; where *hunc* for *hic.*]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. ad Hedib. cap. ii. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 172.]

[10 August Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. Evang. Lib. i. cap. xlii. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 247; where *illo* for *illuc* twice.]

[11 Leo in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 38. col. 1931. See Vol. I. page 451, note 14.]

voluntatem emendans[12]: "This day the earth is made heaven; not by the stars coming down upon the earth, but by the going up of the apostles into heaven. For the abundant grace of the Holy Ghost is poured out, and hath turned the whole world into heaven; not by changing of nature, but by correcting the will of man." Likewise again he saith: *Apostoli in terra constituti in cœlo conversabantur. Et quid dico, in cœlo? Altiores erant cœlo, etiam alio cœlo; et ad ipsum Dominum pervenerunt*[13]: "The apostles dwelling in the earth had their conversation in heaven. But what say I, in heaven? They were higher than heaven, yea, than the second heaven, and came even unto the Lord himself." Again he saith: [*David*] *terram in cœlum vertit; et homines facit angelos*[14]: "David turneth the earth into heaven; and of men he maketh angels." Again he saith in this selfsame place by M. Harding alleged: *Ut terra nobis cœlum sit, facit hoc mysterium. Ascende igitur ad cœli portas, et diligenter attende; imo non cœli, sed cœli cœlorum; et tunc quod dicimus intueberis*[15]: "This mystery causeth that unto us the earth is heaven. Ascend up therefore unto the gates of heaven, and mark diligently. Nay, I say not unto the gates of heaven; but unto the gates of the heaven of heavens. And so shalt thou see the things that I tell thee."

Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 16.

Chrysost. de Pœnit. Hom. 6.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 24.

Now judge thou, good christian reader, how true it is, and how agreeable with St Chrysostom's doctrine, that M. Harding saith: "Must we fly[6] so high that we look not to find this body in earth? Can we not eat this body except we fly[6] up into heaven? Can we not come by it but there? Can we not eat him but there? yes, forsooth. We need not go out of the earth for the matter." If it be so, then may you rest in the earth, and tarry there still, and never trouble your eyes to look up to heaven[16].

Verily, Chrysostom, when he saith "we receive the Son of God," maketh mention neither of transubstantiation nor of real and fleshly presence, nor of eating with mouth or teeth, but only sendeth us to the force and working of faith and spirit; whereby only, and by no way else, we receive and eat indeed and verily the body of Christ.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 6.

And St Augustine saith: "How shall I hold him, being absent[17]? How shall I reach my hand up to heaven, to lay hold upon him sitting there[18]?" He answereth: "Reach thither thy faith, and then thou hast laid hold on him[19]."

In Johan. Tract. 50.

M. HARDING.

John xi.

*Upon these words of St John, "The bishops and Pharisees gave commandment that, if any knew where Jesus were, he should shew it, that they might apprehend him," St Augustine, expounding the same in a contrary sense, saith: "Let us now shew the Jews where Christ is; would God they would hear and lay hold on him!" Where he speaketh not of receiving Christ so as we receive him in the sacrament, *but of receiving him by faith only. And there he wisheth and exhorteth the Jews to come to the faith, and teacheth them how they may profitably lay hold on Christ, whom their forefathers laid hold on with violent hands to their damnation. "Let them come to the church," saith he: "let them hear where Christ is, and lay hold on him." After certain words he maketh this objection to himself: "Well, the Jew answereth me, How[20] shall I hold him that is absent? How shall I reach up my hand to*

St Augustine speaketh not of receiving Christ in the sacrament, but by faith only.

* And by faith only we receive Christ in the sacrament.

[12 Chrysost. Op. In Pentecost. Serm. i. Tom. III. p. 787. This is not by Chrysostom.]

[13 Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 162.]

[14 Id. de Pœnit. Hom. vi. Tom. II. p. 323. Conf. Op. Lat. Tom. V. col. 871.]

[15 Id. in Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 218.]

[16 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17 Augustine: How shall I hold him, saith he, which is absent? Conf.]

[18 Him that sitteth there, Conf.]

[19 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xi. Tractat. l. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 630.]

[20 Whom, Conf.]

heaven, that I may lay hold on him which sitteth there? Reach thither thy faith," saith Augustine, "and then thou hast laid hold on him." Then followeth in the same line that which plainly declareth all this to be meant of laying hold of[1] *Christ by faith, *not by receiving the communion:* Parentes tui tenuerunt carne; tu tene corde[2]: *"Thy forefathers (thou Jew) took hold on Christ in flesh; take thou hold on him in thy heart." There he sheweth how Christ may be holden, though (concerning the visible and sensible presence of his body) he be in heaven at the right hand of the Father. All this, and whatsoever is said there upon the text before recited, implieth not so much as any colour of argument against the truth of Christ's very body in this most blessed sacrament. And thus all your allegations and reasons concerning this matter be sufficiently answered.*

*He speaketh not of the receiving of the sacrament, but he speaketh of the receiving of the very body of Christ, which is wrought only by faith.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To touch, to hold Christ.

It is true that M. Harding saith, St Augustine in this place speaketh nothing of purpose and specially of the sacrament. Certainly it had been great vanity for him to will his hearers to seek for the sacrament in heaven above. But he speaketh of the embracing and holding the very body of Christ, being now in heaven: which thing is wrought only by faith, and none otherwise, whether it be in the sacrament or without the sacrament. Infinite sentences have been uttered by the holy fathers to like purpose.

August. adv. Jud. cap. ix.

St Augustine saith: *Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini: quid est Accedite, nisi Credite*[3]*?* "Come unto him and receive the light: what is 'Come unto him,' but Believe in him?"

August. in Johan. Tract. 48.

Again: *Ambulando non laborabitis; ibi enim acceditis, ubi creditis*[3]*:* "Your walking shall not be painful to you; for there ye come to him where ye believe in him."

August. in Johan. Tract. 121.

Again he saith: *Exiit de manibus eorum; non enim apprehendere eum potuerunt, quia manus fidei non habuerunt*[4]*:* "Christ departed out of their hands; for they could not lay hold on him, because they had not the hands of faith."

August. de Nat. et Grat. cap. lxix.

Again: [*Christus*] *non recte tangitur; id est,... non recte in eum creditur*[5]*:* "Christ is not well touched; that is to say, Christ is not well believed."

Ambros. Serm. 58.

Likewise again he saith: *Sunt in corde spirituales manus*[6]*:* "There be certain spiritual hands in the heart."

And therefore St Ambrose saith: *Stephanus in terris positus Christum tangit in cœlo*[7]*:* "Stephen being in the earth (by faith) toucheth Christ being in heaven."

But as St Augustine so often saith, "We embrace and hold Christ by faith;" so is not M. Harding able to shew that he ever once said, We hold Christ with mouth or teeth, or receive him down into our bellies.

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. x. cap. xxiv.

And therefore St Ambrose saith: *Non... corporali tactu Christum, sed fide tangimus*[8]*:* "We touch not Christ by bodily touching; but we touch him by faith."

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. vi. cap. viii.

And again: *Fide Christus tangitur; fide Christus videtur: non corpore tangitur; non oculis comprehenditur*[9]*:* "By faith Christ is touched; by faith Christ is seen: he is not touched with our bodies; he is not holden with our eyes."

August. in Epist. Johan. Tract. 1.

Likewise St Augustine saith: *Dominus consolatur nos, qui ipsum jam in cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus; sed fide contingere (possumus)*[10]*:* "The Lord comforteth us, that cannot now touch him with hand, sitting in heaven; but by faith we may touch him."

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding saith, St Augustine in this place maketh no mention of the receiving of Christ's body in the sacrament, it shall not be from the purpose to consider what he hath written otherwhere[11] touching the

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[1 On, Conf.]

[2 See below, page 549, note 20.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 14. Tom. VIII. col. 40.]

[4 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlviii. 11. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 618; where *non eum apprehenderunt quia.*]

[5 Id. ibid. cap. xx. Tractat. cxxi. 3. col. 808.]

[6 Id. Lib. de Nat. et Grat. cap. lxix. 83. Tom. X. col. 164; where *in corde enim sunt spiritales.*]

[7 Maxim. Taur. Hom. ad calc. Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Sep. Dom. et de Mar. Magdal. Hom. iv. col. 612. See Vol. I. page 499, note 10.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. x. cap. xxiv. 155. Tom. I. col. 1537.]

[9 Id. ibid. Lib. VI. cap. viii. 57. col. 1397; where *tangitur Christus.*]

[10 August. Op. In Epist. Johan. cap. i. Tractat. i. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 828; where *Dominus consolans.*]

[11 Otherwheres, 1567, 1570.]

same. Thus he saith: [*Christus*] *est cibus noster, quo nihil dulcius; sed si quis habeat palatum sanum in corde*[12]: "Christ himself is our meat, than which meat there[13] is nothing more savoury, so that a man have a sound taste in his heart." Again he saith: *Dominus... dixit se panem qui de cœlo descendit, hortans ut credamus in eum. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit* [*in eum*] *manducat: invisibiliter saginatur, quia invisibiliter renascitur. Infans intus est: novus intus est: ubi novellatur, ibi satiatur*[14]: "Our Lord calleth[15] himself the bread that came from heaven, exhorting us to believe in him. For to believe in him, that is to eat the bread of life. He eateth that believeth in him. He is fed invisibly, because he is new-born invisibly. Inwardly he is an infant: inwardly he is new. Where he is renewed, there is he filled."

Faith receiveth, &c.

August. in Johan. Tract. 7.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

So saith Eusebius Emissenus, as he is alleged by Gratian: *Cum* [*ad*] *reverendum altare cœlestibus cibis satiandus accedis, sacrum Dei tui corpus et sanguinem... respice, honora, mirare, mente contingе, cordis manu suscipe, et maxime haustu interiori assume*[16]: "When thou comest unto the reverend altar (or communion-table) to be fed with the heavenly meats, behold the holy body and blood of thy God; honour it; wonder at it; touch it (not with thy bodily mouth, but) with thy mind; receive it (not with thy bodily hand, but) with the hand of thy heart; and specially take it with thy inner taste."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quia corpus.

Therefore St Augustine saith: *Quisquis cum fide et timore verbum Dei audis, consolatur te fractio panis. Absentia Domini non est absens. Habeto fidem; et tecum est, quem non vides.... Ideo... Dominus absentavit se corpore ab omni ecclesia, et ascendit in cœlum, ut fides ædificetur*[17]: "Whosoever thou be that with faith and fear hearest the word of God, the breaking of bread doth comfort thee. The absence of our Lord is not absent. Have thou faith; and he whom thou seest not is with thee. Therefore our Lord, as touching his body, hath absented himself from all his church, and is ascended into heaven, that our faith may be edified."

August. Feria 2. Pasch. Serm. 1.

Christ absent from all his church[18].

And in this self-same place, that M. Harding saith maketh so little for our purpose, he saith thus: *Quomodo tenebo absentem? Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti. Parentes tui tenuerunt carne: tu tene corde; quoniam Christus absens etiam præsens est. Nisi præsens esset, a nobis ipsis teneri non posset. Sed quoniam verum est quod ait, Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi, et abiit, et hic est;... et*[19] *rediit, et nos non deseruit. Corpus enim suum intulit cœlo; majestatem* [*autem*] *non abstulit mundo*[20]: "How shall I hold Christ, being absent? How shall I thrust my hand into heaven, that I may hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou holdest him. Thy fathers (the Jews) held him in flesh: hold him thou in thy heart: for Christ being absent is also present. Unless he were present, we could not hold him. But, forasmuch as it is true that he saith, 'Behold, I am with you until the end of the world,' therefore he is gone, and yet is here. He is come again, and hath not forsaken us. For he hath advanced[21] his body into heaven; but he hath not withdrawn his Majesty from the world."

August. in Johan. Tract. 50.

All these things well considered, whereas M. Harding in the end concludeth with these words, "Thus all your allegations and reasons concerning this matter be sufficiently answered;" I doubt not but his discreet and indifferent reader will think he crew long before it was day.

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[19] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vii. 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 342; where *cibus noster est*, and *habet*.]

[13] Which there, 1567.]

[14] Id. ibid. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494.]

[15] Called, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Euseb. Emiss. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 35. col. 1928; where *satiandus ascendis*, and *interiore*.]

[17] August. Op. Serm. ccxxxv. 3, 4. In Dieb. Pasch. vi. Tom. V. col. 990; where *quisquis verbum Dei cum timore et spe audis consoletur*, and *non est absentia*.]

[18] This marginal note is not in 1567.]

[19] 1611 omits *et*.]

[20] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. xi. Tractat. l. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 630, 1; where *deserit*.]

[21] Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 1.

Neither can we away[1] in our churches with these[2] shews and sales and markets of[3] masses, nor with the[4] carrying about and worshipping of the bread[5], nor with such[6] other idolatrous and blasphemous fondness, which none of them can prove that Christ or his apostles ever ordained[7] or left unto us. And we justly blame the bishops of Rome, who, without the word of God, without the authority of the holy fathers, without any example of antiquity, after a new guise do not only set before the people the sacramental bread to be worshipped as God, but do also carry the same about upon an ambling palfrey[8] whithersoever themselves journey[9], in such sort as in old times the[10] Persians' fire and the reliques[11] of the goddess Isis were solemnly carried about in procession; and have brought the sacraments of Christ to be used now as a stage-play and a solemn sight, to the end that men's eyes should be fed with nothing else but with mad gazings and foolish gauds, in the self-same matter, wherein the death of Christ ought diligently to be beaten into our hearts, and wherein also the mysteries of our redemption ought with all holiness and reverence to be executed.

In Ceremon. Rom. Eccles.

M. HARDING.

...The things which it liketh your satanical spirit with blasphemous words to [a]dishonour and bring in contempt, are such as neither your praises can make more praiseworthy nor your upbraidings any whit of less estimation. If any by the stinking breath of your vile words be puffed away into your damned side, whosoever they be, they shew themselves to have been light chaff, not sound wheat.... Yet, for good folks' sake, that I may leave your vile eloquence to yourselves, and answer the matter by you railed at and belied, and otherwise not disproved; I pray you, good sirs, the [b]mass being the highest and most honourable service that is done to God in his church (which, otherwheres being already proved, I treat not of in this place), why should not a priest, by whom only it is and may be done, [c]being called to that vocation or[12] state of life, have reward and living for it?... Rail against the mass and priests serving at the altar of God, until your tongues burn in your head in hell-fire; we tell you, priests of the catholic church sell [d]not the fruit and merit of Christ's blood offered in the mass, but only for their ministry and labour require necessary sustenance of life....

[a] Untruth. For we honour the holy mysteries; and you profanely dishonour them.

Matt. iii. Luke iii.

[b] Untruth. For as it is now used, there is no viler dishonour nor greater blasphemy.

[c] Untruth. For Christ never called his disciples or sent them abroad to say mass.

[d] Alas! they have it not. Otherwise for money it should away.

A priest may justly enjoy his necessary living for serving at the altar[13] and for saying mass.

*But, for your defence, ye confess that ye cannot away with the carrying about and worshipping of bread. No more cannot we. To whose charge lay ye this? Be there any such idolaters now that worship bread? They would be known. [e]God forbid we should suffer idolaters to live amongst us! Soothly, in the catholic church we know none. If ye cannot away with the honour which *all devout christian people do to the *blessed sacrament (we mean to Christ's body, and Christ himself *present in substance under *the forms[14] of bread), then cannot we take you for Christians. Mock, scoff, jest, and rail at us with the Jews: we dare not but honour our Lord Christ wheresoever our faith findeth him verily and in substance present....*

[e] God forbid there should be water in the sea!

* Untruths, and most fond and blasphemous follies.

We know no worshippers of bread.

If, through fervent zeal (as sometime[15] it happeneth) abuses in certain places

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[1] We cannot also away, Conf.]
[2] The, Conf.]
[3] And buying and selling of, Conf.]
[4] Nor the, Conf.]
[5] Of bread, Conf.]
[6] Nor such, Conf.]
[7] Did ever ordain, Conf.]
[8] Horse, Conf.]
[9] See below, note 18.]
[10] Journey as in old time the, Conf.]
[11] Reliquies, Conf.]
[12] And, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[13] At haulter, Conf.]
[14] Forme, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[15] Sometimes, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

have crept in, no good catholic man [f]*defendeth them. Marry, we know all is not to be abrogated, that misliketh your corrupt taste;* [g]*and much is right holy devotion, pleasant in the sight of God, and therefore allowed in the church, which your hot spirit calleth idolatrous and blasphemous fondness. And, though the ceremony and manner whereby such devotion is shewed cannot be proved by ordinance of Christ or of the apostles, expressed in scripture, yet christian people doubt not but God accepteth their good hearts....*

*The bishop of Rome ye blame unjustly, I might say also proudly. For procuring *honour and worship to Christ in the blessed sacrament, he hath the *word of God, *the authority of all holy fathers, and *the examples of antiquity, as* [h]*I have at large proved in my answer to your companion Master Jewel his eighth negative article*[17]*. But the ambling horse offendeth you. Why be ye not also offended with the ass and her foal that bare the* [i]*same body at Jerusalem which the horse beareth at Rome; then visible and weighty, now invisible and of no weight? That was done in pomp, to the honour of Christ; and so is this. Ye say this is done after a new guise. So then was that..... Neither is it true which ye say, that the bishops of Rome do carry about with them the sacrament whithersoever they journey.* [k]*Ye might have learned in that book out of which ye allege that matter to scoff at, that such a solemnity is used specially when the pope rideth* in pontificalibus. *"Then (as the book telleth) a white palfrey, trapped, gentle, and fair, with a clear-sounding bell hanging at his neck, is led, which carrieth the monstrance or pix, with the most holy body of Christ, over the which noble citizens shall bear a canopy*[18]*." Thus the book of ceremonies.*

Lib. Cerem. Eccl. Rom. sect. xii. cap. i. Baldachinum.

...[l]*And, I pray you, what evil is this? If it be good to carry about that most holy body, by which as Christ once redeemed us, so by the same, devoutly honoured of faithful people, and carried abroad and brought to certain places, hath in old times (as yet also doth continually), to the great comfort and help of sundry persons being in distress, wrought miraculously healthful remedies;...if the Israelites found help at God's hand by* [m]*bringing the ark into the field with them, as they marched forward against the Philistians; if the Philistians cried out for fear when they perceived the ark to be in the Israelites' army, and said,* Venit Deus in castra: væ nobis! *"God is come into their tents: alas, we are undone!" &c....*[19]

1 Sam. iv.

1 Sam. v.

And, concerning the order of the ceremony, whereas [n]*the people be desirous to behold the body of their Redeemer with their faith by their carnal eye directed to the form of bread, no man is able to hold up on high the sacrament, so as convenient it were to be done, both to satisfy their devotion and to maintain their faith; for the pope himself commonly is an aged man, and therefore over weak* [o]*for that service, specially arrayed* in pontificalibus, *as in such solemnities he is. Again, the instrument that serveth for that purpose is so great and weighty (for so it appertaineth to the honour of Christ), the way so long, the air for the more part there so hot, as no other man is well able, for lack of strength, to bear it so as meet it is to be borne. In this case* [o]*why may not a horse be put to that service, to supply that which by natural weakness faileth in man? Wherein he serveth, not as one that beareth a male, but as the ass that bare Christ, as the kine that drew the ark.*

In the order of this ceremony nothing appeareth to a christian man unseemly or unreasonable.

Neither ought the custom of bearing the most holy body of Christ where the pope goeth seem[20] *new and*[21] *strange. For we read in the life of the blessed martyr Stephen the first, who was pope of Rome above thirteen hundred years past, that Tharsitius the deacon (who at length also suffered death for Christ) bare our Lord's body at what time he attended upon the blessed man pope Stephen, as he went to his martyrdom*[22]*. Who desireth to see this described at large, the same may he find in* (that great fond fabular) *Simeon Metaphrastes, a*

The custom of carrying the sacrament where the pope goeth is neither new nor strange.

[f] Yet not one of your catholic prelates amendeth them.

[g] Untruth, fond and heathenish; for God himself saith, "In vain they worship me[16]."

* Untruths, four together. For he dishonoureth Christ. He hath neither God's word, nor the authority of all the fathers, nor the examples of antiquity.

[h] Note that in the same one little article M. Harding hath sent us twelve great untruths.

[i] Untruth. For this is only the sacrament of that same body.

[k] Doth M. Harding scoff at these games, or speaketh he in earnest?

[l] Why should a wise man speak so fondly? Read the answer.

[m] They did it against God's will, and sped thereafter. Read the answer.

[n] Grave considerations.

[o] A horse supplieth the pope's office.

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[16] Me &c. Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17] See Vol. I. pages 514, &c.]

[18] ...ducitur post hos equus albus phaleratus, mansuetus et pulcher, cum tintinnabulo ad collum bene sonante, qui capsulam vehit cum sacratissimo Christi corpore, supra quod cives nobiles portabunt baldachinum.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. xii. cap. i. fol. 108. 2.]

[19] Harding proceeds to infer the benefit christian people may look for, having the body of Christ carried among them.]

[20] To seem, Conf.]

[21] An, Def. 1570.]

[22] Bolland. Act. Sanctor. Antv. 1643 &c. Aug. 2. p. 143. Conf. p. 124.]

Greek writer, well approved and highly esteemed in the Greek church, In Vita Stephani Primi.

... For witness whereof[1] *we have St Ambrose, who describeth how certain faithful persons carried* [p] *this blessed sacrament with them when they went to the sea, of whom his brother Satyrus obtained the same in a shipwreck, and by help thereof, hanging it in a stole about his neck, seeking for none other succour, cast himself into the sea, and miraculously escaped safe to land*[3]*. ... Neither is the same by him done without a special mystery, though unknown to the more part. "Although," saith a learned pope, "a reason cannot be given of all things whatsoever have been brought in ure by our forefathers; yet I think," quoth he, "that therein lie hidden profound mysteries*[4]*."*

In Oratione Funebri in Satyrum Fratrem[2].

Innoc. III. De Myst. Miss. Lib. vi.[2]

p It was a great abuse of the sacrament, and yet without either pix or pomp, and therefore was afterward utterly taken away throughout the whole church of God.

I report me now to the secret consciences of good christian people, whether the bishops of Rome use not the blessed sacrament reverently and honourably or no, but rather [q] *as the Persians' fire and the reliques of the goddess Isis, as "a stage-play," "mad gazings, and foolish gauds," as it liketh this wicked Cham's brood to rail: wherein they follow the steps which Julian the* apostata, *Lucian, Porphyrius, Celsus, and such other profane hell-hounds have trodden before them. For after the like manner they railed at the holy mysteries of christian religion; namely Celsus, who, as Origen writeth of him, objected to the Christians the sacrifices of Mithra (which was an idol that the Persians worshipped, and called it the sun*[5]*), from whence (he said) they had taken all their sacraments, rites, and ceremonies*[6]*. And right so (as we find in St Augustine, writing against the Manichees) the painims found fault with the christian people for *honour done to the body and blood of Christ under *forms of bread and wine, saying that they honoured Bacchus and*[7] *Ceres*[8]*.*

This defender followeth Julian, Lucian, Porphyrius, Celsus, and such other wicked infidels.

Contr. Cels. Lib. vi. de Mith. Vide Suid. in Dict.

q If ye had not these games from thence, then tell us from whence ye had them.

* Most vain untruths. For St Augustine speaketh neither of[9] adoration, nor of Christ's body, nor of forms.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Concerning these "satanical spirits, and stinking breaths, and vile words," and such other like flowers of your eloquence, M. Harding, I confess myself[10] to be far inferior, and never able to make you answer. It is true that ye say: "The workman is worthy of his hire." St Paul saith: "The Lord hath appointed that whoso preacheth the gospel should live by the gospel." But where did Christ ever say unto you, Go into all the world and say private mass, and offer me up unto my Father for remission of sins? What apostle, what prophet, what doctor, what father ever taught you so to do? If ye set yourself a-work without commission, and run forth when no man biddeth you; then are ye your own men, and of reason ought to pay yourselves.

Sale of Masses.

1 Cor. ix.[11]

If your masses, as you say, "were never set to open sale," wherefore then was this decree written in the council of Oxford, *Venalitatem missarum districte inhibemus*[12]*?* "We straitly forbid the sale of masses?" Think you that so many wise fathers would forbid that thing that never was used? In the late[13] conference holden at Worms, the bishop of Sidon, being there present, durst not say, as you dare say, there was no such unlawful sale; but only said it was "out of season to talk thereof." His words be these: *Quid attinebat de missis venalibus, de mercatu indulgentiarum, &c. mentionem intempestivam inducere*[14]*?* "What was it to the purpose to speak of the selling of masses and pardons out of season?"

Const. Othon. Legat. fol. 143.

In Colloq. Worm. Conses., 5.

"The priests (ye say) of the catholic church sell not the fruit and merit of

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[[1] Viz. that it was the custom to carry the sacrament about.]

[[2] These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[[3] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Excess. fratr. Satyr. Lib. I. 43. Tom. II. col. 1125.]

[[4] Et licet non omnium, quæ a majoribus introducta sunt, ratio reddi possit, reor tamen quod in his profunda lateant sacramenta.—Innoc. III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. VI. cap. ix. Tom. I. p. 415.]

[[5] Called by the name of the sun, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[[6] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. VI. 22, &c. Tom. I. pp. 646, &c.]

[[7] An, Def. 1570.]

[[8] ...nos propter panem et calicem Cerere mac Liberum colere existimant.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xiii. Tom. VIII. col. 342.]

[[9] Neither of honour nor of, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[[10] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[[11] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[[12] The practice of receiving money for the administration of the sacrament is strictly forbidden, but not in the words here used. Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. p. 12. Conf. Const. in Concil. Oxon. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 1009, 10.]

[[13] Like, 1611.]

[[14] This has not been found in the account of the conference of Worms consulted.]

Christ's blood." No marvel; for they have it not to sell. But, if ye had Christ himself, ye would set him to sale, as other your fathers have done before you. Such a one was he of whom St Gregory writeth: *Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum hæretico, accepta pecunia, venundedit*[15]: "He took money, and sold Jesus Christ our Lord unto an heretic." And, when the bishop of Rome selleth his pardons, what other thing would he seem to sell but only the fruits and merits of the blood of Christ?

Vain Devotion.

Gregor. Lib. ii. Epist. 33.

Ye say further: "God forbid we should suffer idolaters to live amongst us!" And yet your near friends have thought ye have not been far from the maintenance of idolatry. Polydorus Vergilius, entreating of the worshipping of images, saith thus: *Eo insaniæ deventum est, ut hæc pars pietatis parum differat ab impietate*[16]: "They are so far proceeded in madness, that this part of holiness is not far from wickedness." And Ludovicus Vives saith he seeth no great difference between certain Christians worshipping their images, and the old heathens adoring their idols.

Polyd. de Invent. Rer. Lib. vi. cap. xiii.

Ye say: "The carrying about of the sacrament is right holy devotion, pleasant in the sight of God; and christian people doubt not but God accepteth their good hearts." Even so, no doubt, as when he said sometime unto the Jews: *Quis requisivit ista de manibus vestris?* "Who required these things at your hands?"

Isai. i.

St Augustine saith: *Socratis...sententia est, unumquemque deum sic coli oportere, quomodo se ipse colendum esse præceperit*[17]: "The judgment of Socrates is this, that every god ought so to be worshipped as he himself hath commanded." Again he saith: *Constat fidem stultam non solum minime prodesse, sed [etiam] obesse*[18]: "It is certain that a foolish faith not only doeth not good[19], but also hurteth."

August. de Consens. Evang. Lib. i. cap. xviii.

August. in Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. 43.

Chrysostom saith: *Tales sunt diabolo venandi artes; qui prætextu pietatis laqueos tegit*[20]: "Such sleights of hunting hath the devil: under the colour of holiness he hideth his snares."

Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 49.

But, as touching the solemnity of carrying the sacrament, your own doctor, Gabriel Biel, could have told you: *Christus non dedit discipulis [sacramentum], ut ipsum honorifice conservarent; sed dedit in sui usum, dicens, Accipite, et manducate*[21]: "Christ gave not the sacrament to his disciples to the end they should keep it with honour; but he gave it to them for their use, saying to them, 'Take and eat'." Likewise saith Humbertus: *Christus non tantum benedixit panem, et reservavit frangendum in crastinum; nec fregit tantum, et reposuit, sed fractum statim distribuit*[22]: "Christ did not only bless the bread, and reserve it to be broken the next day; nor did he only break it, and lay it up; but, being broken, straightway he delivered it."

Gabr. Lect. 26.

Citat. a Cassand. in Liturg.

All this strange solemn festival-guise pope Urbanus the fourth learned, not of Christ or Paul, but only by the revelation of dame Eve[23] the anchoress; and by her good advice founded the new feast of *Corpus Christi*, and caused the sacrament to be borne about in procession.

But the ancient and worthy father Chrysostom saith: *Discamus ... Christum ex ipsius voluntate honorare; nam qui honoratur eo maxime honore lætatur, quem ipse vult, non quem nos optamus*[24]: "Let us learn to honour Christ after his own will; for he that is honoured delighteth most in that honour that he himself would have, not in that honour that we can fancy." Notwithstanding, when the sacramental bread is carried only upon a horse, and the pope himself is borne aloft in a chair of gold upon the shoulders of six or eight noblemen, I pray you whether of them hath greater honour?

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 51.

[15 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. II. Indict. x. Ad Columb. Episc. Epist. xlviii. Tom. II. col. 612.]

[16 Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. p. 423; where *pietatis pars*.]

[17 August. Op. De Consens. Evang. Lib. I. cap. xviii. 26. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 12.]

[18 Id. Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. xliii. Tom. III. Append. col. 56; where *constet*.]

[19 Doth no good, 1567, 1570; doth not good, 1609.]

[20 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xlix. Tom. IX. p. 366.]

[21 ... neque dedit discipulis &c. — Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lugd. 1517. Lect. xxxvi. fol. 60.]

[22 Non enim benedixit tantum et servavit frangendum &c.—Humbert. contr. Nicet. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-24. Tom. XI. p. 333. Conf. Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Liturg. cap. xxix. pp. 67, 8.]

[23 Eva, 1567.]

[24 Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. l. Tom. VII. p. 518.]

The carrying of the Sacrament.

For the rest: "The pope (saith M. Harding) is an old man: he rideth in his *pontificalibus:* he is loaden with apparel: the pix is weighty: the weather is hot: there is none other creature to supply his room." Therefore it is lately concluded in Lovaine in great solemn sadness, that a horse must be had in to play the pope's part, and to carry the monstrance.

Here, forasmuch as M. Harding hath purposely made mention of the pope's riding in his *pontificalibus,* and the solemnity and pomp thereof is known to few, it shall not be impertinent briefly to disclose the order thereof. Thus therefore it is written in the Ceremoniary of Rome: *Sic papa equitat in pontificalibus in aliquam civitatem. Cardinales descendunt ex equis, et accedunt reverenter ad papam, et osculantur illi pedem. Episcopus civitatis accedit ad papam cum debitis reverentiis, et offert illi crucem osculandam; quam pontifex reverenter cum mitra tamen osculabitur. Non enim commode poterit ei abstrahi equiti ab equestribus. Si tamen placuerit et mitram deponere, non erit inconveniens. Deinde prælatus incipiat antiphonam, Ecce sacerdos magnus*[1]: "Thus the pope's holiness rideth into any city in his *pontificalibus.* The cardinals light from their horses, and come reverently unto the pope, and kiss his foot. The bishop of the city cometh likewise to the pope with due reverence, and offereth him the cross to kiss; which the pope shall kiss reverently, keeping on his mitre notwithstanding. For, while he sitteth on horseback, his horsemen cannot very easily take off his mitre and set it on again. Howbeit, if it shall like him to put off his mitre, it shall be no great inconvenience. Afterward the bishop shall begin this anthem, 'Behold the great priest'." And so he pricketh forth along in[2] his *pontificalibus.*

Cerem. Sect. xii. cap. v.

The carrying out of the ark of God into the field, in the time of Eli the high priest, bodeth no very good argument for the carrying of the sacrament. For at that time the army of Israel was overthrown, thirty thousand soldiers were slain, and amongst them the two sons of Eli; the ark was taken; Eli himself fell back from his chair, and brake his neck. Therefore, M. Harding, ye shall have much ado to make good your procession by this example.

1 Sam. iv.

This matter (ye say) hath been proved by sundry miracles. First, whether there have been any such miracles wrought or no, it is uncertain. But, were it granted, yet may not your miracles always stand for good proofs. Your own doctor, Alexander de Hales, saith: *Miracula fiunt aliquando humana procuratione, aliquando diabolica operatione*[3]: "Miracles be wrought sometime by the working and procurement of men, and sometime by the conveyance of the devil[4]."

Alex. Hales, Part. iv. Quæst. 53. Memb. 4. Art. iii.

The tales that ye allege of Tharsitius and Satyrus make nothing either for the adoration of the sacrament, or else for the pope's palfrey. Women, and children, and laymen used then to carry home the sacrament in their napkins, and to keep it in forcelets, as in my former Reply it is largely shewed[5]. But these were abuses of the mystery; and therefore afterward were abolished.

Art. i.

It grieveth you much that we say, The pope causeth the sacramental bread to be carried before him upon a horse, as the kings of Persia used in old times to carry the fire, which they called *Orimasda,* and imagined the same to be their god. And therefore ye cry out in your passion, "Cham's brood," "hell-hounds," and whatsoever might serve you best; even with like sobriety and modesty as they who sometime in the like case cried out, *Magna Diana Ephesiorum,* "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." Howbeit, other example, more agreeable to resemble your folly, we could find none.

Acts xix.

Neither may ye[6] justly and truly say, ye have received none of your orders and usages from the heathens. Your own gloss noteth upon the decrees: *Clerici euntes [ad tumulos mortuorum], portabant secum sacramenta corporis et sanguinis*

De Consecr. Dist. 1. Non oportet. In Gloss.

[1 Cum autem pontifex voluerit intrare aliquam insignem urbem &c....Cardinales autem descendant ex equis suis remote, et accedant reverenter ad papam, et primo osculentur ei pedem et manum...Cum pontifex erit prope portam civitatis, prælatus illius accedet ad pontificem debitis &c. abstrahi equestri ab &c. incipiet &c.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. xii. cap. v. fols. 112, 3.]

[2 Forth in, 1567.]

[3 Alex. Alens. Summ. Theol. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars IV. Quæst. XI. Memb. II. Art. iv. 3. p. 410. See before, page 197, note 18.]

[4 There are inserted here in 1567 two passages from Lyra, and St Augustine, referring to feigned and false miracles.]

[5 See Vol. I. pages 148 &c.]

[6 You, 1567, 1570.]

Christi, et super tumulos ea distribuebant. Et hæc consuetudo facta fuit a gentibus[7]: "The clerks (or priests), going to the graves of the dead, carried with them the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, and made distribution thereof over the graves. And this same custom was used among the heathens." Nicolaus Leonicenus saith: *Isidis sacerdotes in Ægypto utebantur lineis vestibus, et semper erant detonso capillo; quod etiam per manus traditum ad nostra usque tempora pervenisse videtur: siquidem ii qui apud nos divino cultui et sacris altaribus præsident, barbam comamque nutrire prohibentur; et in sacris utuntur lineis amictibus*[8]: "The priests of the goddess Isis in Egypt used to wear linen surplices, and evermore had their head shaven; which thing seemeth to have been derived from them unto our time, from hand to hand. For they that among us minister God's service, and serve the holy altars, are forbidden to suffer the hair of their head or their beard to grow; and in their divine service they use[9] linen garments." Epiphanius saith that the heretics called *Collyridiani* used to set forth and to carry about bread (no doubt but the sacrament) in the honour of the blessed virgin Mary[10]. Nazianzenus seemeth thus to complain of some such unseemly behaviours in his time: *Quid referam* (saith he) [τὰ] μυστήρια κωμῳδούμενα[11]? "What shall I speak of the holy mysteries turned now into a play or a comedy?" For so Claudius du Sainctes, your own doctor, expoundeth these words: *Mysteria in comœdias conversa*[12].

The carrying of the Sacrament.

Nic. Leon. In Var. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. xxi.

Epiph. Lib. iii. Hær. 79. De Collyrid. Ἄρτον προτιθέασι καὶ ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς ὄνομα... Μαρίας.

Nazianz. ad Heron.

Claud. du Sanct. de Lit. in Præf.

Of the like disorder of the heathens Apuleius seemeth to say: *Dicimus deos incedere humanis pedibus:* "We tell you that our gods go on men's feet." The whole difference between you and them in this behalf standeth only in this, that your god goeth on horse feet and theirs[13] on man's feet.

Apul. Lib. xi.

But the holy sacrament of Christ's death was never appointed unto us to this end, to be carried thus about in open shew, but only to be received as Christ himself commanded, in remembrance of his body and blood. And therefore St Cyprian saith: *Recipitur, non includitur*[14]: "It is received: it is not shut up."

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

That ye allege as out of St Augustine, that "the painims found fault with the christian people for honour done to the body and blood of Christ under your forms of bread and wine[15]," it is an open and a manifest untruth. For St Augustine in that place speaketh not one word, neither of the body and blood of Christ, nor of your forms and accidents, nor of any manner adoration or honour done unto the sacrament. It shall behove you to write hereafter more advisedly; otherwise the learned will say, ye either know not or care not what ye write. This objection of St Augustine is answered more at large in my former Reply[16].

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xiii.

Art. viii. Div. 24.

Touching the matter itself[17], St Augustine saith: *Deus meus ubique præsens est, ubique totus, nusquam inclusus; qui possit adesse secretus, abesse non motus*[18]: "My God is everywhere present, everywhere whole, shut up or inclosed no where; able secretly to be present, and to be absent without moving." And St Chrysostom saith: *Magnum, crede mihi, bonum est, scire quid sit creatura, et quid sit Creator; et quæ sint opera, quis vero Opifex. Si enim hoc diligenter scirent discernere hæretici, nunquam utique omnia confunderent, et quæ sursum sunt facerent deorsum. Non dico quod cœlum et stellas deorsum, terram autem sursum ducerent; sed quod Regem ab excelsis sedibus deducentes cum creaturis et operibus collocaverint; creaturam vero divinis honoribus affecerint*[19]: "Believe me, it is a great matter to under-

August. de Civ. Dei. Lib. i. cap. xxix.

Chrysost. de Jejun. et Lect. Gen.

[7 Clerici illic euntes secum portabant &c. tumulos eas &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. Gloss. in can. 29. col. 1896.]

[8 ...priscis notissimum seculis Ægyptos Isidis sacerdotes lineis uti solitos vestibus, et detonso omnes capillo semper fuisse: quod &c. divino præsident cultui sacris legum decretis, barbam comamve &c.—Nic. Leonic. Thom. De Var. Hist. Libr. Basil. 1531. Lib. II. cap. xxi. p. 145.]

[9 Service use, 1567.]

[10 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxix. 1. Tom. I. p. 1058.]

[11 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-40. In Laud. Heron. Orat. xxv. 12. Tom. I. p. 464.]

[12 F. Claud. de Sainctes Præf. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Antv. 1560. cap. i. fol. 4.]

[13 Their, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 42.]

[15 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xiii. Tom. VIII. col. 342. See before, page 552, note 8.]

[16 See Vol. I. pages 544, 5.]

[17 1567 omits *itself.*]

[18 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. I. cap. xxix. Tom. VII. col. 27.]

[19 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Gen. Serm. i. Tom. IV. p. 645.]

stand what is the creature, and what is God the Creator; what are the works, and what is the Workman. For, if these heretics could make diligent difference hereof, they would not thus make confusion of all things, nor place those things beneath that be above. I mean not, they either pull down the heaven or the stars, or set up the earth (in their place); but that they pull down the King himself from his high throne, and place him amongst his works and creatures; and, of the other side, worship a creature with godly honour."

The Apology, Chap. xv. Division 2.

Besides, where they say, and sometime do persuade fools, that they are able by their masses to distribute and apply unto men's commodity all the merits of Christ's death, yea, although many times the parties think nothing of the matter, and understand full little what is done, this is a mockery, a heathenish fancy, and a very toy. For it is our faith that applieth the death and cross of Christ to our benefit, and not the act of the massing priest. "Faith had in the sacraments," saith Augustine, "doth justify, and not the sacraments[1]." And Origen saith: "Christ is the priest, the propitiation, and sacrifice; which propitiation cometh to every one by mean of faith[2]." And so by[3] this reckoning we say that the sacraments of Christ, without faith, do not once profit these[4] that be alive; a great deal less do they profit those that be dead.

Orig. ad Rom. Lib. iii. cap. iii.

M. HARDING.

[a] *Lest any piece of your Apology should be without a witness for proof that ye are his children who is the father of lies, ye make us to affirm that by our masses we distribute and apply to men indifferently, howsoever they be disposed (for so ye mean, as it appeareth partly by that ye say here, and specially[5] by your doctrine otherwheres uttered) all the merits of Christ's death. But tell us, [b] who ever taught this doctrine in the catholic church? . . .*

[a] Untruth, inclosed. For this is your catholic doctrine, as shall appear.

[b] Your own scholastical catholic doctors, M. Harding: read the answer.

Yea, God is so good, and prone to bestow his mercy, that not only when a man is through faith prepared for it he giveth it abundantly unto him, but also though he as of[6] his own part have no faith presently, yet for others' sake, which are God's dearly-beloved friends, he fareth the better, and hath that gift obtained to him. [c] As when St Stephen prayed at his death for those that persecuted him, for whom prayed he then, but for those who had no faith at all in Christ? And, when this grace was given unto them, as that from their Jewishness they came to the faith of Christ, who shall exclude that blessed martyr from this worship and honour, that through his prayer, as by one special mean, that grace was applied unto them?

[c] A proper shift. We speak of sacraments. M. Harding answereth us of prayer.

What effect his prayer took, if any man thereof doubt, he may think it to have wrought much for the benefit of others of less malice, seeing that it did so much in Paul; who, as the scripture saith, "yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against Christ's disciples," was so changed and converted, that of a persecutor he became an apostle. For, as St Augustine writeth: Si sanctus Stephanus sic non orasset, ecclesia Paulum . . . non haberet[7]: *"If St Stephen had not prayed so, the church should not have had Paul." Now, if those that be no priests, without public authority of consecrating the body and blood of Christ, yet by way of prayer do obtain that men be converted to the faith, which is the applying of one fruit of Christ's merits; much more the public minister and bishop, which, "assumpted from*

The effect of St Stephen's prayer.

Acts ix.

Serm. 1. de Sanctis. Contr. duas Epist. Pelag. ad Bonifac. Lib. i. cap. xix.

[1 See below, page 558, note 8.]

[2 ...ipsum et propitiatorium, et pontificem, et hostiam quæ offertur pro populo...quæ tamen propitiatio ad unumquemque credentium per viam fidei venit.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Epist. ad Rom. Lib. III. 8. Tom. IV. p. 515.]

[3 So that by, Conf.]

[4 Those, Conf.]

[5 Special, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6 He of, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7 August. Op. Serm. ccxv. 5. In Natal. S. Steph. vi. Tom. V. col. 358. This sermon is probably not by Augustine. Conf. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. I. cap. xix. 37. Tom. X. col. 427.]

Heb. v.

among men, is ordained for men in matters belonging to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins." . . .

What kind of applying is in the sacrifice of the mass.

And now if ye list to learn what kind of applying we use in our masses, we do offer up unto God first [d] *his Son, representing his passion, and celebrating the memory of the same* [e] *according to Christ's institution.* . . .

[d] Untruth, blasphemous and horrible.
[e] Untruth. For Christ never bade you to offer him up unto his Father.

But what measure of good we procure them, to God only is that known.

Lib. i. de Vocat. Gentium, cap. iv.

"If (as the learned bishop Prosper saith) the grace of our Saviour pass over some persons (as we see it to happen), and if the prayer of the church (wherein the sacrifice is contained, after St Augustine's mind) be not admitted for them; it is to be referred to the secret judgments of God's justice, and it is to be acknowledged that the depth of this secret may not be opened in this life[8]*."* . . .[9]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The applying of Christ's Death.

Thus ye say, M. Harding: "Ye make us to affirm that by our masses we distribute and apply to men indifferently the merits of Christ's death, howsoever they be disposed, in token that ye are the children of him who is the father of lies." Therefore ye say: "Tell us, who ever taught this doctrine in the catholic church?"

If you[10] be so unskilful, M. Harding, and so far to seek in your own doctors, then it may please you to understand that the most catholic pillars of your catholic church have even thus taught us. Thomas de Vio, otherwise called Cajetanus, a catholic cardinal of your catholic church of Rome, in the conference he had at Augusta in Germany with Doctor Luther, said thus: *Fides non est necessaria accessuro ad eucharistiam*[11]: "Faith is not necessary for him that will receive the sacrament of thanksgiving." Notwithstanding, otherwhere[12] he acknowledgeth this was an error, and confesseth it was commonly received and believed of many even in your catholic church of Rome. Thus he writeth: *In hoc videtur communis multorum error, quod putant hoc sacrificium ex solo opere operato habere certum meritum, vel certam satisfactionem, quæ applicatur huic vel illi*[13]: "Herein standeth the common error of many, that they think that his[14] sacrifice hath a certain merit or satisfaction, which is applied to this man or to that man (not by mean of the faith of the receiver, but) by the only mean of the work that is wrought" (by the priest). Gabriel Biel saith: "The priest receiveth the sacrament; and the virtue thereof passeth into all the members of the church[15]." Jacobus de Valentia saith: "The priest is the mouth of the body. Therefore, when the priest receiveth the sacrament, all the members are refreshed[16]." Again he saith: *Nos communicamus ore sacerdotis*[16]: "We that be of the people do communicate or receive the sacrament by the mouth of the priest." Thomas of Aquine, your angelical doctor, saith thus: *Sicut corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce pro debito originali, ita offertur jugiter pro . . . quotidianis delictis in altari*[17]: "As the body of our Lord was once offered upon the cross for debt[18] of original sin, so it is daily offered upon the altar for the debt of daily sins."

Paralip. Ursperg. Anno 1518.

Card. Cajet. de Usu Spirit. Quæst. 3.

Biel. Lect. 81.

Jacob. de Valent. Serm. 2. de Epiph.

Thom. de Ven. Sacram. Alt. cap. i.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "You have corrupt St Thomas' words with false translation, Englishing *pro quotidianis delictis*, 'for the debt of daily sin,' where

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 356. [Detect.]

[8 Quod si aliquos, sicut videmus accidere, salvantis gratia præterierit, et pro eis oratio ecclesiæ recepta non fuerit; ad occulta divinæ justitiæ judicia referendum, et agnoscendum secreti hujus profunditatem nobis in hac vita patere non posse.—Incert. Auct. De Vocat. Gent. Lib. I. cap. xiii. in Prosp. Op. Par. 1711. col. 865.]

[9 Harding goes on to say that there may be greater boldness used in praying for the dead in Christ than for the living.]

[10 Ye, 1567.]

[11 Paraleip. Rer. Memor. ad calc. Chron. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 472. See Vol. II. page 751, note 16.]

[12 Otherwheres, 1567, 1570.]

[13 Thom. de Vio Cajet. Opusc. et Quol. Venet. 1514. De Celebr. pro alt. fol. 55. 2. See Vol. II. page 752, note 1.]

[14 Think this, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Can. Miss. Expos. Lugd. 1517. Lect. lxxxi. fol. 173. 2. See Vol. II. page 744, note 4.]

[16 Vincent. Serm. Hyemal. Antv. 1572. In Epiph. Dom. Serm. ii. p. 203. See Vol. II. page 744, notes 5, 6. There is a slight error in the marginal reference here, *Jacobus* for *Vincentius*.]

[17 Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. De Ven. Sacram. Altar. Opusc. LVIII. cap. i. Tom. XVII. p. 567; where *sic offeratur*.]

[18 For the debt, 1567.]

The applying of Christ's Death.

debt is not in the Latin." *The answer.* What meaneth this childishness, M. Harding? Was this the greatest corruption ye could espy? Can you imagine any sin to be without debt? I beseech you, wherefore saith almighty God, "Your sins have made division between you and me?" Wherefore doth the wasteful son cry out, "O father, I have offended against heaven and against thee?" Wherefore saith St Paul, "Death is the reward of sin?" Wherefore hath Christ taught us to say, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra?* "O Lord, forgive us our debts?"—but only in respect of debt that is due to sin? Regard better what ye write. Why should such follies come from Lovaine?

Isai. lix. Luke xv. Rom. vi. Matt. vi.

This doctrine not long sithence was holden for catholic, and was strongly maintained by your catholic doctors. Catharinus, one of the worthies of your late chapter of Trident, saith: *Apparet quod pro peccatis, sub novo testamento post acceptam salutaris hostiæ in baptismo efficaciam commissis*[1], *non habemus pro peccato hostiam illam, quam Christus obtulit pro peccato mundi et pro delictis baptismum præcedentibus: non enim nisi semel ille mortuus est; et ideo semel duntaxat hostia illa ad hunc effectum applicatur*[2]: "It appeareth that, for the sins committed under the new testament, after that we have received in baptism the power of the healthful sacrifice, we have no more that sacrifice for sin, which Christ once offered for the sin of the world, and for sins committed before baptism. For Christ never died but once; and therefore that sacrifice of Christ crucified is applied unto us once only to this effect."

Cath. de Incruent. Sacrif. Nov. et Ætern. Test.

Hereby, M. Harding, ye may see that this doctrine lacketh no defence amongst your catholics. The sum and meaning hereof is this, that our sins committed after baptism are not forgiven by the death of Christ, but only by the sacrifice of the mass. Which thing, what it seemeth to you I cannot tell; but unto all godly ears it seemeth an horrible great blasphemy.

Here to speak of prayers, specially in so large a sort, it was far impertinent to your purpose, as being utterly no part of this question.

The merits of Christ's death, whereof we entreat, are conveyed unto us by God, and received by us. God conveyeth them to us only of his mercy; and we receive them only by faith. But the ways whereby either to procure God's mercy or to enkindle our faith are many and sundry. God's mercy is procured sometime by prayer, sometime by other means. But to breed or increase faith in us, there are more ways than can be reckoned. Some men are moved only by the hearing of God's word, some others by the beholding and weighing of God's miracles. Justinus the martyr was first allured to the faith by the cruelty of the tyrants and by the constancy and patience of God's saints[3]. St Cyprian saith: *Tanta est vis martyrii, ut per illam credere etiam . . . cogatur, qui te vult occidere*[4]: "So great is the power of martyrdom, that thereby even he is forced to believe that would kill thee." St Augustine saith he was stirred up to come to Christ by reading a heathen book written by Cicero, called *Hortensius.* Thus he saith: *Ille . . . liber mutavit affectum meum, et ad te ipsum, Domine, mutavit preces meas*[5]: "That (heathen) book changed my mind, and turned my prayer[6], O Lord, unto thee."

Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. viii.

Cypr. de Laud. Martyr.

August. Confess. Lib. iii. cap. iv.

Among other causes, the sacraments serve specially to direct and to aid our faith. For they are, as St Augustine calleth them, *verba visibilia*[7], "visible words," and seals and testimonies of the gospel.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xix. cap. xvi.

All this notwithstanding, we say, it is neither the work of the priest, nor the nature of the sacrament as of itself, that maketh us partakers of Christ's death, but only the faith of the receiver. St Augustine saith: *Unde* [*est*] *ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat, et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*[8]: "From whence hath the water this great power, that it

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

[1 Commissi, 1611.]

[2 The editor has not discovered this treatise of Catharinus.]

[3 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. viii. pp. 98, 9.]

[4 ...virtus est tanta martyrii, &c. voluit occidere.—Orat. de Laud. Martyr. ad calc. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. p. 12. This piece is not by Cyprian.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. III. cap. iv. 7. Tom. I. col. 90.]

[6 Prayers, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XIX. cap. xvi. Tom. VIII. col. 321.]

[8 Id. in Johan. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

toucheth the body and washeth the heart, saving by the working of the word? Not for that it is pronounced, but for that it is believed."

So saith Hesychius: *Gratia [Dei]... comprehenditur sola fide*[9]: "The grace of God (of our part) is received by only faith." So saith Cyrillus: *Siclus... fidei nostræ formam habet. Si enim fidem obtuleris tanquam pretium, [a] Christo, velut ariete immaculato in hostiam dato, accipies remissionem peccatorum*[10]: "The sicle hath the form of our faith. For if thou offer up thy faith as the price, thou shalt receive remission of thy sins from Christ, that unspotted ram, that was given for a sacrifice."

Hesych. in Levit. Lib. iv. cap. xiv. Cyril. in Levit. Lib. iii.

Where ye say ye offer up Christ the Son of God really and substantially unto God the Father; if ye speak in your dream, it is a very pleasant fantasy; but if ye be awake, and know what ye say, then is it a great blasphemy; as in my former Reply it may appear more at large[11].

Art. xvii.[12]

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 1.

And as for their brags they are wont to make of their purgatory, though we know it is not a thing so very late risen among[13] them, yet is it no[14] better than a blockish and an old wives' device.

Power over Purgatory.

M. HARDING.

Purgatory acknowledged by the defenders to be of antiquity.

Purgatory seemeth not to us a thing that we should much brag of; no more than ye will brag of hell. We tremble at the remembrance of it rather than brag of it.... Well, howsoever it be, will ye, nill ye, we see, ye be driven to confess the same to be no new thing....

No marvel. It was received of the painims long ere the apostles were born.

Indeed if... you call them papists, among whom the doctrine of praying for the dead, [a] whereof necessarily followeth the doctrine of purgatory, is delivered, taught, and holden, then are the apostles, who delivered it by tradition (as Chrysostom and Damascene report),... papists.... First, [b] forasmuch as nothing that is defiled cometh into the kingdom of heaven, and some depart out of this life, though in the faith of Christ and children of the everlasting kingdom, yet not throughly and perfectly[15] *clean; it remaineth that such after this life, before they come to the place of everlasting joy, have their purgation.... Furthermore... the apostle saith: "Seeing then we have these promises, dearly beloved, let [c] us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, making perfect*[16] *our satisfaction in the fear of God." Who seeth not hereof to follow, that to many which be justified somewhat of satisfaction and holiness lacketh? Which, if they be taken from hence before they attain to the measure of holiness requisite, be they not*[17] *then after this life in state to be purged and cleansed?...*

Rev. xxi.

2 Cor. vii.

[a] Untruth. Read the answer.

[b] This fantasy were somewhat, if we had no purgation in Christ's blood.

[c] A doughty argument to prove purgatory.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here are we come to the "paper walls" and "painted fires" of purgatory. For so it liked M. Harding not long sithence pleasantly to sport at it in the pulpits, as a bug meet only to fray children. Yet now, upon better advice and deeper study, he trembleth, God wot, and quaketh for fear, to remember the torments that somebody hath sithence told him to be there. Howbeit, let him not so much dismay himself. The pope, as he either first made it, or received it by hand from the heathens and first allowed it, even so hath he the whole jurisdiction and power over it, and commandeth in and out at his pleasure.

Whether ye make brags hereof or no, I leave it in question. Certainly for this and other like causes one of your fellows saith: *Excepto peccato, papa potest*

Panorm. de Elect. cap. Licet.

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[9] Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. iv. cap. xiv. fol. 81.]

[10] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. iii. 8. Tom. II. p. 198; where *formam tenet*, and *remissionem accipies*. See Vol. II. page 553, note 4.]

[11] See Vol. II. pages 708, &c.]

[12] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[13] Amongst, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14] Not, Def. 1570.]

[15] Perfitely, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16] Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17] 1611 omits *not*.]

quasi omnia facere, quæ Deus potest[1]: "Sin excepted, the pope can do in a manner all things that God can do[2]." Another saith: *Animæ existentes in purgatorio sunt de jurisdictione papæ; et papa, si vellet, posset totum purgatorium evacuare*[3]: "The souls being in purgatory are (in the pope's peculiar, and) under the pope's jurisdiction; and the pope, if it might stand with his pleasure, were able (to make gaol-delivery, and) to avoid all purgatory." And to this purpose the pope himself commandeth and chargeth the angels of God to fetch forth from thence whomsoever and how many soever he will have delivered[4], as hereafter in a place more convenient it shall better appear. If these seem to be no brags, then let them hardly be called by some other name that may seem to please you better.

Johan. Angel.

Clemens Pap. VI. In Bulla.

Ye take good hold in that we confess this imagination of purgatory is no new fancy. Howbeit, your advantage herein is not so great. There have been errors and great errors from the beginning. St Augustine saith: *Origenes ... ipsum diabolum atque angelos ejus post graviora pro meritis et diuturniora supplicia ex illis cruciatibus eruendos atque sociandos sanctis angelis credidit*[5]: "The ancient learned father Origen believed that the devil himself and his angels, after great and long punishment suffered for their wickedness, shall be delivered from their torments, and shall be placed (in heaven) with the holy angels of God." Origen himself saith: "There were some that thought that Christ should go down into hell, and there be crucified again, to save them that by his preaching and former death could not be saved[6]." Again the same Origen saith of himself: *Ego puto, quod ... post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigebimus sacramento eluente nos atque purgante*[7]: "I think that, after we shall rise again from the dead, we shall have need of the sacrament (of baptism) to wash us and to purge us clean."

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xvii.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. vi. Lib. v. Orig. in Luc. Hom. 14.

St Augustine saith: *Quidam nullas pœnas, nisi purgatorias, volunt esse post mortem*[8]: "Some men will have no punishment to be after death, but only the pains of purgatory."

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xiii.

Even in Paul's time there were some that, being alive, were "baptized for the dead." And by the council of Carthage it appeareth there were some that used to thrust the sacrament into the mouth of the dead body, meaning thereby, as it may be thought, to procure some relief for the soul. The words be these: *Placuit, ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim a Domino, Accipite, et edite. Cadavera autem nec accipere possunt nec edere*[9]: "We think it good that the sacrament be not given to the bodies of the dead. For our Lord saith, 'Take, and eat.' But dead bodies can neither take nor eat." These were ancient errors in old times[10], as it is easy to be seen.

1 Cor. xv.

Concil. Carthag. III. can. 6.

As for the fantasy of purgatory, it sprang first from the heathens, and was received amongst them in that time of darkness, long before the coming of Christ; as it may plainly appear by Plato and Virgil, in whom ye shall find described at large the whole commonweal and all the orders and degrees of purgatory. St Augustine saith, the old heathen Romans had a sacrifice which they called *sacrum purgatorium*[11], "a purgatory sacrifice."

Plato in Tim. Æn. VI.

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. vii. cap. vii.

You say: "If they be papists that defend purgatory, then must Christ's

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[1 Panorm. sup. Prima Prim. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 6. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 270, note 13.]

[2 Saith: *Papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest:* The pope can do whatsoever God himself can do, 1567.]

[3 Fabricius speaks of a work De Inferno, Purgatorio, et Paradiso, by Johannes Angelus, still unprinted. It is possible this may be that referred to. See Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætat. Hamb. 1734-46. Vol. IV. p. 135.]

[4 Item concedimus, si verus confessus in via moriatur, quod ab omnibus peccatis suis penitus sit absolutus. Et nihilominus prorsus mandamus angelis paradisi, quantum animam illius a purgatorio penitus absolutam in paradisi gloriam introducant.—Bull. Ann. Jubil. ad calc. Hoornbeek Exam. Bull. Urban. VIII. contr. Jesuit. Ultraj. 1653. p. 275.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. xvii. Tom. VII. col. 637.]

[6 Unde miror quosdam...velle asserere, quod in futuris iterum seculis vel eadem vel similia pati necesse sit Christum, ut liberari possint etiam hi quos in præsenti vita dispensationis ejus medicina sanare non potuit.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Epist. ad Rom. Lib. v. 10. Tom. IV. p. 568.]

[7 Id. in Luc. Hom. xiv. Tom. III. p. 948; where *indigeamus.*]

[8 Qui hoc opinantur, nullas &c.—August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. xiii. Tom. VII. col. 633.]

[9 Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 6. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 427.]

[10 Time, 1567.]

[11 ... sacrum purgatorium, quod vocant Februum.—August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. VII. cap. vii. Tom. VII. col. 168.]

apostles needs be papists. For they have taught us purgatory (not by any thing[12] that ever they wrote, but) by tradition. This is as true as that St Peter said mass in Rome with a golden cope and a triple crown—unless perhaps some man will think, whereas St Paul saith, *Homines privati veritate, existimantes quæstum esse pietatem;* "They be men void of truth, thinking that their gain is godliness;" or whereas St Peter saith, *Per avaritiam fictis sermonibus negotiabuntur de vobis;* "Through covetousness by feigned talk they shall make sale of you;" that by these words they gave us warning of the very form and doctrine of your purgatory: for better authorities than these be I reckon ye can lightly find none.

The Antiquity of Purgatory.

1 Tim. vi. 2 Pet. ii.

As for prayer for the dead, which (ye say) ye have received by tradition from the apostles, notwithstanding it were granted to be true, yet doth it not evermore import purgatory. For Chrysostom and Basil in their liturgies make their public and solemn prayer in this sort: *Offerimus tibi rationalem hunc cultum pro in fide requiescentibus majoribus, patribus, patriarchis, prophetis, et apostolis, præconibus, et evangelistis, martyribus, confessoribus, &c. Præcipue vero pro sanctissima, immaculata, super omnes benedicta, domina nostra Deipara et semper virgine Maria*[13]: "We offer, O Lord, unto thee[14] this reasonable service for them that rest in faith; our elders, our fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the preachers, the evangelists, the martyrs, the confessors, &c. Specially for the most holy, without spot, blessed above all, our lady, God's mother, and ever virgin Mary." St Cyprian saith in like manner: *Sacrificamus pro martyribus*[15]: "We make sacrifice for the martyrs." Yet, I trow, ye will not conclude hereof that the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and the blessed virgin Mary, were all in purgatory. Otherwise you[16] would much enlarge the pope's dominion.

Basil. et Chrysost. in Liturg.

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist. 6.

Of the other side, in your masses for the dead ye have used to pray thus: *Libera eos a tartaro; e profundo lacu; ex ore leonis*[17]: "Deliver them, O Lord, (not from purgatory, but) from hell; from that deep dungeon; from the lion's mouth." I trow, ye are not so much thrall unto the pope, that for his sake ye[18] will turn the lion's mouth, the deep dungeon, and all the world, and hell itself, into purgatory.

Thus ye see, M. Harding, by your own doctrine, ye may pray for the dead, and yet be never the near of your purgatory.

But, to help forward the matter at the least by some natural reason, ye say thus: "Forasmuch as nothing that is defiled cometh into the kingdom of heaven, and some depart out of this life, though in the faith of Christ and children of the everlasting kingdom, yet not throughly and perfectly[19] clean; it remaineth that such after this life, before they come to the place of everlasting joy, have their purgation." To warrant your *minor* in this argument, ye bring in the words of St Paul, as rightly and as well to purpose as your manner otherwise is commonly to handle the scriptures: "Though our outward man be corrupted and weakened (which words St Ambrose expoundeth thus, 'By oppression, by stripes, by hunger, by thirst, by cold, by nakedness'[20]); yet our soul is renewed and made stronger day by day." And again: "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit." *Ergo* (say ye), we must confess by force of these words, that there must needs be a place wherein to purge us clean after this life. Here may we a little put you in remembrance by the way: if we cleanse ourselves, according to these words of St Paul, from all manner filthiness, both of flesh and of spirit, I beseech you, what remaineth there then further to be purged in purgatory?

2 Cor. iv.

2 Cor. vii.

[12 Word, 1567; 1570 omits the word altogether.]

[13 Chrysost. Miss. in Biblioth. Gr.-Lat. Vet. Patr. Par. 1624. Tom. II. p. 80. Conf. Basil. Miss. in eod. ibid. p. 52.]

[14 1570 omits *thee.*]

[15 ...celebrentur hic a nobis...sacrificia ob commemorationem eorum.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Presbyt. et Diac. Epist. xii. p. 28.]

[16 Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17 ...libera animas ... fidelium defunctorum de manu inferni et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus.—Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555. Miss. pro Defunct. fol. 149. 2, 150.]

[18 Pope that ye, 1567.]

[19 Perfitely, 1567, 1570.]

[20 Pressuris, plagis, fame, siti, frigore, nuditate caro corrumpitur.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. II. cap. iv. v. 16. Tom. II. Append. col. 180.]

Un-cleansed.

Howbeit, to prove the imperfection and corruption of nature, that evermore hangeth in our flesh, ye might, in my judgment, have alleged many other authorities, far more pregnant and clearer than these. Esay saith: "All our righteousness is likened[1] unto a foul stained clout." Job saith: *Inter sanctos ejus nemo est fidelis; et cœli non sunt mundi in conspectu ejus:* "Among the saints of God there is none faithful: the heavens are not clean in his sight." St Paul saith: "I know there is no good thing in my flesh." St Augustine saith: "Let the apostles of Christ themselves[2] say, O Lord, forgive us our offences[3]."

Isai. lxiv. Job xv.

Rom. vii. August. in Psal. cxliii.

Such imperfections and corruptions, while we live, we evermore carry in our flesh. Therefore, say you, to be purged hereof, that we may be clean and fit to enter into heaven, we must needs pass thorough the fires of purgatory. By this mean ye have well enlarged the pope's jurisdiction. For, this being true, neither is there nor never was there any creature, neither prophet, nor apostle, nor martyr, nor angel, nor archangel, nor heaven itself, Christ only excepted, but of force must needs be[4] cleansed in your purgatory. And therefore Origen, a great fautor of this error, saith thus: *Ut ego arbitror, omnes nos necesse est venire in illum ignem; etiamsi Paulus aliquis sit, vel Petrus*[5]*:* "As I suppose, all we must needs come into that fire; yea, although it be Paul or Peter." And therefore he saith, as it is alleged before: *Ego puto, quod et post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigebimus sacramento eluente nos atque purgante. Nemo enim absque sordibus resurgere poterit. Neque ullam [puto] posse animam reperiri, quæ universis statim vitiis careat*[6]*:* "I think that, after the resurrection from the dead, we shall need the sacrament (of baptism) to wash us and to make us clean. For no man can rise again without filth. Neither do I think there can any soul be found void from all manner of sin."

Orig. in Psal. xxxvi. Hom. 3.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 14.

But all these be vain fantasies; I mean as well these of M. Harding as also the other of Origen. St John saith: *Sanguis Jesu Christi Filii Dei purgat nos ab omni peccato:* "The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us and maketh us clean from all our sins." The prophet saith: "In what hour soever a sinner shall repent and mourn for his sins, he shall be safe." Esay saith: "If your sins shall be as red as scarlet, yet shall they be made as white as snow." St Paul saith: *Christus purgationem peccatorum nostrorum fecit:* "Christ (by his blood) hath wrought the purgation of our sins." Therefore St Cyprian saith: *Sanguis tuus*[7]*, Domine, non quærit ultionem. Sanguis tuus lavat crimina, peccata condonat*[8]*:* "Thy blood, O Lord, seeketh no revenge. Thy blood washeth our sins and pardoneth our trespasses."

1 John i.

Isai. i.

Heb. i.

Cypr. de Pass. Christ.

And, whereas you tell us, out of some heathenish fantasy, that sins cannot be washed away but with long tract of time and pain in purgatory, St Cyprian saith: *In eodem articulo temporis, cum jam anima festinat*[9] *ad exitum, et egrediens ad labia expirantis emerserit, pœnitentiam clementissimi Dei benignitas non aspernatur. Nec serum est, quod verum [est]*[10]*:* "In that very moment of time, even when the soul is ready to pass, and is even at the lips of the party ready to yield up the spirit, the goodness of our most merciful God refuseth not repentance. And whatsoever is truly done is never too late."

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

St Chrysostom saith: *Latro in cruce neque uno die opus habebat. Et quid dico, uno die? Neque brevi hora. Tanta est Dei erga nos misericordia*[11]*:* "The thief on the cross needed[12] not so much as one day to repent himself. What speak I of one day? No, he needed not one hour. So great is the mercy of God towards[13] us."

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 27.

[1 Like, 1567; liked, 1570.]

[2 Christ them themselves, 1570.]

[3 Dicant ergo apostoli, dicant, Dimitte nobis debita nostra.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxlii. Enarr. 6. Tom. IV. col. 1593.]

[4 Must be, 1567.]

[5 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Select. in Psalm. Sup. Psalm. xxxvi. Hom. iii. 1. Tom. II. p. 664; where *venire necesse est ad illum ignem*, and *sit aliquis.*]

[6 Id. in Luc. Hom. xiv. Tom. III. p. 948; where *indigeamus*, and *nec ullam.* See before, page 560, note 7.]

[7 Tuis, 1611.]

[8 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Pass. Christ. (Arnold.) p. 51.]

[9 Festinet, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Ibid. De Cœn. Dom. p. 43; where *festinet.*]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. ix. Gen. Hom. xxvii. Tom. IV. p. 264.]

[12 Neede, 1611.]

[13 Toward, 1567, 1570.]

Of the other side, if any man depart hence without repentance, St Augustine saith: *Imparatum... inveniet illum dies Domini, quem imparatum invenerit suæ vitæ hujus ultimus dies*[14]: "Him shall the day of the Lord find unprovided, whom the last day of this life findeth unprovided[15]." St Ambrose saith: *Qui... hic non accipit remissionem peccatorum, ibi non erit*[16]: "He that here in this life receiveth not remission of his sins, shall not be there." And St Hierome, expounding these words of Christ, "Thou shalt not go forth hence[17] until thou hast[18] paid the last farthing," saith thus: [*Significat*] *semper non exiturum esse; quia semper solvat novissimum quadrantem, dum sempiternas pœnas terrenorum peccatorum luit*[19]: "Christ's meaning is, that he shall never come out; for that he must evermore pay the last farthing, whiles he suffereth everlasting punishment for his sins committed in this world."

August. Epist. 80. Ambros. de Bon. Mort.

Hieron. in Lament. Hierem. Lib. i. cap. i.

So saith St Augustine: *Donec solvas novissimum quadrantem.... Miror si non eam significat pœnam quæ vocatur æterna*[20]: "'Until thou pay the last farthing.' I marvel but he meaneth that pain which is called everlasting."

August. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. i.

Hereby, M. Harding, I think it may partly appear that you maintain your "painted fire" and "paper walls" with painted authorities and paper reasons. Verily, the christian people of the east church of God, which sometime was as great and as famous as the church of the west, notwithstanding they believed in God and his Christ, and knew there was both hell and heaven, yet in your purgatory they had no skill. One of your doctors saith: *Usque in hodiernum diem purgatorium non est a Græcis creditum*[21]: "Until this day, of the Grecians or of the east church purgatory was never believed." Therefore ye cannot justly say that your fantasy herein was evermore accounted universal or catholic.

Alphons. de Hær. Lib. viii. de Indulg.

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 2.

Augustine indeed sometime saith there is such a certain place; sometime he denieth not but there may be such a one[22]; sometime he doubteth; sometime again he utterly denieth there is any at all[23], and[24] thinketh that men are therein deceived by a certain natural good-will they bear their friends departed. But yet of this one error hath there grown up such a harvest of those massmongers, that[26], the masses being sold abroad commonly in every corner, the temples of God became shops to get money; and silly souls were borne in hand that[27] nothing was more necessary to be bought. Indeed there was nothing more gainful for these men to sell.

August. in Psal. lxxxv.

August. Lib. Hypogn.[25]

M. HARDING.

Well railed. If your reasons or authorities were so pithy as your mocks and scoffs be spiteful, ye were to be heard. But thanks be to God that such shrewd beasts have short horns. Now to St Augustine.... And, as Festus said to St Paul, "Hast thou appealed to Cæsar? To Cæsar shalt thou go;" so say we to you, though not having that authority over you which Festus had over St Paul: To Augustine ye refer this matter, and by Augustine shall ye be judged.

Acts xxv.

I would allege unto you sundry places of the [a] *scriptures, which may sufficiently*

[a] It was a good point of skill with a good countenance to pass them over.

[14] August. Op. Ad Hesych. De Fin. Sæc. Epist. cxcix. cap. i. 3. Tom. II. col. 743; where *ille dies*.]

[15] Unproved, 1570.]

[16] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. De Bon. Mort. cap. ii. 5. Tom. I. col. 391; where *acceperit*, and *illic non erit*.]

[17] Thence, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Have, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Lament. Jer. cap. i. Tom. V. col. 807. These commentaries are spurious.]

[20] August. Op. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. I. cap. xi. 30. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 177.]

[21] Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. VIII. Indulg. fol. 142. 2.]

[22] ...est aliud inferius, quo eunt mortui, unde voluit Deus eruere animas nostras, &c.—August. Op. In Psalm. lxxxv. Enarr. 17. Tom. IV. col. 912.]

[23] Id. Hypogn. Lib. v. cap. v. Tom. X. Append. col. 40. See below, page 567. These books are not by Augustine.]

[24] Denieth it to be and, Conf.]

[25] This reference is not in Def. 1567, 1570.

[26] Conf. omits *that*.]

[27] Were persuaded that, Conf.]

prove purgatory to a christian man that is not contentious; but that will we do hereafter as occasion serveth. Now to St Augustine. We say plainly that St Augustine affirmeth purgatory, and that it [b]*cannot be shewed where he doubteth of it, much less where he utterly denieth any such to be. In sundry places of his works he expoundeth the words of St Paul to the Corinthians of purgatory; where the apostle saith that the works which he*[1] *builded upon the foundation (which is Christ) shall be tried by fire*[2]*....*[3] *In the twenty-first book* de Civitate Dei, *after that he hath declared his judgment touching pains of divers sorts which men suffer for sins committed, he saith thus: "But pains temporal some suffer in this life only; some after their death; some both now and also then, yet before that most severe and last judgment*[4]*."...*

St Augustine affirmeth purgatory in plain and express words.

1 Cor. iii.

b Untruth. It shall be shewed. Read the answer.

May it therefore please you, sirs, to read St Augustine in some such places (for to read all that he hath written to that end were very much, and a great let to your domestical cares), and that I[5] *think verily ye will secretly agree in judgment with us, though, for shame and consideration of the stage ye play your part on, openly the same ye will not confess.... And therefore, in his book* de Hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum, *he condemneth Aerius of heresy (and so consequently all others that be of his opinion), because to the heresies of the Arians he had added this also, that none ought to pray or make oblations*[6] *for the dead*[7]*....*

O, so careful this good man is for our cares.

Where ye make St Augustine very uncertain in this point, as though he said "sometime there is such a certain place, sometime there may be such a one, sometime he doubted of it, sometime plainly denied any such to be;" either ye understand not St Augustine, or ye say contrary to your own knowledge. Verily, ye be too bold with him. [c]*First, that he denieth purgatory, that is false. And, where ye allege* Hypognostica *in the margin*[8] *of your book, read it once again at my request, and yourselves will say the place proveth not your purpose*[9]*. The author of that work, whether he were St Augustine, which Erasmus believeth not, or whosoever he was, denieth not purgatory; but that after the day of general judgment there is any place of everlasting rest or pain but kingdom*[10] *of heaven and hell, that he denieth: which we also deny. And there he speaketh against the Pelagians, who, as St Augustine writeth of them* ad Quodvultdeum, *promised to infants dying without baptism a certain everlasting and blessed life, without and besides the kingdom of God*[11]*: which heresy in sundry places he reproveth. It seemeth the word* purgatorium, *noted in the margin*[8] *of that book* [d]*by the unlearned printer, beguiled you: which sheweth how profoundly ye be seen in the doctors.... The thing he doubteth*[12] *of touching this matter is this, whether those temporal pains do only punish for the* [e]*satisfaction of the justice of God, or also do purge and correct the souls of the dead in such wise as temporal pains are wont to do in this life.... But now, whether the smart and sorrow of things left behind, which proceeded in this life of carnal affection, remain also to the souls after their departure from the body, whereof St Augustine sheweth himself to stand in doubt* in Enchiridio ad Laurent. cap. lxviii. et lxix.[13]; *and whether the fire which souls feel in purgatory, as it paineth them,* [f]*so also do by degrees diminish and correct those venial and secular affections which they carried with them at their death; or whether death itself do so end them as there remain not any correction of the mind yet being vicious, but only the punish-*

Lib. v. Hypogn.

Hær. 88.

What is that St Augustine doubted of touching purgatory.

c Untruth manifest. Read St Augustine's words in the answer.

d Untruth. For the margin was so noted by Erasmus.

e Untruth, blasphemous against the blood of Christ. Read the answer.

f O grave commentary, and a wise matter to be called in question!

[1 Be, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Here Harding refers to Augustine on Psalm xxxvii. There are also other passages cited.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxvii. Enarr. 3. Tom. IV. col. 295.]

[4 Sed temporarias pœnas alii in hac vita tantum, alii post mortem, alii et nunc et tunc, verumtamen ante judicium illud severissimum novissimumque patiuntur.—Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xiii. Tom. VII. col. 634.]

[5 And I, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6 Oblation, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 ...et in Arianorum hæresim lapsus, propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla, dicens offerri pro dormientibus non oportere.—Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. liii. Tom. VIII. col. 18.]

[8 Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 Id. Hypogn. Lib. v. cap. v. Tom. X. Append. col. 40.]

[10 But the kingdom, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[11 Nam etiam si non baptizentur, promittunt eis extra regnum quidem Dei, sed tamen æternam et beatam quamdam vitam suam.—Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. lxxxviii. Tom. VIII. col. 26.]

[12 Doubted, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 ...urit eum rerum dolor, quas dilexerat, amissarum ... Tale &c.—Id. Enchir. de Fid. &c. capp. lxviii. lxix. 18. Tom. VI. col. 222. See below, next page.]

ment of the sin[14] *past; that is the thing whereof St Augustine* [g] *seemeth to have doubted. In effect his question is, whether the fire of purgatory be not* [h] *double; the one which punisheth the venial sin past, the other which diminisheth and taketh away the affection of sin yet remaining. Of the first he doubteth not: of the other he saith:* Non redarguo; quia forsitan verum est[15]: "*I say not against it; for peradventure it is true.*"

De Civit. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xxvi.

g This whole matter is concluded with seeming and likelihood.

h Double fire in purgatory. Double folly.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We rail at you, M. Harding, even as Christ railed at certain others in whose steps ye seem to tread, for that they had made of the house of God a cave of thieves.

Scriptures to prove Purgatory.

The places of the scriptures which ye thought it best to pass over, and whereby your purgatory, by your judgment, undoubtedly may be proved, if a man be not very contentious, I trow, be these: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth in him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation; but hath passed from death unto life." Or that Esay the prophet saith of Christ: "He was wounded for our transgressions: he was broken for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we were made whole." Or that St Paul saith: "Christ hath taken the obligation that was against us, and hath fastened it unto his cross." Or that St John saith: "Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord. Even so, saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours; and their works follow them." He saith not, they be in purgatory; but, they "rest from their labours." And again: "They shall hunger no more: they shall thirst no more. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall govern them, and shall lead them (not into purgatory, but) unto the lively fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." These or such other like places, I trow, they be whereby ye assure yourself so certainly of your purgatory.

John v. Isai. liii. Col. ii. Rev. xiv. Rev. vii.

But unto St Augustine we have appealed, and to St Augustine (ye say) we shall go. Howbeit, if ye consider the matter well, ye shall find that our appeal lieth not unto St Augustine. It had been more indifferent dealing to have said with St Bernard: [*Ad*] *evangelium appellasti*; [*et*] *ad evangelium ibis*[16]: "Ye have appealed unto the gospel, and to[17] the gospel ye shall go."

Bernard. in Cantic. Serm. 65.

St Augustine doubteth.

As for St Augustine, notwithstanding his authority be great and his learning deep, yet in these cases, as it shall well appear, he can be but a doubtful judge. And a doubtful judge, so far forth as he doubteth, is no judge. Your own canon telleth you: *In erroris labyrinthum nonnulli intricando impingunt, cum ante judicant quam intelligant*[18]: "Many men, giving judgment before they can understand, by entangling themselves fall into a maze of error." For how can he pronounce sentence of that he confesseth he knoweth not? Or how can he assure us, that is not able to assure himself? Touching the certainty of this doctrine, to allege one[19] or two places out of many, St Augustine writeth thus: *Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri, incredibile non est; et utrum ita sit quæri potest*[20]: "Some such thing (he meaneth the fire of purgatory) to be after this life, it is not incredible; and whether it be so, or no, †it may be a question." Again: [*Quod*] *spiritus defunctorum, &c. ignem transitoriæ tribulationis inveniant, non redarguo; quia forsitan verum est*[21]: "That the spirits of the dead find a fire of transitory tribulation, I reprove it not; for *perhaps it is true." Again: *Sive ergo in hac vita tantum homines ista patiuntur, sive etiam post hanc vitam talia quædam judicia subsequuntur, non abhorret, †quantum arbitror, a ratione veritatis iste intellectus hujus sententiæ*[22]: "Therefore, whether men suffer such things only

Dist. 29. Sciendum.

August. ad Laurent. cap. lxvii. et August. in viii. Quæst. ad Dulcit. Quæst. 1.

† It may be a question.

August. de Civ. Lib. xxi. cap. xxvi.

* Perhaps it is true.

August. de Fid. et Op. cap. xvi.

† Quantum arbitror.

[14 Of the of sin, Def. 1570.]

[15 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xxvi. 4. Tom. VII. col. 649.]

[16 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cantic. Serm. lxv. 7. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1493.]

[17 Unto, 1567, 1570.]

[18 Isidor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxix. can. 1. col. 143; where *impinguntur*.]

[19 On, 1611.]

[20 August. Op. Enchir. de Fid. &c. cap. lxix. Tom. VI. col. 222. Conf. Lib. de Oct. Dulc. Quæst. 13. Tom. VI. col. 128. In the last-named treatise Augustine quotes his Enchiridion.]

[21 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xxvi. 4. col. 649.]

[22 Sive ergo in hac tantum vita ista homines &c. hujusce sententiæ.—Id. Lib. de Fid. et Op. cap. xvi. 29. Tom. VI. col. 182.]

St Augustine doubteth.

in this life, or else some such judgments follow even after this life, *as much as I think, the understanding of this sentence disagreeth not from the order of the truth."

* As much as I think. August. de Civ. Lib. xxi. cap. xxvii. † Non potui.

And again he saith: *Quis sit iste modus, et quæ sint ista peccata, quæ ita impediant perventionem ad regnum Dei, ut tamen sanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam, difficillimum est invenire, periculosissimum definire; ego certe usque ad hoc tempus, cum inde satagerem, ad eorum indaginem pervenire † non potui*[1]: "What mean this is, and what sins these be, which so let a man from coming unto the kingdom of God, that they may notwithstanding obtain pardon by the merits of holy friends, it is very hard to find, and very dangerous to determine. Certainly I myself[2], notwithstanding great study and travail taken in that behalf, could never attain to the knowledge of it." Thus, touching purgatory, St Augustine saith: "Whether there be any such place after this life, or no, it may be a question:" "perhaps it is true:" "as much as I think:" "I cannot tell:" "I could never attain to the knowledge of it[3]."

I could never attain to the knowledge.

By these it is plain that St Augustine stood in doubt hereof, whether there be any such purgatory fire, or no. Therefore undoubtedly he took it neither for an article of the christian faith (for thereof it had not been lawful for him to doubt) nor for any tradition of the apostles.

Ye say: "St Augustine never doubted whether there were any such place of purgatory, or such fire, or no; but only whether the torments there do satisfy the justice of God for sin, or no; and whether the same torments do by degrees diminish the venial sins and secular affections which the parties carried with them, or no." These, you say, were St Augustine's doubts[3]. Notwithstanding, what should any question be raised hereof? Plato, and Virgil, and other heathen writers, from whom this doctrine first flowed abroad, would soon have put you quite out of doubt. Virgil hereof amongst others saith thus:

Æn. VI.

Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt: aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni[4].

But read you St Augustine, M. Harding; you, I say, that, to use your own words, are so "profoundly seen in all the doctors," that ye may boldly despise all others whatsoever: read, I say, St Augustine: examine better the places, and weigh the words; and ye shall find that he never neither mentioneth nor toucheth any of these your pretty fantasies, but saith plainly: "Whether it be so, or no, it may be a question:" "I reprove it not; for perhaps it is true."

And are ye so "profoundly seen in all the doctors" and scriptures, M. Harding, that ye think there is either fire, or water, or any other creature, wherewith to satisfy the justice of God against sin, saving only the blood of "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world?" Or think you that St Augustine would turn us from the satisfaction of Christ, and send us to seek for any other? Certainly St Augustine himself saith: *Valeat mihi ad perfectionem liberationis tantum pretium sanguinis Domini mei*[5]: "Let only the price of the blood of my Lord avail me to the perfection of my delivery."

August. in Psal. xxv.

Again he saith: *Quando aliquis se converterit ad Deum, ... prorsus [illi] omnia dimittuntur. Nemo sit sollicitus, quod aliquid ei non dimittatur*[6]: "Whensoever any man turneth himself unto God, all things utterly are forgiven him. Let no man be doubtful, lest any thing happily be not forgiven." Chrysostom imagineth God thus to say of a sinner: *Unum tantum requiro, ut confiteatur*

August. de Verb. Dom. Serm. 59.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 44.

[1 Sed quis iste sit modus, et quæ sint ipsa peccata, quæ ita impediunt &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. xxvii. 5. Tom. VII. cols. 653, 4.]

[2 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[3 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[4 Virg. Æneid. Lib. VI. 735-42.]

[5 August. Op. In Psalm. xxv. Enarr. i. 11. Tom. IV. col. 109.]

[6 ...quando quisque se &c. ad fidem ipsius &c.—Id. de Verb. Evang. Matt. xx. Serm. lxxxvii. cap. viii. 10. Tom. V. col. 466.]

peccata, et ab eis desistat; nec ultra infero pœnam peccatis[7]: "This thing only (saith God) I require of a sinner, that he confess his sins (unto me), and leave the same. Afterward I lay no more punishment upon his sins." Likewise again he saith: *Ego fidejubeo; si quis nostrum recedat a peccatis ex animo, et vere promittat Deo se ad illa non rediturum, nihil Deum requisiturum ad satisfactionem*[8]: "I will stand bound in God's behalf, if any of us forsake his sins with all his heart, and make true promise unto God, that he will no more return unto them, that then God shall require nothing else unto satisfaction." He that knoweth not thus much hath no great cause to vaunt himself of his profound knowledge in the doctors. But, if God's justice against your sin be fully satisfied by the blood of Christ, if the only price of our Lord's blood have wrought the perfection of your delivery, if there remain nothing unforgiven, if God require no further punishment, what should you seek for other satisfaction in your painted fires and smokes of purgatory? Chrysost. de B. Philog.

To conclude, ye say thus: "In effect St Augustine's question is, whether the fire of purgatory be not double." O M. Harding, if ye were simple, and meant simply, ye would not so vainly double the point. I beseech you, what double fire of purgatory meant St Augustine? Or where was he ever so double in dealing? By your double divinity, and "profound knowledge in the doctors," ye have at the last skilfully found out a double purgatory fire and a double purgatory. Howbeit, as you are now troubled about the fire of your purgatory, so were some others of your friends not long sithence as much troubled about the water. Sir Thomas More said, and held for certain, that in all purgatory there is no water; no, not one drop. And that he said he would prove by the words of the prophet Zachary: *Eduxisti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non erat aqua:* "Thou hast delivered thy prisoners out of the dungeon, wherein there was[9] no water[10]." Of the other side, Roffensis saith: "Yes, there is in purgatory good store of water." And that he saith he can prove by the prophet David: *Transivimus per ignem et aquam; et eduxisti nos in refrigerium:* "We have passed through fire and water; and thou hast brought us forth into a place of refreshing[11]." Albertus and Roffensis say, the executioners and ministers of purgatory be holy angels[12]: Sir Thomas More saith, Out of doubt they be no angels, but very devils[13]. So handsomely these dreams agree together.

Double Fire.

Sir Thomas More.

Zech. ix.

The bishop of Rochester. Psal. lxvi.

To return to the matter. Where ye say we much mistook the place of St Augustine, being deceived by the ignorant note in the margin; where also ye so pleasantly sport yourself with our "profound knowledge in the doctors;" the words of St Augustine that ye mean be these: *Primum...locum fides catholicorum divina auctoritate regnum credit esse cœlorum, unde...non baptizatus excipitur; secundum, gehennam, ubi omnis apostata et a Christi fide alienus æterna supplicia experietur; tertium penitus ignoramus, imo nec esse in scripturis sanctis inveniemus*[14]: "The first place the catholic faith, by God's authority, believeth to be the kingdom of heaven, from whence whosoever is not baptized is excluded; the second place the same catholic faith believeth to be hell, where all renegates, and whosoever is without the faith of Christ, shall taste everlasting punishment; as for any third place, we utterly know none, neither shall we find in the holy scriptures that there is any such." If these words make not against your purgatory, yet truly in any appearance they make but slenderly for your purgatory. St Augustine saith: "Any other third place (after this life, besides heaven

August. Hypogn. Lib. v.

No third place[15].

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xix. Gen. Hom. xliv. Tom. IV. p. 450.]

[8 Id. de Beat. Philog. Hom. Tom. I. p. 499.]

[9 Is, 1567.]

[10 What say they to ỳ wordes of the prophete Zachary: *Tu quoque* &c.... And in ỳ he saith that there is in that lake no water, we may wel pceiue that he spake it ī descripciō of that drie pit of fire, wherin ther is no refreshīg.—The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Lond. 1557. The Supplicacion of Soules, p. 317.]

[11 Ceterum quod per ignem et aquam purgandæ sint animæ...testatur Orig. hom. 25. super Numeros &c.—J. Fisch. Roff. Op. Wirceb. 1597. Assert. Luth. Confut. Art. xxxvii. col. 721. Conf. Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Num. Hom. xxv: 5, 6. Tom. II. p. 368.]

[12 Hi inquam angeli...haud dubie consolantur... quatenus bono sint animo, patienterque ferant illos cruciatus, &c.—Id. ibid. Art. xxxviii. col. 730.]

[13 ...our kepers are such as God kepe you from, cruell damned spirites.—The Workes of Sir Thomas More, ubi supr. p. 337.]

[14 August. Op. Hypogn. Lib. v. cap. v. Tom. X. Append. col. 40; where *vel a Christi.*]

[15 This marginal note is not in 1567.]

Augustine[1] denieth Purgatory.

and hell) we utterly know none; neither can we find in the holy scriptures that there is any such."

But, if all these three places, heaven, hell, and purgatory, had been certainly known and universally received in the church, and yet besides these three places the Pelagian heretics would have devised, as you imagine, another several place to receive the souls of such children as departed out of this life without baptism; then could not St Augustine have truly said, *Tertium locum ignoramus*, "We know no third place;" but rather he should have said, *Quartum locum ignoramus*, "Fourth place we know none." For by your judgment the doubt had been, not of the third place, but of the fourth. And it had been a great oversight for St Augustine, in the reckoning only of four places, to have forgotten one; and specially such a one too as hath been found more gainful of late years than the other three. But his words be plain: "Heaven we know, and hell we know; but any third place besides heaven and hell we know none."

Fourth place.

This word *purgatorium* was noted in the margin, not by the printer, as you say, but by Erasmus, a man of famous memory, whose name for learning and judgment hath at all times among the learned been much esteemed, with whom your young Lovanian clergy may not well compare in the "profound knowledge of the doctors" without great blushing. And thus much touching this one place of St Augustine, wherein it hath pleased you so deeply to charge us with gross ignorance. But, for better trial of his judgment herein, ye should have considered what he hath written otherwheres to like purpose.

August. Epist. 80.

In his epistle to Hesychius he saith thus: *In quo... quemque invenerit suus novissimus*[2] *dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi novissimus dies; quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur*[3]: "In what state his own last day shall find each man, in the same state[4] the last day of the world shall find him. For such as every man in this day shall die, even such in that day shall he be judged." Again: *Qualem... invenit Dominus cum hinc vocat, talem et judicat*[5]: "As our Lord findeth a man when he calleth him hence, even so he judgeth him." And again: *Qui in hac vita Deo non placuerit habebit quidem pœnitentiam in futuro seculo de malis suis; sed indulgentiam in conspectu Dei non inveniet; quia etsi erit ibi stimulus pœnitudinis, nulla tamen ... erit correctio voluntatis*[6]: "Whoso in this life shall not please God shall in the world to come have repentance for his sins; but pardon in the sight of God he shall not find. For, although there shall be there the prick of repentance, yet there shall be no amendment of the will." Again he saith: *Unusquisque... cum causa sua dormiet, et cum causa sua resurget*[7]: "Every man shall die with his own cause, and rise again with his own cause." Olympiodorus saith: *In quocunque loco, &c. deprehendetur homo cum moritur, in eo gradu atque ordine permanet in æternum*[8]: "In what place or state soever a man shall be found when he dieth, in the same state and degree shall he[9] remain for ever."

August. in Apoc. Hom. 11.

August. ad Petr. Diac. cap. iii.

August. in Johan. Tract. 49.

Olymp. in Eccl. cap. ix.

But to reckon up all that might be said in this behalf, it would be long. A simple man, M. Harding, without any "profound knowledge of the doctors," may easily see that these sayings will hardly stand with your doctrine of purgatory. Your own Roffensis saith: *Nemo nunc dubitat orthodoxus an purgatorium sit; de quo tamen apud priscos [vel] nulla vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio. Sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum.... Quamdiu enim nulla esset cura de purgatorio, nemo quæsivit indulgentias*[10]: "No catholic man now doubteth of purgatory; whereof notwithstanding among the ancient fathers there is either no mention at all, or very seldom. Yea, even until this day the Grecians believe it not. For, so

Polydor. de Invent. Lib. viii. cap. i.

[1 St Augustine, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Novissimos, 1570.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Hesych. De Fin. Sæc. Epist. cxcix. cap. i. 2. Tom. II. col. 743.]

[4 The state, 1570.]

[5 Id. in B. Johan. Apoc. Expos. Hom. xi. Tom. III. Append. col. 173; where *evocat.*]

[6 Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. col. 346; where *quod qui in hac vita non fecerit*, and *stimulus plenitudinis.*]

[7 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xi. Tractat. xlix. 9. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 623; where *dormit*, and *surgit.*]

[8 Olymp. Comm. in Eccles. cap. xi. v. 3. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Gr.-Lat. Par. 1624. Tom. II. p. 670.]

[9 He shall, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. VIII. cap. i. p. 476; where *nemo certe dubitat*, and *nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura.* Conf. Vol. I. page 101, note 6, page 14, note 6.]

long as there was no care for purgatory, no man sought after pardons." By which witness it appeareth, that pardons and purgatory were brought in jointly both together. And, as the case now standeth, and as most men think, the pope could be contented to lose both heaven and hell to save his purgatory.

The Apology, Chap. xvii. Division 1.

Ceremonies.

As touching the multitude of vain and superfluous ceremonies, we know that St Augustine[11] did grievously complain of them in his own time[12]; and therefore have we cut off a great number of them, because we know that men's consciences were encumbered[13] about them, and the churches of God overladen with them. Nevertheless we keep still and esteem not only those ceremonies which we are sure were delivered us from the apostles, but some others too besides, which we thought[14] might be suffered without hurt to the church of God[15]; for that[16] we had a desire that all things in the holy congregation might, as St Paul[17] commandeth, "be done with comeliness and in good order:" but, as for all those things which we saw were either very superstitious, or utterly unprofitable[18], or noisome, or mockeries, or contrary to the holy scriptures, or else unseemly for sober[19] and discreet people, whereof there be infinite numbers[20] now-a-days where the Roman religion is[21] used, these, I say, we have utterly refused without all manner exception, because we would not have the right worshipping of God to be any[22] longer defiled with such follies.

M. HARDING.

St Augustine, whom ye allege wrongfully against the ceremonies of the catholic church, speaketh only of the cutting away of such manners and rites as be crept into some one particular country, neither contained in holy scriptures, nor established by councils of bishops, nor confirmed by custom of the whole church. But how prove you[23] *by that place that you*[23] *may pull down altars* and images, disallow the vow of poverty, Lent, oil? &c.[24] ... *St Augustine referreth the taking away of any custom or manner unto due authority, exhorting it to be done* ubi facultas tribuitur[25], *"where power is given to do it." Neither else may it be done lawfully at all,* &c. ... *Ye think we have many ridiculous and fond things in our ceremonies. If we had,* [a] *as indeed we have not, would ye laugh at them, as Cham did at the nakedness of his father Noe? &c. ... Laugh on, ye cursed Chananees; but we will* [b] *shear our head with Paul, &c. ...*

[a] Untruth. For St Augustine, speaking of his time, saith: *Tam multis præsumptionibus ita plena sunt omnia, &c.*

[b] Then be ye circumcised, as Paul was. For this was only a Jewish ceremony.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This matter had been over cold, had not M. Harding a little inflamed his choler in the end, and cried out upon his "cursed Chananees." His altars, his images, his vows, his Lents, and his oils, be answered sufficiently otherwheres. St Augustine's words concerning this matter are pregnant and plain: *Hoc nimis doleo, quia multa quæ in divinis libris saluberrime præcepta sunt, minus curantur; et tam multis præsumptionibus sic plena sunt omnia, &c.*[26]: "This thing grieveth me, that so

August. Epist. 119.

[11 That Augustine, Conf.]

[12 See below, notes 25, 26, and page 570, notes 1, 9.]

[13 Cumbered, Conf.]

[14 Though, Conf.]

[15 See Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, can. 30.]

[16 Because, Conf.] [17 As Paul, Conf.]

[18 Or unprofitable, Conf.]

[19 Honest, Conf.]

[20 Discreet folks as there be an infinite number, Conf.]

[21 Where papistry is, Conf.]

[22 God any, Conf.]

[23 Ye, Conf.]

[24 Here Jewel compresses into a few words the substance of several sentences.]

[25 August. Op. Ad Inq. Jan. Lib. II. Epist. lv. cap. xix. 35. Tom. II. col. 142.]

[26 Id. ibid.; where *quod multa.*]

Ceremonies.

many things wholesomely commanded in the holy scriptures are not regarded; and all things are full of so many presumptions," &c. And again: *Quamvis ista contra fidem non sint, tamen ipsam religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei liberam esse voluit, servilibus oneribus* [*ita*] *premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum; qui, etsi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumptionibus subjiciuntur*[1]: "Albeit these things be not against the faith, yet with servile burdens they so oppress our very religion, which God of his mercy would have to be free under very few and most manifest sacraments of divine service, that the state of the Jews is much more tolerable (than the state of the church of Christ). For the Jews, notwithstanding they knew not of the[2] time of liberty, yet were they subject to the packs and burdens of the law (of God), and not unto the devices and presumptions of men."

August. in eadem Epist.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 52.

Of such devices and presumptions Chrysostom saith: *Non dicunt, Cur legem Mosis*[3], *sed, Cur traditionem seniorum transgrediuntur? Unde patet eos multa innovasse, cum Deus contra vetuisset ne quid adderent aut minuerent.... Sed illi, cum timerent ne principatum amitterent, ceu legum latores, ut majores esse viderentur, plurima innovarunt. Quæ res ad tantam pervenit nequitiam, ut præcepta sua custodirent magis quam præcepta Dei*[4]: "The Pharisees say not unto Christ, Wherefore do thy disciples break the law of Moses? but, 'Wherefore do they break the traditions of the elders?' Whereby it appeareth that they had altered many things, whereas God had commanded that they should neither add nor diminish; but, fearing lest they should lose their authority, as if they had been law-makers, to the end they might seem the greater, they altered much. Which thing (in the end) grew to such a wickedness, that they kept their own commandments more than the commandments of God."

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. viii. cap. i.

In like manner saith St Cyril: *Vellent suam doctrinam et paternas traditiones ab hominibus potius suscipi, atque in admiratione honoreque haberi. Quicquid igitur Christo credentium accesserit, sibi detractum putant*[5]: "The Pharisees would that men should receive and magnify their doctrine and the traditions of the fathers: therefore how many soever faithful men came[6] unto Christ, they thought so many were lost from them."

It is not true that ye say, Traditions may not be changed or abolished without the general consent of the whole church. For ceremonies, as they never grew together at one time in all places, so can they not lightly be abolished together at one time in all places. Socrates saith plainly: *Videtur mihi multa modo in his regionibus, modo in illis, consuetudinem obtinuisse*[7]: "It seemeth unto me that many things have been received by custom, now in one country, and now in another." Again he saith: *In universum certe, et in omnibus observationibus piarum precum, non possunt duæ ecclesiæ inveniri, quæ prorsus inter se consentiant*[8]: "Verily, to speak universally, in all manner of observations or forms of common prayer there cannot two churches be found that agree thoroughly between themselves." St Augustine saith plainly: *Omnia... talia, &c. ubi facultas tribuitur, sine omni dubitatione resecanda existimo*[9]: "All such things, in my judgment, ought to be cut off as soon as just occasion or power is given, without any manner of doubting." So saith pope Stephen: *Si nonnulli ex prædecessoribus et majoribus nostris fecerunt aliqua, quæ illo tempore potuerunt esse sine culpa, et postea vertuntur in errorem et superstitionem, sine tarditate aliqua et cum magna auctoritate a posteris destruantur*[10]: If sundry of our predecessors or elders have done certain things which at that time might well be done without hurt, and afterward are turned

Socrat. Lib. v. cap. xxii. Ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται ὅτι...πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας συνήθειαν ἔλαβεν. Socrates, eodem loco.

August. Epist. 119.

Dist. 63. Quia sancta.

[1 Quamvis...neque hoc inveniri possit, quomodo contra fidem sint: ipsam tamen &c. esse liberam &c. qui etiamsi &c. agnoverunt &c.—Id. ibid.]

[2 Not the, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Mosi, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. li. Tom. VII. p. 520.]

[5 Comm. Cyril. adject. Lib. VIII. cap. i. in Op. Insig. Cyril. Alex. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. fol. 52. 2. This passage is from one of the books added by Clichtoveus.]

[6 Faithful came, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 232.]

[8 Id. ibid. p. 236.]

[9 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Inq. Jan. Lib. II. Epist. lv. cap. xix. 35. Tom. II. col. 142; where *sine ulla dubitatione.*]

[10 Steph. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxiii. can. 28. col. 327; where *nonnullis.*]

into error and superstition, without any staggering and with great authority let them be destroyed and abolished by the successors." And pope Damasus saith: *Quod ratione caret, extirpare necesse est*[11]: "Whatsoever wanteth reason must of necessity be rooted out[12]." Ceremonies. Dist. 68. Chorepiscopi.

We laugh not, as ye say, M. Harding, at the nakedness of our father[13]. Our Father is in heaven, the Father of light, the God of glory; and in him there is no nakedness. We laugh not at any of these things; but we say with St Augustine, as it is alleged before: *Hoc nimis doleo, &c.*[14]: "This thing very much grieveth me, that so many things wholesomely commanded in the holy scriptures are not regarded; and that all things are full of so many presumptions;" and that, as St Chrysostom saith, "these things are called upon and more regarded than the laws and commandments of our Father[15]." Our Father saith of you and of your fellows: *Volunt facere, ut obliviscatur populus meus nominis mei propter somnia sua*: "They will cause that my people shall forget my name for love of their dreams." Our Father saith: "Two evils have my people done: they have forsaken me, the fountain of the water of life, and they have ripped up to themselves broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Our Father saith: "What is chaff unto the corn?" "Who hath required these things at your hands?" To be short, hereof Christ himself saith thus: "Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be plucked up by the roots." August. Epist. 119. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 52. Jer. xxiii. Jer. ii. Jer. xxiii. Isai. i. Matt. xv.

The Apology, Chap. xviii. Division 1.

We make our prayers in that tongue which all our people, as meet is, may understand, to the end they may (as St Paul[16] counselleth us) take common commodity by common prayer, even as all the holy fathers and catholic bishops, both in the old and new testament, did use to pray themselves, and taught the people to pray too; lest, as St Augustine[17] saith, "like parrots and ousels we should seem to speak that we understand not[18]." [19]Neither have we any other mediator and intercessor, by whom we may have access to God the Father, but only Jesus[20] Christ, in whose only name all things are obtained at his Father's hand. But it is a shameful part, and full of infidelity, that we see everywhere used in the churches of our adversaries, not only in that they will have innumerable sorts of mediators, and that utterly without the authority of God's word; so that, as Jeremy saith, the saints be now "as many in number, or rather above the number of the cities;" and poor men cannot tell to which saint it were best to turn them first; and, though there be so many as they cannot be told, yet every one of them hath his peculiar[21] duty and office assigned unto him by[22] these folks, what thing they ought to ask, what to give, and what to bring to pass—but, besides this also, in that they do not only wickedly, but also shamefully[23] call upon the blessed virgin, Christ's mother, to have her remember that she is the[24] mother, and to command her Son, and to use a mother's authority over him[25]. Jer. cap. ii. et xi.

[11 Damas. Papa in eod. ibid. Dist. lxviii. can. 5. col. 345; where *extirpari*.]

[12 This sentence with the reference is not in 1567.]

[13 *M. Harding* follows *our Father*, 1567.]

[14 August. Op. Ad Inq. Jan. Lib. II. Epist. lv. cap. xix. 35. Tom. II. col. 142. See before, page 569, note 26.]

[15 Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. li. Tom. VII. p. 520. See before, page 570.]

[16 As Paul, Conf.]

[17 As Augustine, Conf.]

[18 August. Op. In Psalm. xviii. Enarr. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 81. See Vol. I. page 8, note 5.]

[19 Harding here interposes a sentence to refer for reply to his Answer to Jewel's challenge, art. iv. See Vol. I. pages 282, 3.]

[20 Father than Jesu, Conf.]

[21 Hath peculiar, Conf.]

[22 Of, Conf.]

[23 Shamelessly, Conf.]

[24 A, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[25 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. Coron. B. Mariæ Virg. Tom. VI. p. 466. See Vol. II. pages 899, 900, 1083.]

M. HARDING.

We have but only one Mediator to salvation, Jesus Christ, by whose merits God is reconciled unto us. But, where ye say that besides the same one Mediator ye have none other that [a]*may pray or make intercession for you, that point of false belief ye may keep to*[1] *yourselves. We had rather hold with* [b]*St Paul, who, as he is prayed for of all*[2] *christian men, so he doubted not to say to the Corinthians, that he hoped to escape danger,* adjuvantibus vobis in oratione pro nobis, *"by the help of you in prayer for us." If one good man may help another in this life by prayer, whiles he hath yet somewhat of his own to be careful for; much more the saints, which are dissolved and reign with Christ, can help us with their perfect*[3] *prayer. Ye can tell (I trow) that St Hierome made this argument within little of twelve hundred years past. Neither make we them gods, as ye would seem to say by the place which, being spoken by the prophet Jeremy of very idols, ye apply to the friends of Christ, whom David saith to be unto him most honourable, and their dominion to be most strong. There is no cause why ye should wonder if divers cities do gladly acknowledge some one holy angel, apostle, martyr, or confessor, as their chief patron and friend. For if (as it is written) Michael the archangel was once prince of the Jews, and stood always for the children of God's people*[4]*, it is not to be doubted but that christian people have now also their* [c]*patrons. To this purpose* [d]*some apply that which is written:* Fulgebunt justi, et tanquam scintillæ in arundineto discurrent, judicabunt nationes, et dominabuntur populis; et regnabit Dominus illorum in perpetuum: *"The just men shall shine, and, like sparks of fire in dry kicks, shall run abroad: they shall judge nations and bear rule over peoples; and our Lord shall reign over them for ever. St Ambrose is of that opinion plainly, where he saith, writing upon St Luke:* Sicut angeli præsunt, ita et ii qui vitam meruerint angelorum[5]: *"As the angels be over nations, so they also which deserve the life of angels."*

There is but one Mediator of salvation, who is Christ only; but the saints his friends be mediators of intercession.

2 *Cor. i.*

[Ps. cxxxix. 17. Sept.]

Psal. cxxxviii.

Saints be peculiar patrons of certain places.

Wisd. iii.

In fine Lib. viii. Comm. in Luc.

Concerning the offices that ye say we appoint unto the saints, ye must understand that, as God hath shewed by any miracle what good works[6] *he hath wrought by this saint rather than by that, so the people desire to obtain of God, by the same saint's prayer, that thing wherein they may* [e]*conjecture that God hath given him most grace. And, because our lady the blessed virgin Mary hath more grace given to her than any other creature (except ye can name* [f]*a greater grace than to be the mother of God); therefore all christian nations are most bold to desire in prayer to be relieved by her intercession and mediation*[7] *of her prayer made to her Son Jesus Christ, who (we doubt not) heareth her most gladly, as no less intending to do good by her continually to us, than we are sure that by her he hath done for us those great benefits which continually we do receive, forsomuch as he took flesh of her. And, seeing that Christ is "the first-begotten among many brothers," we, that are called into one heritage with him and by him, may take heart to account Christ's mother for our mother, specially whereas he said to*[8] *John his disciple, and in him to all the children of grace, "Behold thy mother."*

Intercession of the blessed virgin Mary.

Rom. viii.

Mary mother to all that love Christ.

John xix.

If now any spiritual man, such as St Bernard was, deeply considering the great honour and dignity of Christ's mother, do in excess of mind [g]*spiritually sport and dally (as it were) with her, bidding her to remember that she is a mother, and that thereby she hath a certain right to command her Son, and require in a most sweet manner that she use her right; is this either impiously or impudently spoken? Is not he rather most impious and impudent, that findeth fault therewith? If ever any of you had practised in con-*

Spiritual familiarity with the mother of God, in excess of mind and sovereign devotion.

[a] This is M. Harding's legerdemain. For we speak only of such mediators as we ought to pray unto.

[b] As if St Paul had ever willed us to pray to saints.

[c] Untruth, proceeding of vain dotage.

[d] A grave authority, taken out of the very portuise.

[e] This is the certainty of M. Harding's prayer. It hangeth of a blind conjecture.

[f] It is a greater grace to be the child of God.

[g] Open blasphemy is spiritual dalliance. O when will M. Harding confess a fault?

[1 For, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2 He prayed for all, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[3 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[4 Children God's people, 1611.]
[5 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. VIII. cap. xix. v. 17. Tom. I. col. 1494; where *ita et hi qui.*]
[6 Work, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[7 And the mediation, Conf.]
[8 Unto, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

templation any of that sweetness which is in Canticis Canticorum, *ye should have found that there the spiritual soul is bolder with God her Creator and Spouse than St Bernard ever was with our lady, being but a creature, and a member of the same church with him.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye say, there is "one only Mediator of salvation," but there are many "mediators of intercession." And thus with this pretty simple distinction ye convey yourself away invisibly[9] in a cloud. But, to cut off quarrels, M. Harding, let us have that one only Mediator of salvation; and then afterward take to you your other mediators of intercession at your pleasure. Mediator of Intercession.

Howbeit, if Christ only be the Mediator of salvation, wherefore then do you thus call upon the blessed virgin, Christ's mother, *Salva omnes qui te glorificant*[10]? "Save thou all them that glorify thee?" Here you[11] intrude upon Christ's office, and make the holy virgin a mediator, not only of intercession, as you say[12], but also of salvation.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "A wrangler will never lack words, &c. When we say to the virgin, 'Save us,' we mean thus, Pray for us to God, that we may be saved." *The answer.* It appeareth well by you, M. Harding, that a wrangler will never lack shift of words. To desire salvation of any creature, and that for glorifying and praising of the same, it is nothing else but vain and childish blasphemy. We can desire no more of God himself. And yet by wrangling words it must be holpen. When ye say to the blessed virgin, "Save us," your meaning is this, as you say, "Pray for us to God, that we may be saved." Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 358. a. [Detect.]

First we tell you, as St Paul hath taught us: "There is one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus being man." Hereunto ye[13] make answer: "There are two mediators; the one of salvation, which only is Christ; the other of intercession or prayer, which (you say) may belong to the saints of God." Here I reply, and shew you by your own prayers, and by the practice of your church of Rome, that, contrary to your own distinction, you desire salvation of our lady, and so make her a mediator, not only of prayer, but also of salvation. Unto this you answer, that by these words, "Save us," ye mean nothing else but "Pray for us." Thus you can shift praying into saving, and saving again into praying, at your pleasure. All this notwithstanding, we must think you deal plainly, and want words, and are no wrangler. 1 Tim. ii. Mediator.

But, if you crave nothing of our lady but only her prayer, what shall we then do with *meritis et precibus suæ piæ matris?* Here are not only prayers, but also merits. Must we think that merit and prayer in your divinity is all one thing? What shall we do with these words, that were wont to ring in all your churches, *Monstra te esse matrem*[10]? "Shew thyself to be the mother, and let him know it?" That is to say, Command him: he is thy Son.

Howbeit, perhaps[14] you will likewise turn commandment into prayer; and thus, when you list, salvation is prayer, merit is prayer, and commandment is prayer. So easily an ill thing may be smoothed. And all this can you defend and save upright without wrangling. ☞

Wherefore say ye thus of Thomas Becket, of whose sainthood, for ought that I know, ye may well stand in doubt, *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos, Christe, scandere quo Thomas ascendit*[15]? "O Christ, make us to ascend unto heaven, whither Thomas is ascended, even by the blood of Thomas that he shed for thy sake?" Here you seek, not only intercession, but also salvation in the blood of Thomas. Tu per Thomæ.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "This is an objection for a cobbler, as the other was, and not for a divine, whose duty it were to depend of things, and not of words, &c. Now because we know it was a most gracious gift of God that he Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 358. b. 359. a. [Detect.]

[9 Invisible, 1567.]
[10 See before, page 571, note 25.]
[11 Ye, 1567.]
[12 1567 omits these three words.]
[13 You, 1570, 1609.]
[14 Howbeit here perhaps, 1570.]
[15 Portifor. seu Breviar. ad us. Eccles. Sarisb. Par. 1510. In Translat. S. Thom. Mart. vii. Jul. Lect. ix. fol. cc. 7. See Vol. II. page 1082, note 4.]

gave St Thomas grace to die for his honour, when we desire to be holpen by his blood, representing the memory of St Thomas unto Christ, &c. Your words be fair, M. Jewel, but your heart, unawares[1] to yourself, doth honour the idol Calvin more than Christ Jesus, &c. The trim strumpet of Calvin's setting out pleaseth you well. It is that foul and blind heart of yours that shall condemn you," &c. *The answer.* Alas, good christian reader, that ever man should thus wastefully bestow his words! I am afraid we see a member of him of whom Daniel saith: *Consurgit*[2] *rex impudens facie:* "There shall rise up a prince with an impudent face," that shall never be ashamed of any thing whatsoever he say or do. St Peter saith: "There is no other name or creature given to men under heaven, whereby we shall be saved, but only the name of Christ Jesus." And therefore the ancient father Origen saith: *Ipse solus est hostia pro peccatis; et ipse est hostia, Sancta sanctorum*[3]*:* "Christ only is the sacrifice for sins: he is the sacrifice, the Holy of holy[4]." Leo saith: *Nullius . . . insontis occisio propitiatio fuit mundi*[5]*:* "The death of no innocent was the sacrifice or redemption of the world." Yet here we are taught to seek our salvation in the blood of Thomas Becket, of whose virtue and innocency we may well stand in doubt. Notwithstanding ye[6] tell us "this was an objection for a cobbler."

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Dan. viii. Antichrist.

Acts iv.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 4. et 5.

Leo, Epist. 81.

"But it was a most gracious gift of God," you say, "that he gave this Thomas grace to die for his honour." For his honour, say you? Now for shame, M. Harding, advise yourself better what you write: perhaps some man of simplicity will believe you. The very true cause of Thomas Becket's death was his ambition, and vanity, and wilful maintenance of manifest wickedness in the clergy, to the great dishonour of God's holy name, as by the writers of that time it doth well appear. For proof whereof it may please you to read the story of Gulielmus Neubrigensis, that lived in the same age.

It is written, that this Thomas Becket's father was a Jew, and a beer-brewer of London, and that from his house began a fire in the time of king Stephen, that consumed all the one side of London, from the bridge where he dwelt unto Temple Bar. Neubrigensis saith that king Henry the second "took him into his special favour, and, being only the archdeacon of Canterbury, made him lord chancellor of his realm, and so entreated him with all kind of honour, that he seemed to reign as well as the king; and that afterward he promoted him to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, and sent him to the council of Tours, then holden in France. Being there, as upon some remorse of conscience, he misliked and secretly refused the king's gift, and resigned his archbishoprick unto the pope, and received it again at his hands, and so secretly and in covert betrayed his prince's right unto a stranger. At his return there grew a great question within this realm touching the prerogative of the clergy. The judges complained that there were many robberies, and rapes, and murders, to the number of one hundred, then presently committed within the realm by ecclesiastical persons; and therefore made request in parliament that there might be some good consideration had of it, for that they themselves, being temporal ministers, had neither law nor jurisdiction to deal against them. As for the bishops (saith Neubrigensis), whose part it was to see such disorders corrected of so many thousand wicked priests, they never disgraded nor punished so much as one. For they (saith he), seeking more carefully how to maintain the dignity and liberties of their clergy than the correction of their manners, think they do good service to God and his church, if they maintain wicked priests against the good order of commonweals; whereby (saith he) it cometh to pass that the priests, that should shine as stars in the heavens, having free liberty to do what they list, care neither for God nor for man. For redress hereof the king was earnestly minded to take order by his parliament. All the rest of the bishops, not one excepted, agreed thereunto, and confirmed the same under their seals: only Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, stood stiff and stout, and would not yield. Afterward,

Gul. Neubr. Lib. ii. cap. xvi.

Centum homicidia intra fines Angliæ, a clericis... commissa.

Tot millia talium.

Usque ad unum.

[1] Unwares, 1570.]
[2] Consurget, 1570.]
[3] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. 3. Tom. II. p. 207. Conf. Hom. iv. 8. p. 203.]
[4] Holy of the holy, 1570, 1609.]
[5] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Palæst. Episc. Epist. lxxxiii. 4. col. 441.]
[6] You, 1570, 1609.]

when he saw the king's displeasure grew against him, in the morning before he should come to make his answer, he caused the mass of St Stephen's office solemnly to be sung before him, with this preface: *Sederunt principes, &c.*: 'The kings sat down to speak against me, and the wicked sought to persecute me.' This done, he took his silver cross in his hand, and got him boldly to the court. But, perceiving that the king was much moved and misliked his stoutness, the next night following he fled over into France, and afterward sought aid of the pope. At the last, being reconciled unto his prince, and returning again into England, he brought with him the pope's suspension, and thereby suspended all the bishops of this realm, and would never agree to release them: by mean whereof the whole country being sore disordered, shortly after ensued his death." This is the true story of Thomas Becket. So stoutly he maintained the robberies, the rapes, the murders, and open wickedness of his clergy, and would not suffer any law to pass against them. Neubrigensis saith: "This stoutness in him I can in no wise commend. He boiled," saith he, "with zeal of justice; but whether it were according to knowledge or no, God only knoweth[7]." All this notwithstanding, M. Harding, you tell us that "God gave him a special grace to die for his honour, and that by his blood we shall be holpen and saved, and come to heaven." Put hereto what sense ye will, verily, to use your own words, this divinity is much fitter for a cobbler than for a grave man of your profession.

Mediator of Intercession.

Wherefore doth St Ambrose say (if it were St Ambrose that wrote the book), *Reddere debemus sanctis honorificentiam, qui nobis salutem profusione sui sanguinis pepererunt; qui tam sacra hostia pro nostra propitiatione Domino sunt oblati*[8]? "We must yield honour unto the saints, which have procured salvation for us by the shedding of their blood; which also were offered up unto the Lord so holy a sacrifice for our salvation?" If we have salvation in the blood of saints, then is not Christ the "only Mediator of our salvation."

Ambros. in Serm. 6. De S. Marg.

He is no indifferent umpire, that first divideth offices equally between two, and afterward allotteth both offices to one alone.

Notwithstanding, the end and office, as well of intercession as also of salvation, is to reconcile us unto God, and to procure us mercy. But this is Christ's only office: he reconcileth us unto God: he presenteth us unto the throne of grace. And therefore, as St Paul saith, "he evermore maketh intercession for us." And for that cause also he saith: *Unus est Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus*: "There is one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus being man."

Rom. viii. 1 Tim. ii.

"St Paul (you say)[9] requireth the people to make intercession and to pray for him." This is true; and God hath commanded that all the faithful should pray one for another: but St Paul never required the people to pray to saints. St Augustine saith: *Paulus non facit se mediatorem inter populum et Deum; sed rogat ut pro se orent invicem omnia membra corporis Christi*[10]: "Paul maketh not himself a mediator between God and the people; but requireth that they pray one[11] for another, being all the members of the body of Christ." Again he saith of St John: *Si Johannes ita diceret, Hoc scripsi vobis, ut non peccetis; et, si quis peccaverit, mediatorem me habetis apud Deum, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, sicut Parmenianus quodam loco mediatorem posuit episcopum inter populum et Deum, quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Christianorum? Quis sicut apostolum Christi, et non sicut antichristum intueretur*[12]? "If St John would say, 'This have I written unto you that ye sin not; and, if ye sin, ye have me your mediator before God, and I will entreat for your sins,' as Parmenian (the heretic) in a certain place made the bishop a mediator between God and the people; what good and faithful

August. contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

August. in eod. Lib.

[7 Gul. Nevbrig. Rer. Anglic. Libr. Quinque. Antv. 1567. Lib. II. capp. xvi. xxv. pp. 136-41, 162, &c. It has not been thought necessary to print the original of this long citation. It is rendered faithfully by Jewel, though with some abridgement. The statements however of the author are not, perhaps, quite accurate.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De neglect. solem. apost. Petr. et Paul. Serm. liv. 5. Tom. II. Append. col. 465; where *debemus reddere illis*, and *qui tamquam sacrati*. This sermon is not genuine.]

[9 1567 omits *you say*.]

[10 ...nec meditatorem se facit inter &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. II. cap. viii. 16. Tom. IX. cols. 34, 5.]

[11 Pray all one, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Si vero ita diceret, Hæc scripsi &c. habetis ad Patrem &c.—Id. ibid. 15. col. 34.]

christian man could abide him? Who would look upon him as the apostle of Christ, and not rather think him to be antichrist?"

Here, M. Harding, your seely distinction of intercession and salvation cannot save you. For Parmenian never thought the bishop was a mediator of salvation: and yet St Augustine saith, "If St John would have said so much of himself, he had not been the apostle of Christ, but rather should have been judged and taken for antichrist."

Ye think the words of the prophet Hieremy, spoken of idols and false gods, may not justly be applied to the saints of God. Indeed, of the saints' part, it were great blasphemy to call them idols; for they see God face to face, and evermore be with God in glory: but, in respect of your horrible abuses and vain fantasies, the words of the prophet be rightly applied. For you in your imagination of the saints of God have made idols, and have so multiplied and increased the same, that the number of them hath far passed the number of all your towns and cities. And therefore the ancient father Epiphanius applieth the like words of the same prophet Hieremy unto the blessed virgin Mary, being then idolatrously abused by the heretics called *Collyridiani*, even as the same blessed virgin and other saints are by you abused now. Thus he writeth: *Ne quis comedat de errore, qui est propter S. Mariam. Tametsi enim pulchrum sit lignum, tamen non est ad cibum. Etsi pulcherrima est Maria, et sancta, et honorata; at non ad adorationem. Hæ vero mulieres, colentes Mariam, rursus renovant Fortunæ mixturam, et præparant mensam diabolo, non Deo; quemadmodum scriptum est, Pascuntur cibo impietatis; et rursus, Et fœminæ terunt pollinem, et filii colligunt ligna, ut faciant placentas oleo subactas reginæ cœli. Compescantur a Hieremia tales mulieres; et ne turbent orbem terrarum: ne dicant, Honoramus reginam cœli*[1]: "Let no man eat of this error touching St Mary. For, though the tree be fair, yet is not this fruit to be eaten. Although Mary be beautiful, and holy, and honourable, yet is she not to be adored. But these women, worshipping St Mary, renew again the sacrifice of wine mingled in the honour of the goddess Fortuna, and prepare a table for the devil, and not for God: as it is written in the scriptures, 'They are fed with the meat of wickedness;' and again, 'Their women boult flour, and their children gather sticks, to make fine cakes in the honour of the queen of heaven.' Therefore let such women be rebuked by the prophet Hieremy, and let them no more trouble the world. And let them not say, 'We worship the queen of heaven'."

Epiph. Lib. iii. Hær. 79.

Ἀνακαινίζουσι τῇ τύχῃ τὸ κέρασμα.

Here we see the words that were spoken of the heathenish idols are applied by Epiphanius unto the mother of Christ, not to deface the[2] blessed virgin, but to declare the fond errors of those heretics.

Distinct Offices.

As for the distribution of offices and several duties, limited and appointed to each saint in his degree, it shall be best, for modesty's sake, to say nothing. St Augustine, speaking of the heathens, from whom this part of your divinity, M. Harding, was first derived, saith thus: [*Dicebat*], *ita esse utilem cognitionem deorum, si sciatur quam quisque deus vim ... aut potestatem habeat cujusque rei. Ex eo enim poterimus, inquit, scire, quem cujusque* [*rei*] *causa deum advocare atque invocare debeamus; ne faciamus ut mimi solent, et optemus a Libero aquam, a Lymphis vinum*[3]: "Varro said, the knowledge of the gods is profitable, if a man understand what power and authority each god hath in every thing. For so, saith he, we may know whom to call upon, and whom to pray unto; lest happily we do, as certain *mimi* are wont to do, that is to say, lest of Bacchus, the god of wine, we beg water; or of Lymphæ, the goddess[4] of water, we beg wine."

August de Civ. Lib. iv. cap. xxii.

These things, having their beginning among the heathens, have sithence been brought even into the church of God, and all the saints in heaven have been appointed, each one in order, to his several office; lest any one should intrude into another's room. Antoninus[5] saith, in his time, where St Paul and friar Domi-

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[1 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxix. 7, 8. Tom. I. p. 1065; where τῇ στρατείᾳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.]

[2 That, 1567.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. IV. cap. xxii. Tom. VII. col. 103; where *ac potestatem cujusque rei habeat.*]

[4 Goddesses, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Antonius, 1570.]

nic were painted together, the manner was, under the image of St Paul to write these words, *Per hunc itur ad Christum*, "We may come to Christ by this saint;" but under the image of friar Dominic they wrote thus, *Sed magis per istum*, "Yet much rather by this saint." Whereby was meant that friar Dominic's office and authority before God was somewhat better and of more credit than[6] St Paul's.

Whereas ye teach the people thus to pray unto the blessed virgin, *Monstra te esse matrem*, "Command thy Son: use thy motherly authority over him: let him know thee to be his mother;" this, you say, "is no blasphemy, but a spiritual dallying." Now verily, M. Harding, this must needs be a blessed kind of divinity, that can turn prayer into dalliance.

One of your beauperes of Lovain, as a man carrying his face in his hand, saith boldly, these words were never used in your church. And therefore he saith with good courage: *Interim a bonis istis viris quæro, Cur non nominant illas ecclesias, quæ virginem matrem tam impudenter appellant? Cur eas, inquam, non nominant*[7]? "In the mean season (saith he) this question I demand of these honest men, Why name they not those churches which so impudently call upon that virgin Christ's mother? I say, why do they not name them?" Your modesty herein, M. Harding, is more praise-worthy. You are contented to grant the fact, and pleasantly to excuse it by a spiritual dallying. Copus, Dial. 3. p. 340.

But ye may tell your said fellow, that this kind of prayer was universally used throughout all your whole church of Rome; that men, women, and children, learned and unlearned, were taught and forced thus to pray: "Thou art the queen of heaven;" "Thou art the lady of angels;" "Command thy Son;" "Shew thyself[8] to be the mother." Ye may tell him that cardinal Bembus, sometime the pope's secretary, calleth the same blessed virgin *dominam et deam nostram*[9], "our lady and goddess." Tell him that Ambrosius Catharinus, in your late chapter at Trident, representing, as you say, your whole catholic church, calleth the same blessed virgin God's fellow by these words, *Fidelissima* [*ejus*] *socia*[10], "God's most faithful fellow." Bemb. in Epist ad Carol. V. Concil. Trid. Sess. 2.

And therefore perhaps Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome, saith: *Hoc cedit ad laudem Dei et virginis Mariæ matris, quod ipsa sub principatu auctoris mortis nullo unquam tempore fuit.... Non indiguit virgo liberatore qui ipsam absolveret*[11] *a sententia in Adam et in posteros... lata... Maria non est deleta de libro mortis,... quia nunquam in eo scripta fuit*[12]: "This thing turneth to the praise of God and of the[13] virgin Mary the mother, that she was never at any time under the princehood of the author of death. That virgin needed no deliverer that should redeem her from the sentence pronounced against Adam and his posterity. Mary was never rased out of the book of death; for she was never written in it." Here we are taught that Mary the virgin is our lady and goddess, that she is God's fellow, and that she had no need to be saved by the death of Christ. What is blasphemy, if this be none? Yet this is the divinity of the clergy of Rome[14]. Nic. Cusan. Excitat. Lib. viii. Hoc cedit.

Ye may further tell him, that in your council of Oxford Christ's name is quite forgotten and left out, and our lady's name put in place. For thus it beginneth: *Auctoritate Dei Patris, et beatæ virginis, et omnium sanctorum, &c.*[15]: "By the authority of God the Father, and of the blessed virgin, and of all saints." Notwithstanding, ye may well answer as before, that all this was no manner blasphemy against God, but only a pretty spiritual dalliance; even such dalliance, I trow, as St Paul meaneth by these words: *Sedit populus ad manducandum et bibendum, et surrexerunt ad ludendum*: "The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up again to play or dally;" that is to say, to commit idolatry. Concil. Oxon. 1 Cor. x.

[6 Better than, 1567.]

[7 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. III. cap. viii. p. 340.]

[8 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[9 The editor has not found this expression in any epistle of Bembus to Charles V.; but it appears elsewhere:...ne tum nos, tum etiam Deam ipsam inani lignorum inutilium donatione lusisse videamini.—P. Bemb. Epist. Leon. X. nom. script. Col. Agrip. 1584. Ad Recan. Lib. VIII. Epist. xvii. p. 189.]

[10 Ambros. Catharin. Polit. Orat. in sec. Sess. Synod. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1007.]

[11 Absolverent, 1570.]

[12 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Excitat. Lib. VIII. Tom. II. p. 616; where *non est Maria*.]

[13 And the, 1570.]

[14 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[15 Const. in Concil. Oxon. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1004.]

Mother of God. Child of God.

You say: "Our lady the blessed virgin hath more grace given her than any other creature, except ye name[1] a greater grace (say you) than to be the mother of God." Verily, M. Harding, to be the child of God it is a great deal greater grace than to be the mother of God. St Augustine saith: *Beatior ergo Maria [fuit] percipiendo fidem Christi, quam concipiendo carnem Christi... Materna propinquitas nihil Mariæ profuisset, nisi felicius Christum corde quam carne gestasset*[2]: "Mary was more blessed (or fuller of grace) in that she received the faith of Christ than in that she conceived the flesh of Christ. Motherly kindred could have done Mary no good, unless she had borne Christ more blessedly in her heart than she bare him in her flesh." And again he saith: *Mater mea, quam appellastis felicem, inde felix est, quia verbum Dei custodivit; non quia in illa Verbum caro factum est*[3]: "My mother, whom ye have called blessed, therefore is blessed, because she hath kept the word of God; not because the Word in her was made flesh."

August. de Sanct. Virg. cap. iii.

August. in Johan. Tract. 10.

Therefore saith Epiphanius: *Christus dixit, Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Nondum venit hora mea. Quo non putarent*[4] *aliqui magis eximiam esse sanctam virginem, mulierem eam appellavit; veluti prophetans quæ essent futura in terra sectarum et hæreseωn genera; ut ne aliqui, nimium admirati sanctam, in hanc hæresim ejusque deliramenta dilabantur. Est enim ludibrium tota res, et anicularum fabula, et, ut ita dicam, tota hæresis tractatio*[5]: "Christ said unto his mother, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? My hour is not yet come.' Lest any man should think our lady was of greater excellency, he called her woman, as it were prophesying of the kinds and sects of heresies that were to come into[6] the world; lest any man, having too great opinion of that holy saint, should fall into this heresy, and into the dotage of the same. For indeed the whole matter is but a mockery and an old wives' tale, and, soothly to say, nothing else but the handling of an heresy." Origen hereof saith: *Si mensuram transcenderit caritatis, et qui diligit et qui diligitur in peccato est*[7]: "If love pass[8] the measure of charity, as well he that loveth as also he that is loved is in sin."

Epiph. Lib. iii. Hær. 79. contr. Collyr.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 25.

But, touching the matter itself, St Ambrose saith: *Ideo ad reges itur per tribunos et comites, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem... nihil latet (omnium enim merita novit), promerendum, suffragatore non est opus, sed mente devota. Ubicunque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi*[9]: "Therefore we are brought unto the presence of kings by lords and officers, because the king is a man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit his realm. But to obtain God's favour, from whom nothing is secret, as knowing what every man is meet to have, we need no spokesman, but a devout mind. For wheresoever such a one speaketh unto God, God will answer him."

Ambros. ad Rom. cap. i.

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We say also, that every person is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin; that nobody is able truly to say his "heart is clean;" that the most righteous person is but an "unprofitable servant;" that the law of God is perfect[10], and requireth of us perfect[10] and full obedience; that we are able by no means to fulfil that law in this worldly life; that there is no one mortal creature which can be justified by his own deserts in God's sight; and therefore that our only succour and refuge is to fly to the

[1 Ye can name, 1567.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Sanct. Virg. cap. iii. 3. Tom. VI. col. 342.]

[3 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. ii. Tractat. x. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 369; where *custodit.*]

[4 Putarunt, 1570.]

[5 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxix. 4, 5. Tom. I. pp. 1061, 2.]

[6 In, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Luc. Hom. xxv. Tom. III. p. 962; where *si mensuram caritatis modumque transcenderit*, and *peccato erunt.*]

[8 Passeth, 1570.]

[9 ...ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur; quia &c. non opus est &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i. v. 22. Tom. II. Append. col. 33.]

[10 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

mercy of our Father by Jesu Christ, and assuredly to persuade our minds that he is the obtainer of forgiveness for our sins; and that by his blood all our spots of sin be washed clean; that he hath pacified and set at one all things by the blood of his cross; that he by the same one only sacrifice, which he once offered upon the cross, hath brought to effect and fulfilled all[11] things, and that for that cause he said, when he gave up the ghost, "It is finished;" as though he would signify that the price and ransom was now full paid for the sin of mankind[12]. If there be any that think this sacrifice not sufficient, let them go in God's name and seek a better[13]. We verily, because we know this to be the only sacrifice, are well content with it alone, and look for none other; and, forasmuch as it was to be offered but once, we command it not to be renewed again; and, because it was full and perfect[10] in all points and parts, we do not ordain in place thereof any continual succession of offerings.

M. HARDING.

... Ye ... make a sophistical argument when ye teach, because the law of God requireth of us full obedience, that therefore it cannot be satisfied in this life by any means. For, when ye say it requireth of us full obedience, if ye mean [a]such full obedience as is required only in this life, then conclude ye falsely that we can by no means satisfy it. But if ye mean such full obedience [a]as is only performed in heaven, then ye conclude well that we in this life cannot fulfil such perfection as is required in heaven. But then have ye said nothing to the purpose. For we know what mark ye shoot at, by your doctrine uttered in other places. Your meaning is [b]that no man in this life is able by the grace of God to fulfil the commandments.... We believe God commandeth us nothing impossible to us. [c]Otherwise how could he justly punish for not doing that commandment which by no means we are[15] able to fulfil? We are sure that God punisheth no[16] man unjustly; for non est apud Dominum Deum nostrum iniquitas, *"there is no iniquity in our Lord God." ...*

Moses, speaking of the fulfilling of the commandments of God, which also St Paul repeateth, saith that they are "not above us in heaven, neither far from us beyond the sea; but hard by thee[17] (saith he) is the[18] word, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it." And Christ saith: Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve: [d]*"My yoke is sweet, and my burden light;" and St John, "His commandments be not heavy." ... He then that saith we can by no means fulfil the law of God, maketh [e]God unjust and evil, or impotent and not able to give so much grace as may help to fulfil his law. Let the discreet reader judge what blasphemy your words contain. ... Belie us no more hereafter. This is our doctrine, better founded in the word of God, and in the tradition of the apostles, and in the custom of the whole church, than that ye shall ever be able to overthrow it. Blaspheme and bark against it ye may; overcome it ye[20] cannot.*

God commandeth not that which is impossible to a man in grace.

Deut. xxx.

Rom. x.

Matt. xi.

1 John v.

[a] A vain folly. For God's law was written for men in earth, not for angels in heaven.

[b] A horrible heresy. St Augustine saith: [*Deus*] *jubet aliqua quæ non possumus* [*facere*][14].

[c] A fond question. For God punisheth infants for their original sin; yet are they by no means able to avoid it.

[d] The cause hereof is God's mercy. St Augustine saith: *Omnia ...mandata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non factum est ignoscitur*[19].

[e] Untruth. For we make not God unjust, but we confess ourselves to be sinners.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All other things here by you touched, M. Harding, I will pass over, thinking it sufficient to note a few words of the possibility and performance of the law; and so much the more for that ye seem therein in some part to renew the Pelagian heretics' old condemned error.

As touching that full and perfect[21] obedience that is required of us by the

[11] The, Conf.]

[12] Of all mankind, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[13] Seek another that is better, Conf.]

[14] August. Op. Lib. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. xvi. 32. Tom. X. col. 734.]

[15] Were, Conf. and Def. 1567; were are, 1570.]

[16] Punisheth us no, Conf.]

[17] Hardly thee, Conf.]

[18] His, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[19] Id. Retract. Lib. I. cap. xix. 3. Tom. I. col. 29; where *fit* for *factum est*.]

[20] Overcome ye, Conf.]

[21] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

Possibility of the Law.

law, ye answer, there are sundry sorts of perfection; namely, that there is perfection in children, perfection in men, perfection in angels, and perfection in God. And further ye say that "in this life we cannot fulfil such perfection as is required of the angels of God in heaven." And this answer ye make touching the obedience and performing of the law; as if ye would say, the law of God was given to angels, and is to be performed not in the earth but only in heaven; and as if God had said to those blessed spirits, "Thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not commit adultery[1]: thou shalt not steal[2]: thou shalt not covet," &c. In your sundry perfections of children, men, angels, and God, I have no skill. The Apology meant only of that perfection that is required in man. Howbeit, in every kind they say, *Perfectum est, cui nihil deest;* "That thing is perfect[3] that is full and absolute, and wanteth nothing."

Deut. vi. Matt. xxii. Deut. xvii. Deut. xxvii. Gal. iii. James ii. Matt. v.

And here, lest ye should deceive yourself by wrong measure, God himself hath shewed you what perfection he requireth in man[4]. Thus he saith: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with[5] all thy power." "Thou shalt[6] not turn neither to the right hand nor the[7] left." "Accursed is he that standeth not in every thing that is written in the law, to perform the same." And St James saith: "Whoso offendeth in one commandment is guilty of all." And Christ saith: "Be ye perfect[3] (not measuring yourselves by your own ability, but) as your Father is perfect[3], which is in heaven." And yet hereby he meaneth not the perfection that is in God and his angels, but only that perfection that is required in man.

St Hierome saith, the Pelagian heretics in old times used the same shifts that you use now. For, whereas the catholic learned fathers said, "No man is perfect[3] and void of sin," they answered even[8] then even in such sort as you do now: No man is perfect[3] in such degree of perfection as God is perfect[3]. St Hierome's words be these: *Aiunt . . . ad comparationem Dei nullum esse perfectum; quasi scriptura hoc dixerit*[9]*:* "They say (even as you, M. Harding, say) that, in comparison of God, no man is perfect[3]; as though this were the saying[10] of the scriptures." And therefore he saith unto them: *Nunquid præcepit mihi Deus, ut essem quod Deus est? ut nihil inter me esset et Dominum Creatorem? ut major essem angelorum fastigio? ut haberem quod angeli non habent*[11]*?* "I beseech you, hath God commanded me that I should be the same that God is? That there should be no difference (in perfection) between me and my Lord the Creator? That I should be above the highness of angels? Or that I should have that the angels have not?" It was in vain therefore, M. Harding, thus to borrow the Pelagians' weapons, and to make matter of this perfection: for we speak not of angels, but only of men.

Hieron. ad Ctesiph. contr. Pelag.

Further, to entreat of the perfect[3] fulfilling and accomplishing of the law, I mean so far as the law requireth, the Pelagian heretics herein also said even as you say, and none otherwise. St Augustine thereof reporteth thus: *Magnum aliquid Pelagiani se scire putant, quando dicunt, Non juberet Deus, quod sciret ab homine non posse fieri. Quis hoc nesciat? Sed ideo jubet aliqua quæ non possumus, ut noverimus quid ab ipso petere debeamus*[12]*:* "The Pelagians think themselves cunning men when they say, God would not command that thing that he knoweth a man is not able to do. And who is there that knoweth not this? But therefore God commanded[13] us to do some things that we are not able to do, that we may understand what[14] we ought to crave of him."

August. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. xvi.

St Hierome saith unto one of the same Pelagians: *Facilia esse dicis Dei mandata; et tamen nullum proferre potes, qui universa compleverit*[15]*:* "Ye say God's

Hieron. ad Ctesiph. contr. Pelag.

[1 Advoutry, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Shalt steal, 1570.]

[3 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[4 These last two words are not in 1567; in a man, 1570.]

[5 Soul with, 1567.]

[6 Ye shall, 1567.]

[7 Nor to the, 1567, 1570.]

[8 *Even* does not appear, 1567.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. Epist. xliii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 475.]

[10 Sayings, 1611.]

[11 Ibid. col. 479.]

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. xvi. 32. Tom. X. col. 734; where *non posse ab homine*, and *quid ab illo*.]

[13 Commandeth, 1567.]

[14 That, 1570.]

[15 Hieron. Op. Ad Ctesiph. Epist. xliii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 479; where *facilia dicis Dei esse*.]

commandments be easy; and yet ye are able to shew us no man that ever fulfilled them altogether."

Unperfect[16] Perfection.

Therefore again he saith unto them: *Noli ponere in cœlum os tuum, ut per esse et esse posse stultorum auribus illudas. Quis enim tibi concedet*[17], *posse hominem facere, quod nullus unquam hominum potuerit*[18]? "Set not thy face against heaven to mock fools' ears with these words, 'be' and 'can be.' For who will grant you that a man can do that thing that no man ever was able to do?" Hieron. contr. Pelag. Lib. i.

Likewise St Augustine saith: *Dixi fieri posse, ut sit homo sine peccato, si voluntas ei non desit, ope divina adjuvante; sed tamen præter unum, in quo omnes vivificabuntur, neminem [vel] fuisse vel fore, in quo hic vivente esset ista perfectio*[19]: "I said, it is possible that a man may be without sin if he want not will, the power of God assisting him; and yet I said that, besides only Christ, in whom all men shall be quickened to life, there was never man nor never shall be, who, being in this life, shall have this perfection." St Augustine saith: "No man can attain to this perfection;" and he speaketh of the perfection that is required not of angels but of men. August. de Spir. et Lit. cap. i.

Ye will say as the Pelagians did, Wherefore then doth Christ say, "Be ye perfect[3]?" Wherefore doth St Paul say, "As many of us as be perfect[3]?" &c. Hereto St Hierome answereth thus: *Quid ergo sapimus? Imo quid sapere debemus, qui perfecti non sumus? Imperfectos nos esse confiteri, et nondum comprehendisse, necdum accepisse. Hæc est hominis vera sapientia, imperfectum esse se nosse. Atque, ut ita loquar, cunctorum in carne justorum imperfecta perfectio est*[20]: "What then do we think, or what ought we to think, that be not perfect[3]? We ought to confess that we are unperfect[16], and that we have not yet gotten nor taken (that perfection) that is required. This is the true wisdom of a man, to know himself to be unperfect[16]. And, as I might say, the perfection of all just men living in the flesh is unperfect[16]." Matt. v. Phil. iii. Hieron. adv. Pelag. Lib. i.

Again he saith: *Justi appellantur, non quod omni vitio careant, sed quod majori parte virtutum commendentur*[21]: "They are called just men, not for that they be void of all manner sin, but for that they are furnished with the greater part of virtues." So likewise saith St Augustine: *Virtus, quæ nunc est in homine justo, hactenus perfecta nominatur, ut ad ejus perfectionem pertineat etiam ipsius imperfectionis et in veritate agnitio et in humilitate confessio*[22]: "The virtue that is now in a just man so far forth is called perfect[3], that it pertaineth to the perfection thereof both in truth to know, and in humility to confess, that it is unperfect[16]." Hieron. ad Ctesiph. August. ad Bonif. Lib. iii. cap. vii.

Again he saith: *Omnia ... mandata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non fit ignoscitur*[23]: "All the commandments of God are accounted to be done, when that thing that is not done is forgiven." To conclude, he saith: *Multum in hac vita ille profecit, qui quam longe sit a perfectione justitiæ proficiendo cognovit*[24]: "He hath much profited in this life, that by his profiting hath learned how far he is from the perfection of righteousness." August. Retract. Lib. i. cap. xix. August. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xxxv.

Yet nevertheless we may truly use St Hierome's words, uttered in the defence and right of this same cause: *Hæc dicentes, non adulamur vitiis, sed auctoritatem sequimur scripturarum, quod nullus homo sit absque peccato. Sed conclusit Deus omnia sub peccato, ut omnium misereatur*[25]: "Notwithstanding we say thus, yet we flatter not vices; but we follow the authority of the scriptures, that there is no man[26] without sin. But God hath shut up all things under sin, that he may have mercy of all." Again he saith: *Perspicuum est omnem hominem, ... quamvis ad perfectionem venerit, tamen indigere misericordia Dei; et plenam perfectionem ex* Hieron. ad Algas. Hieron. in Ezech. Lib. xiv. cap. xlvi.

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[16] Unperfite, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Concedit, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Id. Lib. I. Dial. adv. Pelag. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 488; where *illudas auribus.*]

[19] ...fieri posse dixi, &c. voluntas ejus &c. adjuvante divina, et tamen &c.—August. Op. Lib. de Spir. et Lit. cap. i. 1. Tom. X. col. 85.]

[20] Hieron. Op. Lib. I. Dial. adv. Pelag. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 492; where *necdum comprehendisse.*]

[21] Id. ad Ctesiph. Epist. xliii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 488; where *appellentur.*]

[22] ...virtutem, quæ &c. perfectam hactenus nominari, ut &c. veritate cognitio, &c.—August. Op. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. III. cap. vii. 19. Tom. X. col. 460.]

[23] Id. Retract. Lib. I. cap. xix. 3. Tom. I. col. 29.]

[24] Id. Lib. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xxxvi. 64. Tom. X. col. 123.]

[25] Hieron. Op. Lib. Quæst. Ad Algas. Quæst. viii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 202; where *nec hæc dicentes adulamur*, and *Deus omnes.*]

[26] Nothing, 1567.]

gratia, non ex merito possidere[1]: "It is most certain that every man, yea, although he be grown to perfection, yet needeth the mercy of God; and that he enjoyeth full perfection, not of his own deserving, but of grace." Even so St Augustine saith: *Ipsa justitia nostra ... tanta est in hac vita, ut potius peccatorum*[2] *remissione constet quam perfectione virtutum*[3]: "Our very righteousness itself is so great in this life, that it standeth rather in forgiveness of our sins than in perfection of righteousness."

August. de Civ. Lib. xix. cap. xxvii.

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Merit and Mercy.

Besides, though we say we have no meed at all by our own works and deeds, but appoint all the means of our salvation to be in Christ alone, yet say we not that for this cause men ought to live loosely and dissolutely; nor that it is enough for a Christian to be baptized only, and to believe, as though there were nothing else required at his hand: for true faith is lively, and can in nowise be idle. Thus therefore teach we the people, that God hath called us, not to follow riot and wantonness, but, as St Paul[4] saith, "unto good works, to walk in them;" that we are delivered "from the power of darkness, to the end that we should serve[5] the living God," to cut away all the remnants of sin, and "to work our salvation in fear and trembling;" that it may appear that[6] the Spirit of sanctification is in our bodies, and that Christ himself dwelleth[7] in our hearts.

M. HARDING.

With what face can these defenders affirm that they teach the people to walk in good works, whereas, beginning the treatise of works in this present Apology, they say that we have [a]*no help or aid in our works and deeds? For so their Latin word* præsidium *doth signify, which in the English is turned into "meed." What, masters, is this the way to make men work well, to tell them beforehand that their works be nothing worth, and that they help them never a whit? Why then let the labourer's proverb take place, "I had rather play for nothing than work for nothing."* [b]*Is there any labourer so mad as to work for nothing? First ye tell the labourers that there is no help for them in their works, and then ye cry unto them to labour;* [c]*yea, forsooth, as hard as they list. Is not this to mock God and the world? ... Whereas ye speak to christian men, to those that be baptized, to such as have faith; yet ye tell them they may work as much as they will,* [d]*but all in vain,* &c.... Ergo, *then although a lively faith cannot be idle, and some true faith is lively, yet in another sense* [e]*there is a true faith which is not lively, but idle: which true faith shall become lively, and have great aid in works, if it will*[9] *learn to leave idleness, and practise that in will and heart which it believeth in understanding.*

[a] No aid or help unto salvation. Otherwise this report is untrue.

[b] Nazianz. *Si mercenarius es, tantum es specta mercedem.* De Sanct. Baptism.[8]

[c] Is not this a folly, M. Harding? God's truth is no mockery.

[d] Untruth. For we say with St Paul, "Your works shall not be in vain in the Lord."

[e] Untruth. Read the answer.

But, whereas these defenders would no help or aid to be in christian men's works, that [f]*heresy may not so escape. Christ, being demanded of one, what good he should do to obtain everlasting life, said: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." To keep the commandments is a work: to enter into life is some help to a man: therefore it is falsely spoken, that in our works there is no help for us. Again Christ saith: "Whosoever forsaketh his house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my sake, he shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit life everlasting." St Paul saith: "God will render to every man according to his work*[10]*; to those that seek for*

That good works help us.

Matt. xix.

[f] Untruth. For it is no heresy: it is the faith of Christ. Read the answer.

[1] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. xiv. in Ezech. Proph. cap. xlvi. Tom. III. col. 1048; where *tunc indigere.*]

[2] Peccatorem, 1570.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xix. cap. xxvii. Tom. VII. col. 571; where *ipsa quoque nostra justitia.*]

[4] As Paul, Conf.]

[5] That God hath plucked us out from the power of darkness to serve, Conf.]

[6] Appear how that, Conf.]

[7] Doth dwell, Conf.]

[8] See below, note 12.]

[9] Well, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10] Works, Conf.]

glory, and honour, and incorruption, according to the sufferance of good works (he will render) life everlasting."...

Merit and Mercy.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here ye trifle, M. Harding, although not much besides your common wont, yet somewhat above your ordinary. Our doctrine herein is grounded upon these words of Christ: "When ye have done all, say that ye be unprofitable servants, and therefore have deserved nothing." Indeed of late years this hath been the general doctrine of your schools: *Vita æterna est merces debita pro nostris meritis. Vita æterna, nisi esset merces debita, esset incerta. Quia debitum certum est; misericordia incerta:* "Everlasting life is a reward due for our deservings. If everlasting life were not a due reward, it were uncertain. For due debt is certain: mercy or favour is uncertain." Thus have you utterly drowned the grace of God and the salvation that we have only in Jesus[11] Christ, and have turned the most comfortable doctrine of the gospel into a dungeon of desperation. Luke xvii.

"Then (say you) let the labourer's proverb take place, 'I had rather play for nothing than work for nothing'." Verily, M. Harding, when other reason could not serve you, it was reason your labourer's idle reason should take place. Howbeit, if ye will do nothing at God's request of good-will without reward, but must be hired only for your penny; then may your labourer, be he never so simple, easily tell you, ye are not the child of God, but only a hireling and a labourer: for the natural loving child will obey his father, not for reward but of love, only because he is his father.

Gregory Nazianzene saith: *Si servus es, time plagas; si mercenarius, tantum specta mercedem. At si supra hos es etiam filius, reverere tanquam Patrem tuum. Benefacito, quia pulchrum est obsequi Patri. Et, quamvis nihil aliud futurum sit, tamen vel hoc ipsum erit merces tua, fecisse quod gratum esset Patri*[12]: "If thou be a bond-slave, then fear the whip. If thou be a hireling, then look only for thy reward. But, over and besides these, if thou be a (natural) child, then reverence (God) as thy Father. Do well, because it is good to obey thy Father. Yea, and although thou shalt have nothing else, yet even this shall be thy reward, that thou hast been obedient to thy Father." Gregor. Naz. de Sanct. Bapt. ἔργασαι... καλόν, ὅτι καλὸν τῷ πατρὶ πείθεσθαι. Κἂν εἴ σοι μηδὲν ἔσσεσθαι μέλλοι, τοῦτο αὐτὸ μισθὸς, τὸ τῷ πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι.

St Hilary saith: *Nos si semel jejunamus, satisfecisse nos arbitramur. Si aliquid ex horreo domesticarum facultatum inopi damus, implerisse nos justitiam credimus, &c. Sed propheta totum a Deo sperat, totum a misericordia ejus exspectat*[13]: "If we fast once, we think we have satisfied. If out of the barns of our household-store we give somewhat to the poor, we believe we have fulfilled the measure of righteousness. But the prophet hopeth all of God, and trusteth all of his mercy." Hilar. in Psal. cxviii. Caph.

Christ saith to his disciples: "Let your light so shine before men (not that ye may be rewarded, but) that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Matt. v. St Augustine saith: *Minus diligit te, qui diligit aliud præter te*[14]: "O God, he the less loveth thee that loveth any other thing besides thee." August. Confes. Likewise St Basil saith: *Qui non fidit suis recte factis, nec exspectat ex operibus justificari, solam habet spem salutis misericordias Dei*[15]: "He that trusteth not to his own good deeds, nor hopeth to be justified by his works, hath the only hope of his salvation the mercies of God." Basil. in Psal. xxxii. μόνην ἔχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Further ye say, "A true faith may be idle, and utterly without works;" and therefore ye think it not true that we say, "A true faith is lively, and can in nowise be idle." Here perhaps ye will set faith upon the last, and rack her to a larger size. For so Latomus, one of your fellows, saith that Socrates and Plato and other heathen philosophers had as good understanding and faith in Christ as had Abraham[16]. And Andradius, another of your fellows, saith that the heathen Illyric. de Sect. p. 93.

[11 Jesu, 1567.]

[12 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Bapt. Orat. xl. 13. Tom. I. p. 699.]

[13 Nos &c. ex copia domesticarum &c. Sed totum a Deo propheta sperat, totum ex misericordia &c.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. In Psalm. cxviii. Tractat. Koph 6. cols. 354, 5.]

[14 Minus enim te amat, qui tecum aliquid amat quod non propter te amat.—August. Op. Confess. Lib. x. cap. xxix. 40. Tom. I. col. 184.]

[15 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Psalm. xxxii. Hom. 10. Tom. I. p. 141.]

[16 ...quam sententiam vir doctissimus Latomus in suis scriptis contra nostram doctrinam dudum ex-

Merit and Mercy.

and infidel philosophers had the righteousness of faith and everlasting life. His words be these: *Philosophi qui ab inani deorum multitudine abhorruerunt, &c., illos tu . . . illa fide Deique cognitione destitutos dices, per quam scilicet impius justificatur, et ex qua justus vivit*[1]? "The philosophers, that abhorred and shunned the vain multitude of gods, &c., wilt thou say they lacked that faith and that knowledge of God whereby the wicked is justified, and whereby the righteous liveth?" Another of your near fellows saith: *Petrus non fidem Christi, sed Christum, salva fide, negavit*[2]: "Peter denied not the faith of Christ; but he denied Christ, his faith nevertheless being safe." If ye call this "true faith," M. Harding, that may be found in heathens and infidels, and may well and safely stand with the abjuring of Christ, then without question your "true faith" may be without good works. But St Paul, whose words we ought rather to credit, saith far otherwise: "He that hath no regard to his own, specially such as be of his household, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Again he saith: "They say they know God; but by their works they deny God." St John saith: "Whoso saith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar; and the truth is not in him." St James saith: "Faith without works is dead." "And the devil believeth, and trembleth for fear." But a dead faith is no more a true perfect[3] faith, than a dead man is a true perfect[3] man. As for the faith of devils, indeed and verily is[4] no faith.

Kemnit. in Exam. Trid. Conc. p. 535.

Copus, Dial. 1. p. 51.

1 Tim. v. Fidem abnegavit.

Tit. i.

1 John ii.

James ii.

Certainly St Augustine saith: *Qui fidem habet sine spe et . . . dilectione, Christum esse credit, non in Christum credit*[5]: "He that hath faith without hope and charity believeth that there is Christ; but he believeth not in Christ." Again he saith: *Inseparabilis est. . . . bona vita a fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur; imo vero ea ipsa est bona vita*[6]: "Good life can never be divided from faith, which worketh by love; nay, rather that same very faith itself is good life."

August. in Evang. Johan. Serm. 61.

August. de Fid. et Op. cap. xxiii.

St Ambrose saith: *Ubi . . . quis cœperit luxuriari, incipit deviare a vera fide*[7]: "As soon as a man beginneth to live wantonly, he beginneth to flee from the true faith." Origen saith: *Omnis qui credit in eum non erubescit; erubescit autem omnis qui peccat. . . . [Ergo] qui adhuc ruborem peccati incurrit, credere non videtur*[8]: "Whosoever believeth in God blusheth not; but every man blusheth that worketh sin. Therefore he that yet blusheth for his sin seemeth[9] not to believe." And[10] again he saith: *Male . . . credit quicunque peccat*[11]: "Whosoever sinneth believeth ill."

Ambros. Lib. vi. Epist. 36.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. viii. cap. x.

Orig. in Ezech. Hom. 9.

To be short, St Cyprian saith: *Quomodo dicit se credere in Christum, qui non facit quod Christus facere præcepit?* "How doth he say he believeth in Christ, that doth not the thing that Christ commanded?"

If ye will believe none of all these, being ancient and learned fathers, yet believe your own Doctor Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome. Thus he saith: *Non potest mens scire Deum, et non diligere: . . . non potest esse vera scientia Dei, ubi non est caritas*[12]: "The mind cannot know God, and not love him. There can be no true knowledge of God where there wanteth charity[13]."

Nic. Cusan. Excit. Lib. v.

Hereby it is plain that true faith is lively and workful; and that an idle faith is indeed no faith at all.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "Did not you know the answer, M. Jewel? Nothing is more common. You belie the scripture. That is the answer to you.

M. Hard. 370. b. 371. a. [Detect.]

presse posuit: contendens, Abrahamum non aliam de Christo doctrinam habuisse, quam Socrates, Plato, vel alius quisquam ethnicus habuit.—M. Flac. De Sect. Dissent. &c. Basil. 1565. p. 93.]

[1 Chemnic. Exam. Concil. Trident. Franc. 1596. Pars I. p. 108.]

[2 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. viii. p. 51.]

[3 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Verily it is, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Johan. xvi. Serm. cxliv. cap. ii. 2. Tom. V. cols. 693, 4; where *si* for *qui*, and *ac* for *et*.]

[6 Id. Lib. de Fid. et Oper. cap. xxiii. 42. Tom. VI. col. 188.]

[7 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Sabin. Epist. lviii. 16. Tom. II. col. 1016; where *cœperit quis*, and *fide vera*.]

[8 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. VIII. 2. Tom. IV. p. 623; where *non erubescet*.]

[9 He seemeth, 1570.]

[10 1567, 1570, 1609, omit *and*.]

[11 Id. in Ezech. Hom. ix. 1. Tom. III. p. 388.]

[12 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Excit. Lib. v. Tom. II. p. 504.]

[13 This paragraph is not in 1567.

And your forefathers, even up to Luther, have always belied it; and, being told of it, will not yet amend, no more than the devil whom they follow. All thing may be dead in two sorts, either because it had life in it of his own, or else because it had it of another thing, &c. Now it is to be considered whether faith hath life in itself of his own nature, as a man hath (for then a dead faith is no faith), or else whether faith hath[14] life of another thing, to wit, of charity; and then a dead faith is a true faith, &c. St James giveth us to understand that faith hath life of another thing, like as the body hath life of the soul. For he saith: *Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est:* "As the body without the soul is dead, so is faith dead without works." Not as the man is dead without the soul, but, as the body is dead without the soul, so is faith dead without works. But the body being without the soul is still a true natural body. Therefore faith being without good works is still a true real faith. And so M. Jewel is tried a liar." *The answer.* I am weary of your follies, M. Harding; and, were it not for some satisfaction of the simple, I would not vouchsafe them of any answer. Whereas I only allege these words of St James, "Faith without works is dead," you tell me that I "belie the scripture: and this (you say) shall be mine answer." Of such hasty answers you have good store. I thank God, I believe the scriptures: I belie them not. I would not willingly belie a child, much less the everlasting word of God; for I know it is holy.

Merit and Mercy.

A man without a soul.

James ii.

But how and wherein have I so foully belied the scriptures? You answer me: "A thing may be dead in two sorts; either because it had life in it of his own, or else because it had it of another thing. Faith hath life of itself; and faith hath life of charity." All this may be granted. But what conclude you hereof, M. Harding? If faith have life of itself, have I therefore belied the scriptures? Behold St James' words: thus he saith: "Faith without works is dead." Of the other side behold my words: thus I say: "Faith without works is dead." Now compare these words together. I increase nothing, I minish nothing, I alter nothing: I report St James' words plainly and simply as he spake them. With what good countenance then can you so uncivilly tell me that I have belied the scriptures? Your reader, be he never so friendly bent unto you, must needs doubt somewhat of your dealing. If ye proceed accordingly, you will be able shortly to tell us that St James himself hath belied the scriptures: for the words that I speak and you condemn be St James'.

"Faith (you say) hath life of another thing, like as the body hath of the soul. Not as the man is dead without the soul, but as the body is dead without the soul, so is faith dead without good works." Thus you say. But help us, I pray you, that we may better understand your meaning. Ye speak in parables. We need a commentary. "A man (say you) dead without a soul?" What meaneth this talk, M. Harding? Ye lay the way for us, I trow, and would entrap us in the dark. Who ever heard of a man without a soul? I have sometimes heard of a man without wit, and of words without sense or reason; but of a man without a soul hitherto I never heard, unless happily you mean the man in the moon.

Now let us view the handsomeness of your distinction. These be your words: "Not as a man is dead without a soul, but as a body is dead without a soul." A man that had any soul would think there should be some difference between these speeches. "Not as the one (you say), but as the other." But what if the one and the other be both one? Consider better of your words, I beseech you. What is a man without a soul, but only a bare dead body? Or what is such a dead body, but only a man without a soul? Where was your soul, M. Harding, when you devised these distinctions without a difference?

Yet ye tell us: "A body being without a soul is still a true natural body; *ergo* (say you), faith being without good works is still a true real faith." First, M. Harding, you know it is commonly said in all schools, *Omnis similitudo claudicat.* You might soon have found the feebleness of this reason: it will serve you only to mock children. Howbeit, let us use your own grants. You shall see them conclude against yourself. For a body without a soul, notwithstanding it be a true natural body, yet hath it neither sense nor life, but is indeed

[14 Have, 1570, 1609.]

Merit and Mercy.

and verily a dead body. Even so your "faith without good works," notwithstanding any truth or realty ye can give unto it, hath in it neither life nor sense, but indeed and verily is a "dead faith," and therefore no faith at all.

But who taught you to shape out these pretty similitudes, and so unskilfully to liken faith unto the body, and good works unto the soul? The wise and learned have rather likened true faith to the soul, and good works to the body. For, as the body hath no life of itself, but only of the soul; even so works have no life of themselves[1], but only of faith.

Yet you say: "Faith without works is nevertheless a true and real[2] faith." Verily, M. Harding, so is fire without heat a true and a real fire. Of such a faith St James saith: *Dæmones credunt, et contremiscunt:* "Devils believe, and quake for fear." If the wicked without good works have a true and a real faith, then may you also say that the devil likewise hath a true and a real faith. This faith is no faith, M. Harding. It is only an imaginary and a mathematical fantasy. It is not that faith whereby we are made the children of God. Hereof St Paul saith thus: *Habent speciem pietatis; virtutem autem ejus abnegant:* "They have a shew and a face of godliness; but the virtue and power thereof they forsake utterly." Of such a faith the angel saith in the Apocalypse: "Thou hast a name of life; and yet art thou dead." Such is "faith without works," a face without godliness, a shew without substance, a name without life.

James ii.

2 Tim. iii.

Rev. iii.

"M. Jewel (you say) is tried a liar." And why so? Because he saith, as St James saith, "faith without works is dead," and therefore, as St Augustine saith, "no faith at all." But M. Harding, contrary to St James' express and plain words, telleth us that "faith without works is a true and a real faith," and is lively and forcible in itself; and yet is he tried a trusty man.

But you say: "Good works have their reward; and therefore (ye say) this heresy may not so escape." Whether good works shall be rewarded, or no, it was no part of our question. For we undoubtedly believe the words that are written by St John: *Opera illorum sequuntur illos:* "Their works follow after them." We believe the words that Christ saith to his disciples: "He that giveth a cup of cold water to any of these little ones for my sake shall not lose his reward." We believe that that St Paul saith: "Your work shall not be in vain in the Lord." We grant good works have their reward; but the same reward standeth in mercy and favour, and not in duty.

Rev. xiv.

Matt. x.

1 Cor. xv.

Thus therefore we say: Considering the weakness and sinful corruption of our nature, there can be no works in us so pure and perfect[3] that we may thereby of right and of duty deserve everlasting life. And this, M. Harding, is no heresy, but the very plain sense and substance of God's word, and the undoubted doctrine of the ancient catholic fathers of the church.

Job saith: *Si homo velit contendere cum Deo, non poterit ei respondere unum pro mille:* "If a man will dispute with God, he is not able to answer him one for a thousand." And therefore he saith: *Verebar omnia opera mea:* "I stood in doubt, and was afraid of all my works." Again he saith: "Although I were perfect[3], yet my soul shall not know it. If I would justify myself[4], mine own mouth shall condemn me." The prophet Esay saith: "All our righteousness is like a foul stained clout."

Job ix.

Job ix.

Isai. lxiv.

Therefore St Augustine saith: *Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo. Quid est, Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo? Non stes mecum in judicio, exigendo a me omnia quæ præcepisti, et omnia quæ jussisti. Nam me invenies reum, si in judicium intraveris mecum. Opus ergo est ... misericordia tua, potius quam liquidissimo judicio tuo*[5]: "'O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant.' What meaneth that, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant'? Thus much it meaneth: Stand not with me in judgment, requiring of me all that thou hast commanded. For, if thou enter into judgment with me, thou shalt find me guilty. I have need there-

August. de Temp. Serm. 49.

[1 Themself, 1570.]
[2 And a real, 1570, 1609.]
[3 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]
[4 Meself, 1567, 1570.]
[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Apost. Philip. iii. Serm. clxx. cap. vi. 6. Tom. V. col. 821; where *præcepisti exigendo omnia, reum me invenies,* and *est ergo.*]

fore, not of thy upright judgment, but of thy mercy." Again he saith: *Merita... quorumlibet hominum quæ sunt? Quandoquidem ille, qui non cum mercede debita sed cum gratuita gratia venit, omnes peccatores solus a peccato liber et liberator invenit*[6]: "What be the merits of any men? For Christ, that came not with his due reward, but with his grace that was not due, found all men sinners, being himself only free from sin, and a deliverer of sinners." Again he saith: *Coronat te in misericordia et miserationibus. Hoc fiet in judicio; ubi cum Rex justus sederit in throno, redditurus unicuique secundum opera ejus, quis gloriabitur castum se habere cor? Aut quis gloriabitur mundum se esse a peccatis? Ideo illic necessarium fuit commemorare miserationem et misericordiam Domini, &c.*[7]: "God crowneth thee with[8] favour and mercy. That shall be done in the last judgment; where as when the just King shall sit in his throne, to render to every man according to his works, who shall boast that his heart is chaste? Or who shall boast that he is clean from sin? Therefore it was needful to make mention of the pity and mercy of our Lord." And again: *Opera manuum mearum non commendo. Timeo*[9] [*enim*] *ne, cum inspexeris, plura invenias peccata quam merita*[10]: "Lord, I commend not the works of my hands. For I am afraid lest, when thou shalt behold them, thou shalt find more sins than good deservings."

Merit and Mercy.

August. Epist. 52. ad Macedon.

August. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xxxiii.

August. in Psal. cxxxvii.

So saith St Hierome: *Si consideremus nostra merita, desperandum est*[11]: "If we behold our own merits, we must be driven to desperation."

Hieron. in Esai. cap. lxiv.

So saith Origen: *Ego... vix mihi persuadeo ullum opus esse posse quod ex debito remunerationem... deposcat*[12]: "I do scarcely believe that there can be any work that may of duty require reward." Again he saith: *Dicite vos esse servos inutiles.... Nam etsi omnia fecerimus quæ præcepta sunt, non tamen... bonum aliquod fecimus: nec enim, si vere bona essent,... essemus inutiles. Omne autem bonum nostrum non proprie sed abusive bonum dicitur*[13]: "Say ye (saith Christ) that ye be unprofitable servants. For, notwithstanding we have done all things that are commanded, yet have we done no good thing; for, if our doings were good indeed, then were we not unprofitable. But any good deed of ours is called good, not rightly or duly, but by abuse of speech." So saith St Augustine: *Si* [*Deus*] *vellet pro meritis agere, non inveniret nisi quod damnaret*[14]: "If God would deal with us according to that we have deserved, he should find nothing but that he might condemn." Therefore, M. Harding, Waldensis, one of your great doctors, having well and circumspectly weighed the matter of every side, at the last concludeth thus: *Quid dignum facimus ut participes cœlestibus fieri inveniamur? Apostolo dicente, Existimo quod non sunt condignæ passiones* [*hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis*]:... *reputo igitur saniorem theologum, fideliorem catholicum, et scripturis sanctis magis concordem, qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat*[15]: "What worthy thing do we, that we may be found in the fellowship of the heavenly spirits? The apostle saith, 'I judge that the afflictions of this time are not worthy of that glory that shall be revealed in us.' Therefore I take him to be the sounder divine, the faithfuller catholic, and more agreeable to the holy scriptures, that utterly denieth all such kind of merit."

Orig. ad Rom. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 8.

August. in Psal. xciv.

Wald. contr. Wiclef. Rom. viii.

But ye will say: If we find ourselves void of merit, how then shall we stand and be justified before God? St John saith: "Blessed are they that have washed their robes (not in their own merits, but) in the blood of the Lamb." And God saith: "I will give the thirsty to drink of the well of life (not for his deserts, but) for nothing." The ancient father Origen saith: *Quia... omnia conclusa sunt sub peccato, nunc... non in meritis, sed in misericordia Dei salus*

Rev. xxii. [vii.]

Rev. xxi.

Orig. ad Rom. Lib. ix. cap. xii.

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[6] Id. ad Macedon. Epist. clv. cap. ii. 5. Tom. II. col. 538; where *peccatis liber atque.*]

[7] ...coronat te in miseratione et misericordia: hoc fit in &c. esse a peccato? &c.— Id. Lib. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xxxiii. 59. Tom. X. col. 119.]

[8] Crowneth with, 1567.]

[9] Time, 1611.]

[10] ...non commendo opera manuum mearum, &c. invenias plura peccata &c.—Id. in Psalm. cxxxvii. Enarr. 18. Tom. IV. col. 1533.]

[11] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. XVII. in Isai. Proph. cap. lxiv. Tom. III. col. 476; where *nostra consideremus.*]

[12] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. IV. 1. Tom. IV. p. 522; where *suadeo quod possit ullum opus esse quod.*]

[13] Id. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XV. 10. Tom. III. p. 665].

[14] August. Op. In Psalm. xciv. Enarr. 4. Tom. IV. col. 1024.]

[15] Thom. Waldens. Doctr. Antiq. Fid. Eccles. Cathol. Venet. 1571. De Sacram. adv. Vuitclev. Tit. I. cap. vii. Tom. III. foll. 24, 5; where *fieri mereamur dicente apostolo,* and *passiones &c.*]

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humana consistit[1]: "Forasmuch as all men are shut up and closed under sin, now the salvation of man standeth not in man's merits, but in God's mercy."

St Augustine saith: [*Deus*] *in fine... coronabit nos... in misericordia et miserationibus*[2]: "God in the end will crown us (not with the price of our deservings, but) with favour and mercies."

August. Epist. 105. ad Sixtum.

August. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 15.

Again he saith: *Pro nihilo... salvos facies eos. Quid est, Pro nihilo salvos facies eos? Nihil in eis invenis unde salves, et tamen salvas.... Quia nihil invenis unde salves; et multum invenis unde damnes*[3]: "For nothing thou shalt save them. What is meant by these words, 'For nothing thou shalt save them?' (This is the meaning), Thou findest nothing in them wherefore thou shouldest save them; and yet thou savest them. Thou findest nothing wherefore thou shouldest save them; but thou findest much wherefore thou shouldest condemn them."

August. de Civ. Lib. xiv. cap. i.

And again: *Omnes in... mortem... pœna debita præcipites ageret, nisi inde quosdam indebita Dei gratia liberaret*[4]: "Deserved pain would throw all men into death, unless the undeserved grace of God deliver[5] some from it."

Basil. in Psal. xxxii.

St Basil saith: *Non erit judicium sine misericordia; quia non potest homo purus inveniri a sorde; ne si unus quidem tantum dies sit ab ejus natali*[6]: "Judgment shall not be without mercy; for no man can be found pure and clean from all filth; no, though he be but one day old."

Basil. de Humil.

Again he saith: *Hæc est nostra integra et perfecta gloriatio in Deo, quando... propriæ justitiæ nos inopes agnoscimus; sola autem fide in Christum justificari*[7]: "This is our full and perfect[8] rejoicing in God, when we acknowledge that we are void of any our own righteousness, and are justified by only faith in Christ."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Eph. cap. iii.

So saith St Hierome: *In Christo Jesu Domino nostro,... in quo habemus fiduciam, et accessum, et confidentiam per fidem ejus; non per nostram justitiam, sed per eum cujus fide nobis peccata dimittuntur*[9]: "In Christ Jesus[10] our Lord, in whom we have boldness, and liberty to come (to God) and trust, and affiance by the faith of him; not through our righteousness, but through him in whose name our sins be forgiven."

Bernard. in Psal. Qui habitat.

Hereof St Bernard in most godly and comfortable wise concludeth thus: *Meritum meum miserationes Domini. Non sum ego inops meriti, quamdiu ille non est inops miserationum. Si miserationes ejus multæ, multus ego sum in meritis*[11]. *Hoc... totum* [*est*] *hominis meritum, si totam spem suam ponat in Domino*[12]: "My merit is the mercy of God. So long as God is not poor of mercy, so long cannot I be poor of merit. If his mercies be great, then am I great in merits." "This is the whole merit of man, if he put his whole affiance in the Lord."

This is these defenders' horrible heresy, M. Harding, "which," you say, "might[13] not so escape your hands."

The Apology, Chap. xxi. Division 1.

To conclude, we believe that this our self-same flesh wherein we live, although it die, and come to[14] dust, yet at the last shall[15] return again to life by the means of Christ's Spirit which dwelleth in us; and that then

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[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. ix. 1. Tom. IV. p. 643; where *omnes conclusi*.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Sixt. Epist. cxciv. 19. Tom. II. col. 720; where *in miseratione et misericordia*.]

[3 Id. de Verb. Apost. Philip. iii. Serm. clxix. cap. ii. 3. Tom. V. col. 810; where *qui nihil*.]

[4 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xiv. cap. i. Tom. VII. col. 349.]

[5 Delivered, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Psalm. xxxii. Hom. 4. Tom. I. p. 135.]

[7 Id. de Humil. Hom. xx. 3. Tom. II. p. 158.]

[8 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1053; where *in confidentia*, and *fides peccata dimisit*.]

[10 Jesu, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Meum...meritum miseratio Domini. Non plane sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum non fuerit. Quod si misericordiæ Domini multæ, multus nihilo minus ego in meritis sum.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxi. 5. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1476. Conf. August. Op. Manual. cap. xxii. Tom. VI. Append. col. 141.]

[12 Id. in Psalm. Qui hab. Serm. xv. 5. Vol. I. Tom. iii. col. 872; where *ponat in eo*.]

[13 Mought, 1567, 1570.]

[14 Do, Conf.]

[15 Last day it shall, Conf.]

verily, whatsoever we suffer here in the meanwhile for his sake, Christ will wipe away all tears and heaviness from our eyes[16]; and that we through him shall enjoy everlasting life, and shall for ever be with him in glory. So be it.

The cause of Resurrection.

M. HARDING.

*Last of all, ye believe (as ye say) that this very flesh shall return to life, and that for the Spirit of Christ which dwelleth in us. There is no doubt but the Spirit of Christ is sufficient to raise up their bodies in whom it dwelleth. But we say that the raising of our flesh is also assigned in holy scripture *to the real and substantial eating of Christ's flesh, because it is written, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting; and I will raise him again in the last day." Therefore the resurrection of the flesh is not only assigned in holy scripture to the Spirit of Christ, but also to the worthy eating of his flesh. And thus we have confuted the doctrine wherein ye declare your faith; and the chief grounds whereon ye build your new gospel we have disproved.*

* Untruth. For so the fathers of the old law and all christian infants should be utterly excluded from resurrection.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The words wherein ye find fault, M. Harding, are not ours, but St Paul's. If they be false, why did he write them? If they be true, why do you blame them? Here ye seem to check St Paul, and not only us. Ye say: "The raising of our flesh is also assigned in the holy scripture to the real and substantial eating of Christ's flesh." But whence had ye these words, M. Harding? Where found ye these scriptures? Dissemble no longer; deal plainly and simply; it is God's cause. For a shew ye allege these words of Christ written by St John: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting; and I will raise him up again in the last day." These words we know; and the eating of Christ's flesh we know; but where is your real and substantial and carnal eating? Where did St John ever tell you that Christ's body is eaten with teeth, and conveyed further in such gross and fleshly wise into the belly? St Augustine, expounding the same words, saith thus: *Crede, et manducasti*[17]. *Credere in Christum, hoc est manducare panem vivum.... Iste panis interioris hominis quærit esuriem*[18]: "Believe thou (in Christ), and thou hast eaten (Christ)." "To believe in Christ, that is the eating of the bread of life. This bread requireth the hunger of the inner man." And Nicolas Lyra, one of your own doctors, saith: "These words of St John pertain nothing to the sacrament." Thus he saith: *Hoc verbum nil*[19] *directe pertinet ad sacramentalem vel corporalem manducationem*[20]: "This saying (of the sixth of John) pertaineth nothing directly to the sacramental or corporal eating." It was some oversight of your part, M. Harding, to seek to prove the eating of the sacrament by such words, as by[21] your own doctor's judgment pertain nothing to the sacrament.

John vi.

August. in Johan. Tract. 25. Idem, Tract. 26.

Nic. Lyra in Psal. cx.

Addition. ☞ "It was more oversight of you, M. Jewel, to blemish your credit by belying my doctor, if Lyra be my doctor. For Lyra never said the words that you allege, &c. It appeareth how falsely you have belied Lyra. The words which you allege are not the words of Nicolas Lyra, mine own doctor, as you say, but of one Matthias Doring, &c. You have deceived your reader with false forgery, &c. You have also foully corrupted this poor Doctor Doring with cutting off his words, pretending him to speak of these words of St John, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting, and I will raise him again in the last day,' which I alleged; whereas indeed he spake only of these special words of St John: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, &c.* That the truth may be known, and your falsehood[22] detected, &c. The words that you allege be not Lyra's, but one Doring's," &c. *The answer.*

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 374. b. 375. a. [Detect.]

[16 Wipe from off our eyes all tears and lamentation, Conf.]

[17 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489.]

[18 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494. See before, page 467, note 12.]

[19 Nihil, 1567, 1570.]

[20 See below, page 590, note 4.]

[21 By those words that by, 1567.]

[22 Falshead, 1570.]

Matthias Doring.

Such errors, such oversights, such blemishing of credit, such belying of doctors, such deceiving of readers, such corruption, such falsehood[1], such forgery! Either there was some marvellous great cause, M. Harding, why ye should thus raise the country with hue and cry, or else your reader must needs think your head was disordered with some vanity. What was the cause then of all this stir? You say I have alleged Nicolas Lyra instead of Matthias Doring. This was an error, I will easily grant you; but falsehood[1], or forgery, or belying of doctors, or deceiving of readers, I believe few sober men would have called it. For what if I mistook Lyra instead of Doring? what could I have gained by all that forgery? Is not the authority of Matthias Doring as good as the authority of Nicolas Lyra? were they not both Franciscan friars, of one order, of one religion, and of one profession? You know that Nicolas Lyra, Paulus Burgensis and Matthias Doring, are all three so joined together, not only in one book, but also oftentimes in the one side of the[2] leaf that, unless a man be very watchful, he may soon take one of them for another. And yet, whomsoever a man shall happen to take of these three, there is small choice in the taking. Such poor advantages must be fain to help you, M. Harding, when you find yourself scanted of better shifts.

But you say I have also foully corrupted this poor Doctor Doring. What poverty you find in him, I cannot tell. Wise men weigh learning neither by poverty nor by riches. Notwithstanding, I doubt not but poor Doctor Doring in his time was thought to be as good a doctor as Doctor Harding. But wherein have I so foully corrupted him? Verily, M. Harding, I have neither changed any one of his words, nor altered any part of his meaning. He saith, "The words spoken by Christ in the sixth chapter of John belong not directly to the receiving of the sacrament;" and to that purpose I have alleged him. Now therefore, M. Harding, for the better trial of your credit, let us suffer Matthias Doring to tell his own tale. Thus he saith: *Illud dictum ex litera non habet fundamentum. Ideo de sacramentali communione, nec quoad clerum, nec quoad laicum, habet vim præcepti ad omnes, secundum verum ejus intellectum; quia ex eodem contextu literæ declaratur, de qua manducatione et potatione intelligi debeat, videlicet de spirituali; quia sequitur, Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo. Quod beatus Augustinus exponens ait, Hoc est manducare illam escam, et bibere illum potum, in Christo manere et Christum manentem in se habere; quod nihil est aliud quam esse in caritate Christi. Hoc autem... nihil directe pertinet ad sacramentalem vel corporalem manducationem.... Nam hoc verbum fuit dictum... antequam sacramentum eucharistiæ esset institutum. Ex illa igitur litera de sacramentali communione non potest fieri argumentum efficax. Primum enim id, de quo agitur, debet esse*[3] *in rerum natura.... De eucharistia igitur sacramentali, quæ nondum fuit, tam alta sententia proferri non potuit:... nisi quis curiosus hæreticus diceret, illa verba dicta de usu sacramenti eucharistiæ prognostice per modum prophetiæ. Sed sic dicere non potest in aliquo passu sacræ scripturæ fundari. Eadem igitur facilitate comtemnitur, qua probatur:... præsertim quum constet ex evangelii rotundo textu, quosdam huic præcepto satisfecisse, quos constat nunquam sacramentaliter communicasse.... Ideo Augustinus ait, has propositiones simul esse veras: Non manducans manducat; et manducans non manducat... Dato opposito, sequeretur, neminem esse in caritate, nisi sacramentaliter communicantem; quod est erroneum dicere*[4]: "That saying hath no foundation or warrant in the words written by St John. Therefore, to speak of receiving of the sacrament in true understanding, it hath no force of commandment, neither touching the clergy nor touching the laity. For in the same course of words it is opened sufficiently, of what eating and drinking it ought to be taken; I mean (not of the sacra-

Matth. Dor. in Psal. cx.

[1 Falshead, 1570.]
[2 One, 1570, 1609.]
[3 Esset, 1611.]
[4 ... ex litera non habet illud dictum fundamentum: &c. quia in eodem &c. intelligi debet &c. nihil aliud est &c. fuerit institutum. &c. efficax. Nam primo debet existere in rerum natura, de quo agitur. &c. fundari: ea igitur &c. sacramentaliter nunquam &c. Dicit igitur magister...ad intentionem beati Augustini has &c.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra. Basil. 1502. Psalm. cx. Replic. Pars III. fol. 254. It is not easy at first sight to distinguish the additions of Burgensis and Doring from Lyra's exposition.]

mental, but) of the spiritual eating and drinking. For it followeth, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him.' Which words St Augustine expoundeth thus: 'This is the eating of that meat, and drinking[5] of that drink, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him;' which is nothing else but to be in the love of Christ. But this pertains[6] nothing directly to the sacramental or bodily eating: for this was spoken long before the sacrament was ordained. Therefore out of those words they can make no good proof touching the communion of the sacrament. For, first, it is needful that the thing whereof we speak have a present being. Therefore so heavenly a saying could not then be spoken of the receiving of the sacrament, for that at that time the sacrament as yet had no being: unless some curious heretic will say, that the said words in the sixth of John were spoken of the sacrament by way of prognostication or by a prophecy. But that saying can have no foundation in any part of the scriptures. And therefore it is as easily despised as it may be proved; forasmuch as it appeareth evidently by the gospel, that certain have satisfied this commandment (and have eaten Christ's flesh, and drunken his blood) that certainly were never partakers of the sacrament. For that cause St Augustine saith these two sayings be both true, 'He that eateth not eateth,' and, 'He that eateth eateth not.' Otherwise it would follow, that no man can be in the love of Christ, unless he be partaker of the sacrament; which thing to say, it were great error." Now, M. Harding, let your reader judge indifferently between us touching this forgery. Matthias Doring saith your "saying hath no warrant of the scripture." He saith, "These words (in the sixth of John) cannot directly pertain to the receiving of the sacrament;" for that the sacrament at that time was not ordained. He saith you are a "curious heretic," if you think these words were spoken by prognostication or by prophecy. He saith we may as well despise your fantasy as you can prove it. He saith that to apply these words to the receiving of the sacrament, "it were great error." And, for proof of his own judgment herein, he allegeth the authority of St Augustine. I cannot see in what kind of speech he could more clearly have expressed his meaning.

The cause of Resurrection.

Nothing directly to the sacrament.

No proof touching the sacrament.

Could not be spoken.

By way of prognostication.

It were great error.

But you will say, "Matthias Doring spake not of the words that you allege," which are these: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting; and I will raise him again at the last day;" but only and specially of these words: "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, you shall have no life in you." "Of these words," you say, "Matthias Doring spake, and not of the other." What fond folly is this, M. Harding! Why should you so vainly deceive the world? What difference find you between these two sentences? Were they not both uttered in one chapter, in one place, at one time, by one mouth, and to one purpose? If the one part pertain to the sacrament, what hath the other offended, that it may not likewise pertain to the sacrament? What cause, what reason, what authority, have you to the contrary? If you have any, let it appear; otherwise your reader will think you talk without ground, ye care not what. I protest before God, it pitieth me to see your follies.

M. Hard. fol. 375. a. [Detect.]

Matthias Doring speaketh not only or specially of one or two words, as you say, but generally of all the words that Christ spake in the sixth chapter of St John "touching the eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood;" which words, he saith, "pertain not directly to the receiving of the sacrament." And his reason is this: "For," saith he, "when Christ spake these words, the sacrament as yet was not ordained." I beseech you, doth not this reason include as well the one sentence as the other? When Christ spake these words, *Nisi ederitis carnem Filii hominis, &c.*, "the sacrament[7]," saith Matthias, "was not yet ordained." And was it suddenly ordained before he could utter the next words following? The next words are these that you have alleged, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting; and I shall

[5 And the drinking, 1570, 1609.]
[6 Pertaineth, 1570, 1609.]
[7 Sacraments, 1611.]

The cause of Resurrection.

raise him up at the last day." Neither these words nor the former pertain directly to the sacrament.

Mich. Vehe, contr. Luth. Tract. 5.

As Matthias Doring saith, even so saith Michael Vehe, another of your own doctors: *Quam nihil firmitatis habeat hæc ratio, hinc claret, quod verbis Christi abutitur in peregrino sensu. Quæ enim de spirituali manducatione, &c.*[1]: "How weak this reason is, it appeareth hereby, that he abuseth Christ's words in a strange meaning. For the words that were spoken of the spiritual eating he wresteth to the eating of the sacrament; of which eating of the sacrament Christ in those[2] words in the sixth chapter of St John speaketh nothing: which thing is well proved by this reason; for many have spiritual life by the grace of God, and be lively members of Christ's body, that were never partakers of the sacrament," &c.

In a strange meaning. Wresteth.

Christ spake nothing of.

Eck. de Utraq. Spec.

So likewise saith Eckius, speaking of the sixth chapter of St John: *Ad... sacramentum hic*[3] *oculus non est habendus*[4]: "In this chapter we may have no eye unto the sacrament." I could allege more of your own doctors to like purpose: but my head is weary of your wrangling.

John vi.

Christ saith further: "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you." If there be none other eating of Christ's body, whereby we shall live, but only your fantastical and fleshly eating with mouth and teeth; then, I beseech you, what life have[5] Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and other holy patriarchs and prophets, that were before the coming of Christ? What life have a great number of holy martyrs? What life have christian children, that, being baptized in the blood of Christ, depart this life before they can receive the sacrament; that is to say, by your strange exposition, before they have really and substantially eaten the flesh of Christ? Will ye say, they have no life? Or will ye condemn them all to everlasting death? Or must we think they shall never rise again? Certainly, St Augustine saith precisely: *Qui manducat....habet vitam; [et] qui...non manducat.... non habet...vitam*[6]: "Whoso eateth (the flesh of Christ) hath life; and whoso eateth it not hath no life." Hereof we must needs conclude by your divinity, that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and other godly fathers that never received the sacrament, have no life, but are dead for ever, without hope of resurrection.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

1 Cor. xv.

But, to leave your fantasies, M. Harding, the cause of our resurrection, as St Paul saith, is the Spirit of God that dwelleth in us. Origen saith: *Resurgemus propter Spiritum habitantem in nobis; necesse est enim Spiritui reddi habitaculum suum*[7]: "We shall rise again, because of the Spirit that dwelleth within us; for of necessity the Spirit must have his house restored unto him." St Augustine saith: *Hæc mea tota spes est, et omnis fiducia. Est enim in ipso Jesu Christo Domino nostro uniuscujusque nostrum portio, caro et sanguis. Ubi ergo portio mea regnat*[8], *ibi [ego] me regnare credo*[9]: "This is my whole hope, and all my trust. For in Christ Jesus[10] our Lord is flesh and blood, which is a portion of each of us. Therefore where a portion of mine reigneth, there I believe that I reign too."

Orig. ad Rom. cap. viii. Lib. vi.

August. Medit. cap. xv.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xv.

St Cyril saith: *Quamvis mors propter peccatum in naturam nostram insiliit, tamen, quia Filius Dei homo factus est, omnes profecto resurgemus*[11]: "Although death be fallen into our nature because of sin[12], yet, because the Son of God is

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[1 Quam &c. Christi in peregrino abutitur sensu &c. dicta sunt, ipse ad sacramentalem torquet. De qua nihil in verbis loquitur Christus. Quod vel hoc argumento evincitur, quod multis per Dei gratiam vita contingit spiritualis absque hac sacramentali manducatione voto vel actu facta.—M. Vehe Assert. Sacr. Quor. Axiom. Tract. Quint. De Laic. Comm. cap. ii. fol. N 3. 2.]

[2 These, 1570, 1609.]

[3 His, 1611.]

[4 Joan. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Comm. Col. 1532. cap. x. fol. E 5. 2.]

[5 Hath, 1567, 1570.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500; where the clauses of the sentence are transposed.]

[7 ...propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis...necessarium videtur Spiritui &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. II. 13. Tom. IV. p. 591.]

[8 Regna, 1570.]

[9 Hæc nempe est mihi tota spes omnisque fiducia. &c.—August. Op. Lib. Medit. cap. xv. Tom. VI. Append. col. 113. These meditations are not by Augustine.]

[10 Jesu, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 363.]

[12 These three words are not in 1567.]

made man, doubtless we shall all rise again." Likewise again he saith: *Sic vos effeci participes divinæ naturæ, cum Spiritum meum fecerim habitare in vobis. Christus enim in nobis est per Spiritum, corruptionem nostram in incorruptionem commutans*[13]: "So I made you partakers of the divine nature when I caused my Spirit to dwell in you. For Christ is in us by his Spirit, changing our corruption into incorruption." Thus the Spirit of God is the cause and the worker of our resurrection. Cyril. in Johan. Lib. ix. cap. xlvii.

And, to come near unto you, the sacraments of Christ are also means and instruments and seals hereof, but not the causes. St Cyril saith: *Quod mystica communio resurrectionis quædam sit*[14] *confessio, verbis Christi ipsius probatur.... Ait enim, Hoc est corpus meum:...Hoc in memoriam mei facite*[15]: "That the mystical communion is a certain confession of the resurrection, it is proved by the words of Christ himself. For he saith, 'This is my body:' 'Do this in remembrance of me'." And therefore in the council of Nice the holy mysteries are called *resurrectionis nostræ symbola*[16]: "the pledges or tokens of our resurrection." And St Ambrose, speaking distinctly hereof, saith: *Non iste panis, ...qui vadit in corpus, sed...panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*[17]: "It is not this bread (of the sacrament), that passeth into the body, but it is the bread of everlasting life (that is to say, the very body of Christ itself)[18], that sustaineth the substance of our soul." Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xii. cap. lviii. Concil. Nic. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Non iste.

And, to put the matter further out of doubt, the same force unto resurrection, that is applied unto the sacrament of Christ's body, is also, and in as ample sort, given to the sacrament of baptism.

St Basil saith: *Dies paschatis est pignus resurrectionis; baptisma vero est potentia et vis ad resurrectionem*[19]: "Easter-day is a pledge of resurrection; but baptism is a power and strength unto resurrection." Basil. de Sanct. Bapt. τὸ δὲ βάπτισμα δύναμις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

Again he saith: *Resurrectionis gratiam in die resurrectionis excipiamus*[20]: "Upon the day of Christ's resurrection let us receive (baptism, which is) the grace of resurrection."

Ignatius saith: *Ut, credentes in mortem ejus, per baptismum participes ejus resurrectionis efficiamini*[21]: "That, believing in his death, by baptism ye may be made partakers of his resurrection." Therefore in the council of Worms it is written thus: *In aquas demersio....in infernum descensio est; et rursus ab aquis emersio resurrectio est*[22]: "The dipping into the water is the going down into hell; and the coming out from[23] the water is the resurrection." Ignat. ad Trall. Concil. Worm. cap. 5.

In the end, M. Harding, ye blow up merrily your own conquest, and thus ye say: "We have confuted the doctrine wherein ye declare your faith, and the chief grounds whereon ye build your new gospel we have disproved:"—but with so simple proofs and so many untruths, M. Harding[24], as, for honour's sake, may not well be shewed in your triumph.

THE END OF THE SECOND PART.

[13 Id. ibid. Lib. IX. p. 824.]

[14 Fit, 1570.]

[15 Id. ibid. Lib. XII. pp. 1104, 5.]

[16 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. XXX. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 233.]

[17 Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 56. col. 1942.]

[18 The words in the parenthesis are not in 1567.]

[19 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Sanct. Bapt. Hom. xiii. Tom. II. p. 114.]

[20 Id. ibid.]

[21 Ignat. ad Trall. Interp. Epist. cap. ii. in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 60.]

[22 Concil. Vormat. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 734; where *in aquis mersio*, and *rursum*.]

[23 Of, 1567; from of, 1570.]

[24 1567 omits *M. Harding*.]

THE THIRD PART.

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 1.

Behold, these are the horrible heresies for the which a good part of the world is at this day condemned by the bishop of Rome, and yet were never heard to plead their cause. He should have commenced his suit rather against Christ, against the apostles, and against the holy fathers; for these things did not only proceed from them, but were also appointed by them. Except perhaps these men will say (as I think they will indeed), that Christ never instituted[1] the holy communion to be divided amongst the faithful; or that Christ's apostles and the ancient fathers said[2] private masses in every corner of the temples, now ten, now twenty together[3] in one day; or that Christ and his apostles banished all the common people from the sacrament of his blood; or that the thing that they themselves[4] do at this day everywhere, and do it so as they condemn him for an heretic which doth otherwise, is not called of Gelasius, their own doctor, plain "sacrilege;" or that these be not the very words of Ambrose, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostom and Origen, "The bread and wine in the sacraments remain still the same they were before;" "The thing which is seen upon the holy table is bread;" "There ceaseth not to be still the substance of bread and nature of wine;" "The substance and nature of bread is[5] not changed;" "The self-same bread, as touching the material substance, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy[6];" or that Christ, the apostles, and holy fathers, prayed not in that tongue which the people might understand; or that Christ hath not performed all things by that one offering which he once offered upon the cross[7]; or that the same sacrifice was unperfect[8], so that now[9] we have need of another.

M. HARDING.

... What crack ye of a good part of the world? The greater is the number of those ye have seduced, the more grievous shall be your judgment. There be not yet many years past that ye boasted of your poor small flock, alluding to the fewness of flock[10] that lived with Christ in flesh, and made their fewness an argument of the sincere truth. But now that, through your evil teaching, [a]the world groweth more to be dissolute and wicked, ye boast of your number.... This is certain, touching grounds of truth the church erreth not, as that which enjoyeth Christ's promise; and your congregation, teaching the contrary, must therefore be taken for the children[11] of the father of lies.... Though ten or twenty masses were not said in one day by Christ, the apostles, or fathers, as ye scoff, when the faith was first preached [b]and few believed, no churches (which here, not without profane malice, ye name temples) yet being built; this is no sufficient reason why we may not now, where the faith is generally received, have sundry masses in one church in one day. Ye make much ado about both kinds; and, to aggravate the matter, ye use the odious term of banishing

[a] Whoso wanteth dissolution and wickedness may seek it at Rome.

[b] Untruth. For in the time of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, &c., there were more Christians in the world than be at this present.

[1] Christ hath not instituted, Conf.]
[2] Fathers have said, Conf.]
[3] Togethers, Conf.]
[4] Thing which themselves, Conf.]
[5] Are, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[6] See before, pages 482, 3.]
[7] Conf. omits *upon the cross.*]
[8] Imperfect, Conf.; unperfite, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[9] And so now, Conf.]
[10] Of the flock, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[11] For children, Conf.]

the people from the cup. We teach the people for [c] *good causes to be content with one kind, doing them to understand they receive the whole body of* [d] *Christ, flesh and blood, no less than if they received both kinds...The sacrilege which Gelasius speaketh of consisteth* [e] *in dividing Christ, and the same he imputeth to the Manichees, as I have anotherwhere declared*[12]*: and therefore, as that toucheth not us, who do not divide Christ, but in the sacrament give to the people whole Christ, so it sheweth you to be either slanderous or ignorant....*

[c] Good causes against God.
[d] One dream to prove another.
[e] Untruth. For it stood in dividing of the sacrament.

To M. Jewel's challenge, Art. ii.

As for the tongue of the church-service, [f] *howsoever Christ, the apostles, and holy fathers prayed, the use of the Latin tongue, used in the service of the Latin church, is not by any reason or authority ye can bring yet so far disproved, that the church ought to condemn the order* [g] *from the beginning received and hitherto continued....*

[f] Howsoever Christ and his apostles did, the pope and his clergy cannot do amiss.
[g] Untruth, plain and sensible. For this order was not from the beginning.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We make no cracks of our numbers, M. Harding, but humbly give God thanks that, maugre all your practices and policies, hath published and proclaimed the name of his Son in every place through the world. The forth and force thereof grieveth you now, as it did others your fathers before you, that cried out in an agony, "What shall we do? All the world runneth after him." Of them St Cyril saith: *Quicquid... Christo credentium accesserit, sibi detractum putant*[13]: "As many faithful believers as are gotten to Christ, so many they think are lost from themselves."

Few or many.

John xii.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. viii. cap. i.

Notwithstanding, the truth of God hangeth neither of many nor of few. Liberius, the bishop of Rome, said sometime to the Arian emperor Constantius: *Non, si ego solus sum, idcirco minor est ratio fidei*[14]: "Although I be alone, yet the account of faith is therefore no whit the less." Christ compareth the kingdom of God unto a piece of leaven, which, being little in quantity, the woman taketh and layeth in a great lump of dough until the whole be all leavened.

Theodor. Lib. ii. cap. xvi. οὐ διὰ τὸ εἶναι μὲ μόνον, ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἐλαττοῦται λόγος[16].

Chrysostom saith: *Nemo paucitatem vestram deploret. Magna enim est virtus prædicationis; et quod semel fermentatum est, rursus fermentum ad cetera efficitur*[15]: "Let no man bewail the small number of you. For great is the virtue of preaching; and whoso is once leavened is himself made leaven to leaven others."

Matt. xiii. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 47.

It is noted in the gloss upon the Clementines: *Veritas pedetentim cognoscitur*[17]: "Truth is known by little and by little." And St Ambrose: *Constat diluvium eodem numero, quo cumulatum est, esse diminutum*[18]: "It is known that the flood in the time of Noe, as it grew by degrees, so by degrees it abated." Origen saith: *Ego concitabo eos in non gentem. Nos... sumus non gens, qui pauci ex ista civitate credimus, et alii ex alia. Et nusquam gens integra ab initio credulitatis videtur assumpta*[19]: "I shall provoke them by them that are no people. We are they that were no people, that believe in Christ, a few in this city, and a few in another. And never was there any nation that was taken whole at the first beginning of the faith." The meaning hereof is this, that God calleth men, not all together, but now a few, now more, as unto his secret wisdom seemeth best. So it is[20] written in the late council of Basil: *Spiritus Sanctus non illuminat omnes eodem tempore; sed ubi vult, et quando vult, spirat*[21]: "The Holy Ghost doth not give light to all men at one time; but breatheth where it will, and when it will."

In Prœm. Clemen. in Gloss. Ambros. de Noe et Arc. cap. xvii. Orig. in Psal. xxxvi. Hom. 1.

In Concil. Basil. in Epist. Synod. p. 152.

This is the counsel and the hand of God, M. Harding. We may say unto you as Tertullian said sometime unto the heathens: *Exquisitior quæque crudelitas*

Tertull. in Apolog.

[12 See Vol. I. pages 256, 7.]

[13 Comm. in Joan. Lib. VIII. cap. i. in Op. Insig. Cyril. Alex. Par. 1508. fol. 52. 2. See before, page 570, note 5.]

[14 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xvi. p. 94.]

[15 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VII. p. 484.]

[16 This is inserted from 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17 Sic et qui de veritatis cognitione a principio parum attingunt, postea quasi pedetentim ad quandam pleniorem veritatis mensuram perveniunt.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. in Gloss. in Procœm. cols. 2, 3.]

[18 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Noe et Arc. cap. xvii. 60. Tom. I. col. 253; where *cumulatum est diluvium esse imminutum.*]

[19 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Sup. Psalm. xxxvi. Hom. i. 1. Tom. II. p. 655.]

[20 Is it, 1567, 1570.]

[21 Non omnes Spiritus sanctus eodem tempore illuminat, sed &c.—Concil. Basil. Epist. Synod. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 152.]

vestra illecebra est magis sectæ: plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum[1]: "Your earnest cruelty is an enticement and a provocation unto this sect: as often as ye reckon us, ye find us more and more. The seed hereof is christian blood." Arnobius said sometime unto the enemies of the cross of Christ: *Nonne ... hæc saltem fidem vobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras, in tam brevi tempore et parvo, immensa nominis hujus sacramenta diffusa sunt*[2]? "At the least, do not these proofs make you believe, that ye see the great secrets of this name (of Christ) are poured abroad in so short space through all countries?"

Arnob. adv. Gent. Lib. i.

Prov. xxi.

Fight not against God, M. Harding. "There is no wisdom, there is no counsel against God[3]."

"This is certain (ye say), touching the grounds of faith the church erreth not." Whether your church have erred, or no, and in what grounds it hath erred[4], it shall better appear hereafter. Truly St Bernard saith of your church, even of your church of Rome: *Intestina et insanabilis* [*facta*] *est plaga ecclesiæ*[5]: "The wound of the church is within the bowels, and past recovery." And again: *Hæc sunt infelicissima tempora, quæ prævidit apostolus, ... in quibus homines sanam doctrinam non sustinent*[6]: "These be the unhappy days that the apostle saw before, when men cannot abide sound doctrine." This was St Bernard's judgment of your church, that it would hear no sound doctrine; and that it for that cause seemed utterly past recovery. Therefore, so certainly to assure yourself of a thing uncertain, it was no wisdom. We may say of your popes and bishops, whom only ye mean by the name of your church, as St Hierome said sometime of certain others your fathers long ago: *Non tam indignentur nobis hæc exponentibus et prophetis vaticinantibus, quam Dominum deprecentur, et studiose agant ne de sacerdotibus qui violant sancta Domini esse mereantur*[8]: "Let them not take stomach against us, that expound these things, nor against the prophets that foretold these[9] things; but let them pray unto God, and take good heed that they be not of those priests that defile the holy things of the Lord."

Bernard. ad Cler. in Concil. Rem. Bernard. in Cant. Hom. 33[7].

Hieron. In Soph. cap. iii.

Church. Temple.

"Churches (ye say), not without profane malice, ye call temples." Malice come unto him, M. Harding, that malice meaneth. The prophet David saith, "The Lord in his holy temple:" St Paul saith, "Your bodies be the temples of the Holy Ghost:" "Know ye not that ye be the temple of God? ... If any man defile the temple of God, the Lord will destroy him:" "Ye are the temple of the living God:" "What agreement is there between the temple of God and an idol?" So many times St Paul nameth temples together in one place; and yet I think without any great profane malice. But it shall be lawful for you, M. Harding, to make new sins, and to say the apostles of Christ were malicious and wicked, only for that they called the church of God by the name of temple. Would God ye had not turned God's temple into the synagogue of Satan! We see by your practice it is true that St Chrysostom saith: *Sicut de templo omne bonum egreditur, ita etiam de templo omne malum procedit*[10]: "As every good thing proceedeth from the temple, so every ill thing proceedeth likewise from the temple."

Psal. xi. 1 Cor. iii.

2 Cor. vi. 16.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 38. In Opere Imperf.[11]

In defence of your half-communion ye say, "for good causes" ye "teach the people to be content with one kind." And thus ye force the poor people, contrary to the express word of Christ, contrary to the example of the apostles and all the holy fathers in the primitive church, and contrary to the general use and order of a whole thousand years, to give ear to your "good causes." But these

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[1 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 50. p. 45.—But Jewel has made here a singular mistranslation of *metimur: We are mown down.*]

[2 Arnob. Op. Par. 1580. Adv. Gent. Lib. I. p. 148; where *immensi.*]

[3 Against the Lord, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4 1567 omits these three words.]

[5 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 16. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393. Conf. In Concil. Rem. Serm. 5. Vol. II. Tom. V. col. 737.]

[6 Id. ad Pastor. in Synod. Serm. 2. col. 739.]

[7 In 1567, 1570 this reference stands *Bernard. super Salve regina.* There are four sermons under this title falsely ascribed to St Bernard. See Op. Vol. II. Tom. V. cols. 721, &c. They were probably the work of Bernard abp. of Toledo.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1673.]

[9 Those, 1570.]

[10 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxviii. ex cap. xxi. Tom. VI. p. clix; where *sic et de templo.*]

[11 The last part of this reference does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

causes, no doubt, are great and worthy; otherwise ye would not weigh them against God. But wherefore are they dissembled? Why are they not told us? Your own doctors, Alphonsus de Castro and John Gerson, have laid them out in this wise particularly and at large: "The danger of shedding;" "the carrying from place to place;" "the fouling of the cups;" "the trouble of men's beards;" "the reserving for the sick;" "the turning the wine[12] into vinegar;" "the engendering of flies[13];" "the corruption or putrefaction;" "the loathsomeness that may happen for so many to drink of one cup;" "the impossibility of providing one cup that may be sufficient to serve all the people;" "in some places wine is dear;" "in some places the wine will be [14]frorne[15]."

Half-communion.

Alphons. adv. Hær. Lib. vi. De Euch. Sect. ult. Johan. Gers. de Comm. Laic.

These, M. Harding, be the fairest and greatest of your "good causes." And yet have you thus concluded in your late chapter at Trident: *Si quis dixerit, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam non justis causis et rationibus adductam fuisse ut laicos, atque etiam clericos non conficientes, sub panis tantummodo specie communicaret, aut in eo errasse, anathema sit*[16]: "If any man shall say that the holy catholic church, without just causes and reasons her moving, doth communicate both the laity and also priests, unless they minister, under the only form of bread, or that the church hath erred in the same, accursed be he." Therefore Tertullian saith rightly of you: *Credunt sine scripturis, ut credant contra scripturas*[17]: "They believe without the scriptures, that they may believe against the scriptures."

Concil. Trid. de Comm. sub Una Specie, cap. ii.

Tertull. de Præscr.

But specially I beseech you, M. Harding, consider well these words of St Hierome, and see whether ye apply[18] them to yourselves, or no: *In consummatione ... mundi ... scrutabitur Dominus Hierusalem, id est, ecclesiam suam cum lucerna, et ulciscetur super viros contemptores, qui noluerunt servare custodias suas, id est, mandata Domini contempserunt; et insuper ratione se peccare dicentes, blasphemaverunt in cordibus suis*[19]: "In the end of the world our Lord shall search Hierusalem, that is to say, his church, with a candle, and shall wreak himself upon the despisers that would not keep their watches, that is to say, that despised the commandments of God; and, over and besides this, saying they had good causes and reasons wherefore they should offend (and break God's commandments), they blasphemed in their hearts."

Hieron. in Soph. cap. i.

That ye surmise of Gelasius is most untrue. He speaketh not one word there of the dividing of Christ, as you imagine; nor had he any cause so to speak: but he saith in most plain wise, "It is sacrilege" to do the same thing that you do; that is to say, to divide the sacrament, and to minister the one part, as ye do, without the other. Look better on your books, and confess the truth as ye shall find it. The words be these: *Aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur; quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire*[20]: "Either let them receive the whole sacraments, or else let them be driven from the whole: for the division of one and the same mystery (or sacrament) cannot happen without great sacrilege." He speaketh not of the division of one Christ, as you tell us, but of the division of one mystery.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Comperimus.

Otherwise, touching Christ, we say with St Paul: *Unus Dominus Jesus Christus*: "There is one Lord Jesus Christ." And we protest with the bishops of

1 Cor. viii.

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[12] Turning of the wine, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Flees, 1567, 1570.] [14] Frorne: frozen.]

[15] Causæ quidem ad id tollendum plurimæ subsunt. Prima numerosa fidelium multitudo...propter quam communicandam periculum erat effusionis sanguinis...Altera...delatio vini ad loca distantiora pro communicandis infirmis...Deinde ne vinum pro infirmis conservatum verteretur in acetum...Et...ne scilicet homines hac occasione in eum ducerentur errorem, ut crederent sub utraque eucharistiæ specie non æque totum Christum contineri.—Alfons. de Castr. Adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. vi. Hær. ult. fol. 122. 2.

Primum periculum in effusione. Secundum in deportatione de loco ad locum. Tertium in vasorum sordidatione...Quartum in barbis longis laicorum. Quintum in conservatione pro infirmis...addito quod in æstate bibliones aut muscæ generarentur...Et quæritur in quo vase fieret consecratio tanti vini, quantum requireretur in Paschate...Sextum damnum esset in sumptuositate vini...Esset præterea periculum in congelatione, &c.—J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Contr. Hær. de Comm. Laic. sub utraq. Spec. Tom. I. Pars III. cols. 466, 7.]

[16] Concil. Trident. Sess. XXI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. 1671-2. De Comm. sub utraq. Spec. can. 2. Tom. XIV. col. 847.]

[17] Tertull. Op. De Præscr. Hær. 23. p. 239; where *credant*, and *adversus*.]

[18] Ye may apply, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] Hieron. Op. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1653; where *suas servare custodias*.]

[20] Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918; where *provenire*.]

Evagr. Lib. ii. cap. xvii. Concil. Chaleed. Act. 2. Ἀνάθεμα τῷ μερίζοντι· ἀνάθεμα τῷ διαιροῦντι.

the east in the council of Chalcedon: "Accursed be he that parteth Christ: accursed be he that divideth him[1]."

That you say, the order of your Latin service hath evermore been used in the Latin church from the beginning, it is utterly untrue. For proof whereof I remit you to my former Reply, in the third article and the fifteenth division[2].

The rest that ye allege is not worth the answering.

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 2.

Dispense against God's Word.

All these things must they of necessity say, unless perchance they had rather say thus, that "all law and right is locked up in the treasury of the pope's breast[3];" and that (as once one of his soothing pages and claw-backs did not stick to say) the "pope is able to dispense against the apostles," against a council, and against the canons and rules of the apostles[4]; and that he is not bound to stand, neither to the examples, nor to the ordinances, nor to the laws of Christ.

M. HARDING.

It is no reason that divines be required to make good whatsoever is written by the canonists or schoolmen.

To say that "all law and right (your Latin term is fas*) is locked up in the treasury of the pope's breast," it were absurd and unreasonable. Marry, to say that the laws rest in the pope's breast, after a certain meaning, as hereafter shall be declared, it is *not altogether beside truth and reason. But, sirs, what if some mean writer or glosser upon the canon law speak somewhere out of square, if all should be exactly tried by the scripture[5], will ye lay that to our charge? Shall the faith of the catholic church thereby be called in doubt and question? We take not upon us to defend all that the canonists or schoolmen say or write, &c.... In this kind or order be many things which may rather be called rules of manners than principles, or such as we term* axiomata *of our faith. These, although they be found written in the scripture, forasmuch as they have been commanded by an occasion and for some cause, they may for cause and occasion, and (as we find in* C. Lector,*) for necessity[6] by God's deputy[7] and vicar be supplied, holpen, expounded. And, if the case so require, he in the same, for a certain cause, with a certain person, for a certain time, with certain circumstances, may dispense by the same Spirit they were first founded and instituted withal, and with the same intention, to wit, for some special good and furtherance of godliness.... Such administration of God's law, and such dispensation thereof, as of a precious treasure, not free, or at liberty and pleasure, but an even, just, and good dispensation, they do attribute to God's vicar, whom this defender calleth the pope's parasites, pages, and claw-backs, himself a very page, slave, and claw-back to the devil.*

* "Not altogether beside truth:" a cold defence.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye roam, and wander, and go masked, as a man that were benighted and had lost his way[8]. In some cases (ye say) the pope may dispense against God's word: in some cases he may not. Fain would ye for shame somewhat limit and restrain his immoderate authority; but ye know not where to lay the bounds. Ye make small account of your school-doctors and canonists, that is to say, of the principal pillars of your catholic church, and think them not worthy to be your guides. Howbeit, your labour cannot all be lost; for they will think as light of you.

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[1] ...ἀνάθεμα τῷ μερίζοντι, καὶ τῷ συγχέοντι.—Concil. Calched. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 343. Conf. Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xviii. pp. 312, 21.]

[2] See Vol. I. pages 288, &c.]

[3] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 1. col. 11. See Vol. I. pages 68, 442.]

[4] See before, page 218.]

[5] By scripture, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6] Martin. Papa in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxiv. can. 18. col. 173.]

[7] Depute, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] Was, 1570.]

But, forasmuch as ye say, they flatter not the pope, nor be his pages or parasites, but speak roundly to him, and tell him his own, it shall not be much amiss to hearken a little what they say.

Dispense against God's Word.

One of them saith thus: *Papa potest dispensare contra jus naturale*[9]: "The pope may dispense against the law of nature." Another saith: *Papa dispensat contra canones apostolorum*[10]: "The pope dispenseth against the canons or rules of the apostles." Another saith: *Papa potest . . . mutare formam verborum in baptismo*[11]: "The pope may change the form of words in baptism." Another saith: *Privilegium dare*[12] *potest contra jus divinum*[13]: "The pope's privilege may be granted against the law of God." Another saith: *Papa ex maxima causa potest dispensare contra novum testamentum*[14]: "The pope, upon a very great cause, may dispense against the new testament." Another saith: *Papa potest dispensare de omnibus præceptis veteris et novi testamenti*[15]: "The pope may dispense for any commandment of the old or new testament." Another saith: *Papa potest dispensare contra epistolas Pauli*[16]: "The pope may dispense against the epistles of St Paul." And, somewhat to qualify the outrage of the matter, another saith: *Papa potest dispensare contra jus divinum in particulari, non in universali*[17]: "The pope may dispense against the law of God in particular, not in general." And again: *Papa potest tollere jus divinum ex parte*[18], *non in totum*[19]: "The pope may abolish the law of God in part, but not in whole." Another saith: *Martinus papa V. . . . dispensavit cum quodam qui acceperat germanam suam in uxorem*[20]: "Pope Martin the fifth dispensed with a man that had taken to wife his own sister." Whether this report be true or false, I refer myself[21] to the credit of the author. Verily, that the natural brother should marry his own natural sister, it would need a good strong dispensation; for God himself hath by most express words commanded the contrary[22]. Another saith: *Papa potest dispensare cum omnibus personis, nisi cum patre et matre*: "The pope may dispense with all persons (touching marriage) saving only with father and mother" (to marry or to be married to their children). Another saith: *Papa potest supra jus dispensare . . . . [et] de injustitia potest facere justitiam . . . et sententiam, quæ nulla est, facere aliquam, et de nihilo facere aliquid*[23]: "The pope may dispense above the law; the pope of wrong may make right; the pope of no sentence may make a sentence; the pope of nothing may make something." The cause hereof, as another saith, is this: *Quia papa potest, excepto peccato, quasi omnia facere quæ potest* [24] *Deus*[25]: "Sin only excepted, the pope may do in a manner whatsoever God may do[26]."

xv. Quæst. 6. Author. in Gloss. Dist. 82. Presbyter. Felin. de Constit. cap. Stat. Can. col. 6. vi. Quæst. I. Quicunque, in Gloss. Panorm. Extr. de Divort. cap. fin. Summ. Angel. in Dict. Pap. Felin. de Constit. cap. Stat. Can. Felin. de Major. et Obed. cap. 2. Idem de Major. et Obed. cap. fin. Summ. Angel. in Dict. Pap. Panorm. Extr. de Elect. et Electi Potest. Venerabilem. De Transl. Episc. Quanto. Hostiens. de Transl. Episc. Quanto.

Another saith: *Papa habet auctoritatem declarandi scripturas, ita ut non liceat oppositum tenere vel opinari*[27]: "The pope hath authority so to expound and to declare the scriptures, that it may not be lawful for any man to hold or to

Herv. de Potest. Pap.

[9 Ibid. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xv. Quæst. vi. Gloss. in can. 2. col. 1083. See before, page 218, note 11.]

[10 Ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxiv. Gloss. in can. 18; Dist. lxxxii. Gloss. in can. 5. cols. 173, 398. See before, page 218, note 13.]

[11 Felin. Sand. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 7. Tom. I. Pars Prim. fol. 25; where *mutare verborum formam.*]

[12 Dari, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xvi. Quæst. i. Gloss. in can. 45. col. 1113. See before, page 218, note 10.]

[14 Panorm. Sup. Quart. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Divort. Tit. xix. cap. ult. fol. 47. See before, page 218, note 14.]

[15 Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Papa 1. fol. 225. 2. See before, page 218, note 15.]

[16 An autem possit papa statuere contra epistolas Pauli? Dic remissive &c.—Felin. Sand. Comm. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 7. Tom. I. Pars Prim. fol. 25.]

[17 ...prohibitio disponendi contra jus divinum in papa procedit in dispositione universali, quæ tollit jus divinum, non in particulari.—Id. ibid. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 2. fol. 232. 2.]

[18 Patre, 1570.]

[19 ...quando fit mentio de potestate papæ in his, quæ sunt de jure divino, non debetis arguere de toto ad partem, dicendo, Non tollit hoc jus in toto...ergo nec in parte.—Id. ibid. cap. 17. fol. 243.]

[20 Summ. Angel. Papa 1. fol. 225. 2; where *papa Martinus.*]

[21 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[22 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[23 ...de nullo potest aliquid facere...et sententiam, quæ nulla est, facit aliquam...ipse enim potest &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. vii. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 217.]

[24 Peccato quicquid Deus ipse potest, 1567.]

[25 Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Sup. Prim. Decretal. De Transl. Episc. fol. 75. 2. Conf. Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. De Elect. Tit. vi. cap. 34. fol. 156. See before, page 270, note 13.]

[26 Do whatsoever God himself may do, 1567.]

[27 ...in casibus si est aliquod dubium ad ipsum pertinet auctoritas declarandi...ita quod non &c.—Herv. de Potest. Pap. Par. 1506. fol. AA. ii. 2.]

Dispense against God's Word.

think the contrary." For cardinal[1] Cusanus saith, as it is said before: *Scripturæ ad tempus adaptatæ sunt, et varie intellectæ, ita ut uno tempore secundum currentem universalem ritum exponantur, mutato ritu iterum sententia mutetur*[2]: "The scriptures are applied unto the time, and are diversly understanded; so that at one time they are taken according to the universal current order, which order being changed, the meaning of the scriptures[3] is changed too."

Card. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2. Franc. de Maron. in iv. Dist. 19. Quæst. 1. Art. ii. ix. Quæst. 3. Nemo, in Gloss.

Another demandeth a question: *Utrum papa ex plenitudine potestatis possit omnia*[4]? "Whether the pope by the fulness of his power may do all things?"

Another saith: *Si totus mundus sententiet . . . contra papam, videtur quod standum esset sententiæ papæ*[5]: "If all the world would give sentence contrary to the pope, yet it seemeth we ought to stand to the sentence of the pope."

These, M. Harding, by your judgment, are neither pages nor parasites, but good, sad, and earnest friends, such as love roughly and plainly to utter their mind without flattery.

Dan. vii.

This doubtless is it that Daniel so long before prophesied of him: *Dabitur illi os loquens grandia:* "He shall have a mouth given him uttering great and presumptuous matters." For indeed, notwithstanding all this glorious glittering of painted authority, yet one of the pope's own men saith: *Papa non potest facere de quadrato rotundum*[6]: "The pope (notwithstanding his privileges and all his power)[7] cannot make a square thing round." St Bernard saith: *An regula non concordat [cum] evangelio vel apostolo? Alioqui regula jam non est regula; quia non est recta*[8]: "Doth not the rule agree with the gospel or with the apostle? Otherwise that rule is no rule at all; for it is crooked; it is not straight."

Johan. Andr. de Judic. Cum venissent. Bernard. in Apolog. ad Guil. Abbat.

Inter Decret. Zosim.

And therefore pope Zosimus in more sober wise saith thus: *Contra statuta patrum condere aliquid, vel mutare, ne hujus quidem sedis auctoritas potest*[9]: "The authority of this see cannot order or change any thing contrary to the orders of our fathers."

xi. Quæst. 3. Si is qui.

Isidorus saith: *Is qui præest, si præter voluntatem . . . vel præter quod in scripturis sanctis evidenter præcipitur, vel dicit aliquid, vel imperat, tanquam falsus testis Dei et sacrilegus habeatur*[10]: "He that is in authority, if he speak or command any thing besides the will and[11] meaning of God's word, or otherwise than is expressly commanded in the scriptures, let him be taken as a church-robber, and as a false witness against God."

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 3.

We for our part[12] have learned these things of Christ, of the apostles, of the devout fathers; and do sincerely with good faith teach the people of God the same: which thing is the only cause why we at this day are called heretics of the chief prelate (no doubt) of religion. O immortal God! hath Christ himself then, the apostles, and so many fathers all at once gone astray? Were then Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, Theodoretus[13], forsakers of the catholic faith? Was so notable

[1 Cardinalis, 1567, 1570.—Here and elsewhere 1567 cites in the margin, "Card. Cusan. de Authorit. Eccles. et Concil. supra et contra scripturam."]

[2 ...scripturasque esse ad tempus adaptatas et varie intellectas, ita &c. exponerentur &c. mutaretur. —N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 833.]

[3 Scripture, 1567.]

[4 Prima. utrum princeps ecclesiæ habeat plenitudinem potestatis in jurisdictione spirituali universalis ecclesiæ...si...pontifex mutilaret aliquem vel occideret ...non esset irregularis: quia...nec aliquod jus ipsum obligat.—F. de Mayron. In Sentent. Venet. 1504-7. Lib. iv. Dist. xix. Quæst. i. fol. 33. 2.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. ix. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 13. col. 877. See Vol. I. page 68, note 5.]

[6 Host. fatetur tamen, quod quandiu papa vivit, dominus dicitur, et potest mutare quadrata rotundis ...tamen vere loquendo nec ipse nec alius prælatus est Dominus &c.—Joan. Andr. in Decretal. Comm. Venet. 1581. Lib. ii. Tit. i. De Judic. cap. 12. fol. 8. 2.]

[7 The clause within parentheses is not in 1567.]

[8 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Apol. ad Guillelm. Abbat. cap. v. 11. Vol. I. Tom. ii. col. 532; where *alioquin*.]

[9 Zoz. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xxv. Quæst. i. can. 7. col. 1439; where *nec hujus*, and *potest auctoritas*.]

[10 Isidor. in eod. ibid. Caus. xi. Quæst. iii. can. 101. col. 957; where *sanctis scripturis, imperet*, and *aut sacrilegus*.]

[11 Or, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Parts, Conf.]

[13 Theodorit, Conf.]

a consent of so many ancient bishops and learned men nothing else but a conspiracy of heretics? Or is that now condemned in us which was then commended in them? Or is the thing now, by alteration only of one[14] man's affections[15], suddenly become schismatic, which in them was counted catholic? Or shall that which in times past was undoubtedly true[16] now by and by, because it liketh not these men, be judged false? Let them then bring forth another gospel, and let them shew the causes why these things, which so long have openly been observed and well allowed in the church of God, ought now in the end to be called in again[17]. We know well enough that the same word which was opened by Christ, and spread abroad by the apostles, is sufficient both to our[18] salvation, and also to uphold and maintain all truth, and to confound[19] all manner of heresy. By that word only do we condemn all sorts of the old heretics, whom these men say we have called out of hell again. As for the Arians, the[20] Eutychians, the Marcionites, the Ebionites, the Valentinians, the Carpocratians, the Tatians, the Novatians, and, shortly, all them which have a wicked opinion either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other point of christian religion; forsomuch as they be confuted by the gospel of Christ, we plainly pronounce them for detestable and damned[21] persons, and defy them even unto the devil. Neither do we leave them so, but we also severely and straitly hold them in by lawful and politic punishments, if they fortune to break out anywhere and bewray themselves.

M. HARDING.

We for our part know, as now we have proved, that ye have not learned these things of Christ, nor of the apostles, nor of the fathers; but of Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Calvin, Peter Martyr, Bucer, and such other apostates; and that ye do most falsely and wickedly lead the people into the pit with you. And therefore ye are justly condemned by the church, and deemed heretics, &c....[22]

How condemn ye the Donatists, seeing with them ye break and throw down the holy altars of God, on which (as Optatus writeth) the body and blood of Christ was wont to be laid[23]*? &c....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hereto, M. Harding, the whole gross sum of your answer in effect is this: "Ye falsely and wickedly lead the people; ye are apostates; ye are heretics; ye are impudent and rebellious children; ye are despisers of God, mockers of your mother, and perverters of the apostles; ye utter lies; ye speak blasphemies." At the last ye say, the devil dwelleth in our hearts, as in his shop. This is a hasty kind of logic, M. Harding. He must needs be hard-hearted, that will not yield to such arguments. Altars.

To leave other your waste words of Vigilantius, Jovinian, Manichee, Aerius, and such others, in the end ye pronounce your definitive sentence as a judge, and condemn us for heretics, for that we have taken down your shops and gainful booths, which ye call the "holy altars of God." Verily, this must needs be thought either extreme rigour or great folly, of the removing of a stone to make

[14 On, 1611.]

[15 Of men's affection, Conf.; of men's affections, Def. 1567.]

[16 Was true, Conf.]

[17 End be called again, Conf.]

[18 Both our, Conf.]

[19 And all truth to uphold and maintain, and also to confound, Conf.]

[20 Conf. omits *the*.]

[21 Castaway, Conf.]

[22 Jewel has omitted a very large part of Harding's reply to this division, as containing little argument, and consisting chiefly of a series of questions.]

[23 ...calida de fragmentis altarium facta est... quid vos offenderat Christus, cujus illic per certa momenta corpus et sanguis habitabat?—Optat. De Schism. Donat. Lut. Par. 1700. Lib. VI. 1. p. 92. Conf. ibid. p. 91.]

Altars.

an heresy. Such heresies, I trow, St Augustine, St Ambrose, Optatus, and other learned fathers knew but few.

Neither is there any good sufficient reason to be shewed, wherefore it should more be heresy in us to take down your needless and superstitious walls, which ye had erected of yourselves without commission, than it was lately in you to tear in sunder and to burn our communion-tables; in the erection and use whereof we had the undoubted example both of Christ himself and also of the ancient catholic fathers. I say nothing of your cruelty in burning so many bibles and books of God's holy word, so many of your brethren's bodies, so many temples of the Holy Ghost.

As for the altars which Optatus saith the Donatists brake down, they were certainly "tables of wood," such as we have, and not "heaps of stones," such as ye have; as in my former Reply made unto you it may better appear[1]. St Augustine, reporting the same story, saith: "The Donatists in their fury brake down the altar-boards." His words be these: *Lignis... ejusdem altaris effractis*[2]. Likewise saith Athanasius of the like fury of the Arians: *Subsellia, thronum, mensam ligneam, et tabulas ecclesiæ, et cetera quæ poterant foras elata combusserunt*[3]: "They carried forth and burnt the seats, the pulpit, the wooden board, the church-tables, and such other things as they could get."

Art. iii. Div. 26.

August. Epist. 50. ad Bonifac.

Athanas. in Epist. ad Solit. Vit. Agent.

Touching your stone altars, Beatus Rhenanus saith: *In nostris basilicis ararum superadditititia structura novitatem præ se fert*[4]: "In our churches the building up of altars added to the rest declareth a novelty." This learned man telleth you, M. Harding, that your stone altars are but newly brought into the church of God; and that our communion-tables are old and ancient, and have been used from the beginning[5].

B. Rhenan. in Epist. Præf. Lit. Chrysost.

We have such altars, M. Harding, as Christ, his apostles, St Augustine, Optatus, and other catholic and holy fathers had and used, whose examples to follow we never thought it to be such heresy.

But Optatus saith, "The body and blood of Christ was wont to be laid upon the altar;" and with these words ye would fain astonne your simple reader, as if Christ's body lay there really, fleshly, verily, and indeed. But ye should remember that St Augustine saith: *Sacramentum corporis Christi secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est; [et] sacramentum sanguinis Christi [secundum quendam modum] sanguis Christi est*[6]: "The sacrament of Christ's body (not verily and indeed, but) after a certain manner of speech is Christ's body; and the sacrament of Christ's blood after a certain manner of speech is the blood of Christ." This manner of speech your own gloss thus expoundeth: *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat [corpus Christi*[7]*]*[8]: "It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." And as Optatus saith, Christ's body and blood were laid upon the altar or communion-table; even so St Augustine saith, the whole people was in the communion-cup, and laid upon the holy table. These be his words: *Vos estis in mensa:... vos estis in calice*[9]: "You are upon the table: you are in the cup." As the people is "upon the table," so is Christ's body "upon the table." The people is not laid there verily and indeed, but only in a mystery: even so the body of Christ, as Optatus saith, is laid there, not verily and indeed, nor in real and[10] fleshly presence, but in a mystery.

August. ad Bonifac. Epist. 23.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est quod, in Gloss.

August. ad Infant. citat. a Bed. in 1 Cor. x.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 1.

Indeed we grant that certain new and very strange sects, as the Anabaptists, Libertines, Menonians, and Zuenckfeldians, have been stirring

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[1 See Vol. I. pages 310, 11.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Bonifac. seu Epist. clxxxv. cap. vii. 27. Tom. II. col. 654; where *effracti*.]

[3 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 56. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 378.]

[4 ...ararum in nostris basilicis superaddititia &c. ferunt.—B. Rhenan. Præf. in Miss. Chrysost. ad calc. Miss. Lat. Antiq. Argent. 1557. p. 107.]

[5 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6 August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See Vol. I. page 518, note 6.]

[7 Christe, 1567.]

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937. See Vol. II. page 621, note 8.]

[9 August. Op. Serm. ccxxix. Tom. V. col. 976. Conf. Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. I. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365.]

[10 An, 1570.]

in the world ever sithence[11] the gospel did first spring. But the world seeth now right well (thanks be given to our God!) that we have neither[12] bred, nor taught, nor kept up these monsters. In good fellowship, I pray thee, whosoever thou be, read our books[13]: they are to be sold in every place. What hath there ever been written by any of our company, that[14] might plainly bear with the madness of any of those heretics? Nay, I say unto you, there is no country this[15] day so free from their pestilent infections as these be, wherein the gospel of Christ[16] is freely and commonly preached[17]: so that, if they weigh the very matter with earnest and upright advisement, this thing is a great argument of our part[18], that this same doctrine which we teach is the very truth of the gospel of Christ[19]. For lightly neither is cockle wont to grow without wheat[20], nor yet the chaff without the corn. For from the very apostles' times, who knoweth not how many heresies did rise up even together, so soon as the gospel was first spread abroad? Who ever had heard tell of Simon, Menander, Saturninus[21], Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius[22], Colorbasius, Heracleo, Lucianus, Severus, and other like, before[23] the apostles were sent abroad? But why stand we reckoning up these? Epiphanius rehearseth up four-score sundry heresies, and Augustine many more, which sprang[24] up even together with the gospel. What then? Was the gospel therefore not the gospel, because heresies sprang up withal? Or was Christ therefore not Christ? Or was Christ and his gospel the cause of these heresies[25]?

And yet, as we said, doth not this great crop and heap of heresies grow up amongst us, which do openly, abroad, and frankly, teach the gospel. These poisons take their beginnings, their increasing[26], and strength amongst our adversaries, in blindness and in darkness, amongst whom truth is with tyranny and cruelty kept under, and cannot be heard but in corners and secret meetings. But let them make a proof; let them give the gospel free passage; let the truth of Jesus Christ give her[27] clear light, and stretch forth her[28] bright beams into all parts; and then shall they forthwith see how all these shadows straight will vanish and pass away at the light of the gospel, even as the thick mist of the night consumeth at the sight of the sun. For, whilst these men sit still, and make merry, and do nothing, we continually repress and put back all those heresies which they falsely charge us to nourish and maintain.

M. HARDING.

Libertines. The doctrine of the Libertines' gospel.

.... As for Libertines, what other substance hath your gospel, besides carnal liberty and licentious living? To break the vow of chastity, solemnly made to God, by whose grace and your endeavour it might well have been kept, and to break it for wantonness, and to satisfy lust; is not that proper to Libertines? To give over fasting, watching in prayer, and

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[11 Ever since, Conf.]
[12 Neither have, Conf.]
[13 Book, Def. 1570.]
[14 Which, Conf.]
[15 Country at this, Conf.]
[16 Def. 1567 omits *of Christ.*]
[17 As they be wherein the gospel is freely and commonly taught, Conf.]
[18 Def. 1567 omits *of our part.*]
[19 Argument that this same is the very truth of the gospel which we do teach, Conf.]
[20 Without the wheat, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[21 Saturnius, Def. 1570.]
[22 Myrcosius, 1611.]
[23 Lucianus and Severus before, Conf.]
[24 Which did spring, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[25 This sentence is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[26 Increasings, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[27 Jesu Christ give his, Conf.; Jesus Christ give his, Def. 1567.]
[28 His, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

* Most vain untruth. See the answer.

* Untruth, joined with vile slander.

*confession of sins, which should be made to a priest, by * whom only (except in case of necessity) God promised*[1] *forgiveness;... to regard no tradition, though it came from the apostles; briefly, to teach that all kind of outward godliness is superstitious and pharisaical, and that every man must, without staggering or doubting, believe that himself shall be saved, if he have faith, * do he what him list; is this no point of liberty? What made so many malapert prentices, pleasant courtiers, discoursing parliament Machiavellists, and all other whatsoever flesh-worms, merchants, idle artificers, to embrace your gospel, rather than the graver and devouter sort of men which be weaned from the pleasure of this life; but that it was plausible to the world, and pleasant to the flesh, from which that kind of men are most hardly drawn? And yet forsooth do not ye foster up Libertines....*

* Four great untruths all together.

*Who can reckon the sects that be in Germany, being * sixteen or more professed in some one town? * Bemeland is almost as full of heresies as of houses. * Silesia is as bad; and * Moravia, a country there adjoining, is never a whit better. And yet do not these sects bud where your gospel is freely and openly preached?...*

Bemeland. Silesia. Moravia.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Liberty.

Here, M. Harding, I have purposely left out a great heap of your talk, not thinking it needful to answer all your void words. Having no more regard what ye say, it was no hard matter for you to call us Libertines, and to say the gospel that we preach hath "none other substance but carnal liberty and licentious living." If ye had remembered either the city of Rome, where ye have been, or the town of Antwerp or Lovain, where ye now dwell, ye could not well, without blushing, have charged us with carnal liberty.

Our wantons and flesh-worms (for so it liketh you to call them) have been contented to forsake fathers, mothers, wives, children, goods, and livings, and meekly to submit themselves to the extreme terror of all your cruelties, and to yield their bodies unto the death, to be starved for hunger, and to be burnt in fire, only for the name and gospel of Jesus Christ. So delicate flesh-worms, and such wantons are they[2]. Ye will say, as your wont is when ye have nothing else to say, they died stubbornly in wilful error: yet I reckon ye will not say they died in great pleasance or carnal liberty. It is a strange kind of fleshly wantonness for a man to deny himself, and to take up his cross, and to follow Christ. And yet is this the whole "substance" of our gospel.

Justinus the Martyr, notwithstanding he was an heathen, and thought then, even as you do now, that the professors of the name of Christ were nothing else but a sort of wanton and wilful people, yet, when he saw how constantly they died, and how patiently they suffered whatsoever was laid upon them, he was at length converted himself, and by their example became a Christian. Thus Eusebius reporteth his words: *Ego ipse Platonis disciplinis delectatus, &c.*[3]: "I myself[4], taking pleasure in Plato's doctrine, and hearing the Christians ill spoken of, and seeing them to go courageously and boldly to their death, and to suffer all such things as were thought most terrible, I thought it a thing impossible that such men should live wickedly or in wantonness."

Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. viii. Ἐνενόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς.

So likewise writeth Sozomenus touching the same: "The Christians being spoiled of their goods, and regarding nothing that they had, being hanged on gibbets, and suffering all manner torments so without care or sense as if their bodies had not been their own, neither allured with flattery nor amazed with threats, they gave all men thereby[5] to understand that they suffered these things (not of wantonness, but) for some great reward[6]."

Sozom. Lib. i. cap. i. Δῆλον πᾶσιν ἐποίησαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ μεγίστων ἄθλων τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ὑπομένουσι.

The prophet David saith: *In quo corriget adolescens viam suam? In custodiendo sermones tuos:* "Whereby shall a young man (not grow to be a fleshly wanton, but) amend his life and correct his way?" He answereth: O Lord, "by the keeping of thy words."

Psal. cxix.

[1 Promiseth, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[2 This sentence is not in 1567.]
[3 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. viii. p. 99.]
[4 Meself, 1567, 1570.]
[5 Hereby, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[6 Soz. in eod. Lib. I. cap. i. pp. 326, 7.]

Therefore we may justly say to you, as Cyrillus said sometime to Julianus the renegate[7] in like case: *Etiam pueri in sacris literis enutriti statim fiunt religiosissimi, etiamsi minus eloquentes*[8]: "Even our children, being brought up in the holy scriptures, straightway become most godly, although not so eloquent or well-spoken." Cyril. contr. Jul. Lib. vii. p. 162.

If there be any such flesh-worms and wantons this day, they be not the "gospellers," which word so much offendeth you: they be of you and of yours, M. Harding; that is, not the professors, but the mockers and wilful despisers of the gospel.

Ye say: "Confession should be made unto the priest, by whom only (ye say) God hath promised forgiveness of sin." I beseech you, where find you this promise? Shew the words: allege the place: regard your credit: otherwise ye will be noted of untruth. Where did God or Christ ever say, "Forgiveness of sin is given only by the priest?" If it be so indeed, then why doth Chrysostom say, *Nunc necessarium non est præsentibus testibus confiteri; solus Deus te confitentem videat*[9]? "Now it is not needful to make confession in the presence of witnesses: let God only see thee making thy confession?" Why doth St Hierome say, *Apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæritur*[10]? "It is not the sentence or absolution of the priest, but the life of the sinner, that is regarded before God?" Howbeit, hereof we have sufficiently said before. Chrysost. de Pœn. et Conf. Hieron in Matt. cap. xvi.

"Luther (ye say) first procured that men should acknowledge no one head and judge, whom (as by your report St Cyprian saith) they might obey as the vicar of Christ[11]." Of this one head and one judge neither Christ nor his apostles ever told us. St Cyprian, as it is said before, saith thus: *Christus parem dedit apostolis omnibus potestatem*[12]: "Christ gave unto all his apostles equal power." And St Chrysostom saith: *Quicunque ... desiderat primatum in terra, inveniet in cœlo confusionem*[13]: "Whosoever seeketh the primacy in earth, he in heaven shall find confusion." One Head. One Judge. Cypr. de Simpl. Præl. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 35. In Opere Imperfect.[14]

The place of St Cyprian touching one head and one judge is well alleged by you, M. Harding, but ill applied. It is true that St Cyprian saith the people ought to obey one judge or one head as the vicar of Christ. But that by the same one head or judge he meant either the bishop of Rome, or any one other certain several bishop, it is most untrue. St Cyprian's meaning is, as I have otherwhere more largely declared[15], that in every diocese the people ought to know one bishop as head and judge, and him to obey as the vicar of Christ. One head or judge, I say, in every diocese; not one universal head over all the world. For proof whereof, M. Harding, read St Cyprian's epistle unto Florentinus Pupianus, and ye shall find that he useth the self-same words of himself, and not of the pope; and I doubt not but ye will much marvel and mislike your own error. His words be these: *Unde ... schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt et oriuntur, [nisi] dum episcopus, qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur*[16]? "Wherehence have schisms and heresies sprung up, or wherehence do they spring, unless it be that the bishop, which is one, and ruleth the church, by the proud presumption of certain is despised?" In the former Reply, Art. iv. Div. 5. Cypr. Lib. iv. Epist. 9

Here St Cyprian calleth himself that one bishop and that one head and judge of the church. Yet was he only the bishop of Carthage in Africa, and not the pope or bishop of Rome. Hereof I have spoken more at large in my former Reply[15]. Art. iv. Div. 5.

Touching the pope, wherein he may be known for Christ's vicar, it were hard

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[7 Regenerate, 1609, 1611.]

[8 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Lib. VII. Tom. VI. p. 234.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœnit. Hom. iv. Tom. II. p. 307. See before, page 376, note 10; also Vol. I. page 120.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75; where *quæratur*.]

[11 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 129. See Vol. I. page 347, note 13.]

[12 Id. de Unit. Eccles. p. 107. See before, page 286.]

[13 Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxv. ex cap. xx. Tom. VI. p. cliii. See before, page 312, note 2.]

[14 *In Opere Imperfect.* does not appear in 1567, 1570.]

[15 See Vol. I. pages 347, &c.]

[16 Cypr. Op. Ad Florent. et Pup. Epist. lxvi. p. 167; where *inde*.]

to say; unless it be for that, wheresoever the pope is present, there Christ is away. Chrysostom saith: *Qui vanam gloriam non desiderat, ille debet, Christi vicarius factus, Christi justitiam prædicare*[1]: "He that desireth not vain-glory, being made Christ's vicar, ought to preach the justice of Christ."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 6. In Opere Imperfect.[2]

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 1.

Where they say that we have fallen into sundry sects, and would be called, some of us Lutherans, and[3] some of us Zuinglians, and cannot yet well agree among ourselves touching the whole substance of our doctrine[4]; what would these men have said if they had been in the first times of the apostles and holy fathers, when one said, "I hold of Paul;" another[5], "I hold of Cephas;" another, "I hold of Apollos[6]? when Paul did so sharply rebuke Peter? when, upon a falling out, Barnabas departed from Paul? when, as Origen mentioneth, the Christians were divided into so many factions as that they kept no more but the name of Christians in common among them, being in no manner of thing else like to Christians? when, as Socrates saith, for their dissensions and sundry sects they were laughed and jested at openly of the people in their stages and common[7] game-plays? when, as Constantine the emperor affirmeth, there were such numbers[8] of variances and brawlings in the church, that it might justly seem a misery far passing all the former miseries? when also Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ruffine, Hierome, being all Christians, being all fathers, being all catholics, quarrelled[9] one against another with most bitter and most remediless[10] contentions without end? when, as saith Nazianzene, the parts of one body were consumed and wasted one of another? when the whole east part of the church was[11] divided from the west, only about[12] leavened bread, and only for the keeping[13] of Easter-day, which were indeed no great matters to be strived for? and when in all councils new creeds and new decrees continually were devised?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Dissensions among the Fathers.

The sum of M. Harding's answer hereto is this: "That the bitter dissensions that in old times fell out amongst the learned and godly fathers stood rather * in matters of manners, and other small quarrels, than in cases and questions of faith[14]." For trial of the truth herein, it may please you to consider well these few.

* A manifest untruth of M. Harding's. Hieron. in Hierem. Lib. iv. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. lxxiii. Clement. Strom. Lib. iii. et v. Just. in Apol.

Papias, Apollinaris, Victorinus, Tertullianus, Irenæus, Lactantius, and others, defended the heresy of the *Chiliastæ*, that said "Christ, after the general judgment, should dwell here a thousand years together upon the earth[15]." Irenæus held, that man at the beginning, when he was first created, was [16]unperfect[17]. Clemens Alexandrinus[18] and Justinus[19] held, that the angels fell and offended God, in that they desired the company of women. But it shall be in vain to stand long herein; for of such examples there is great store.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. vi. ex cap. iv. Tom. VI. p. li; where *justitiam Christi*.]

[2 1567, 1570 omit *In Opere Imperfect.*]

[3 Conf. omits *and*.]

[4 Of doctrine, Conf.]

[5 And other, Def. 1567.]

[6 Apollo, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7 People in the common, Conf.]

[8 Such a number, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[9 Did strive, Conf.]

[10 And remediless, Conf.]

[11 The east part was, Conf.]

[12 For, Conf.]

[13 For keeping, Conf.]

[14 Of the faith, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. XVIII. in Isai. Proph. Prolog. Tom. III. cols. 477, 8.]

[16 Unperfite, 1567, 1570.]

[17 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. XXXVIII. p. 283.]

[18 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. III. 7; V. 1. Tom. I. p. 538. Tom. II. 650.]

[19 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. II. 5. p. 92.]

To come near the purpose: Theophilus calleth Epiphanius *hæresiarcham*[20], that is, "the grand captain and father of heretics." Gennadius saith St Augustine was not far off from being an heretic[21]. St Hierome, writing unto St Augustine, saith thus: *In epistola tua quædam heretica esse judicavi*[22]: "I judged that there were certain heretical errors in your epistle." Pope Bonifacius II. said that Aurelius, the bishop of Carthage, and St Augustine, and other godly and learned fathers in the council of Africa, "were pricked on and inspired by the devil[24]." St Augustine willeth St Hierome to acknowledge his error, and to recant. Thus he saith: *Accipe severitatem Christianam ad illud opus corrigendum atque emendandum; et παλινωδίαν, ut dicitur, cane*[25]: "Take unto you christian severity to correct and amend that book (of yours), and recant your error."

Erasm. in Vit. Chrysost. Gennad. de Eccles. Script. Hieron. in Epist. ad August. cujus initium est, Crebras ad me.[23] Bonifac. II. in Epist. ad Eulal.

August. ad Hieron. Epist. 9.

Thus much I thought good briefly to touch; not meaning thereby to deface the authority of the ancient fathers, but somewhat to open the truth of M. Harding's tale, and to shew that these and other like bishops and fathers, notwithstanding they were learned, and godly, and worthy members of the church of God, yet were they not void of their infirmities.

Erasmus, a man of great judgment, saith thus: *Illis temporibus, ingeniosa ... res fuit esse christianum*[26]: "In those days it was a great point of cunning[27] to know how to be a christian man."

Erasm. in Præf. in Tom. II. Hieron.

And again: *Illa ætate in chartis erat fides potius quam in animo; ac pene tot erant symbola, quot professores*[28]: "At that time (of the ancient fathers) the faith was in books rather than in the heart; and in a manner there were[29] as many sundry creeds as there were professors of the faith."

Ibid.

Therefore Clemens Alexandrinus saith: The heathens thus upbraid[30] the Christians for the strifes and dissensions that were among them: *Vos Christiani dissidetis inter vos, et tot sectas habetis, quæ licet omnes christianismi titulum sibi vendicent, tamen alia aliam execratur et condemnat. Quare vestra religio vera non est, nec a Deo originem ducit*[31]: "Ye Christians dissent among yourselves, and maintain so many sects; which sects, notwithstanding they all claim the title of christian religion, yet one of them curseth and condemneth another: therefore your religion is not true, nor hath her beginning or ground from God."

Clemens, Strom. Lib. VII.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 1.

What would these men (trow ye) have said in those days? which side would they specially then have taken? and which would they then have forsaken? which gospel would they have believed? whom would they have accounted for heretics, and whom for catholics? And yet what a stir and revel keep they this day, only upon the two poor names of Luther[32] and Zuinglius! Because these two men are not yet fully resolved[33] upon some one certain point of doctrine, therefore[34] would they needs have us think that both of them were deceived; that neither of them had the gospel; and that neither of them taught the truth aright.

[20 ...Epiphanius...unde Theophilus quem in prioribus epistolis hæresiarcham appellaverat, post &c.—Vit. Div. Chrysost. per D. Erasm. in Chrysost. Op. Basil. 1547. Tom. I. fol. *a. 5.*]

[21 Error tamen illius...necdum hæresis quæstionem dedit.—Gennad. Illustr. Vir. Catalog. 39. in Hieron. Op. Tom. V. cols. 35, 6.]

[22 ...præsertim quum quædam in illa hæretica judicarem.—Hieron. Op. Ad August. Epist. lxxi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 611.]

[23 The latter part of this reference is not in 1567, 1570.]

[24 Bonifac. Papæ II. Ad Eulal. Alex. Episc. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 1058. See before, page 295, note 17.]

[25 ...arripe...christianam...severitatem, ad &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Hieron. Epist. xl. cap. iv. 7. Tom. II. col. 86.]

[26 Hieron. Op. Par. 1534. Ad G. Waram. Arch. Cant. Tom. II. fol. 2; where *fuerit.*]

[27 Wisdom, 1567.]

[28 Id. ibid.]

[29 Was, 1609, 1611.]

[30 Upbraided, 1567, 1570.]

[31 Clement. Alex. Op. Strom. Lib. VII. 15. Tom. II. 886, 7. This is probably the passage referred to; though the words somewhat differ.]

[32 Keep they at this time upon two poor names only Luther, Conf.]

[33 Do not yet fully agree, Conf.]

[34 One point therefore, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

After many things by these defenders alleged, for proof of dissension to have been among the apostles, the faithful people in St Paul's time, the bishops and holy fathers of the primitive church, whereby they would persuade, if they could, that their own division into sects and dissensions[1] *is not a mark of false doctrine; at length, as though they had won the field, and tried themselves proper men, triumphing over us as though we had nothing to say, with a great courage they*[2] *demand this question of us, which, though it be but one in effect, yet with a kind of bravery they seem to divide into sundry branches, and thus they say: "What would these men (they mean the papists) then, trow ye, have said in those days? Which side would they then*[3] *have taken, and which would they have*[4] *forsaken? Which gospel would they have believed? Whom would they have accounted for heretics, and whom for catholics?"*

A fourfold answer to the four questions.

Touching these four interrogatories, if we had then been alive, being of the mind we be now of, we would have requited you with four answers of the holy and most learned father[5] *St Hierome, and would have said, as in the like state of times in a learned epistle he said to the learned pope Damasus touching the heresies which he found in Syria at his first coming thither from Rome. First:* Mihi cathedram Petri et fidem apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam; inde nunc meæ animæ postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi[6]. *Which words, taking upon me the person of all faithful and catholic folks, thus I English, In these controversies "I have thought good for counsel (what I ought to believe) to repair to the chair of Peter, and to the faith of the Roman church praised by Paul the apostle's own mouth. And from thence now require I the food of my soul, from whence I received the garments of Christ." To speak the same more shortly and more plainly: In the catholic church I look to have the food of my soul to everlasting life, in which I was christened*[7].

Epist. Tom. ii.

The first answer.

Secondly, we would with him have said, one speaking for all, directing our words (as he did) to those that be of the catholic faith, whom ye call papists: Vos estis lux mundi, vos sal terræ, vos aurea vasa et argentea: hic testacea vasa vel lignea virgam ferream et æternum opperiuntur incendium[6]: *"Ye are the light of the world, ye are the salt of the earth, ye are golden and silvern vessels: here (among the gospellers) are the earthen and wooden vessels, which must abide the iron rod and flame everlasting."*

The second answer.

Thirdly, with him (one likewise bearing the person of all) we would have said to Pius the fourth, that now sitteth in Peter's chair, as he then said to Damasus: Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathedræ Petri, communione consocior. Super illam petram ædificatam ecclesiam scio. Quicunque extra hanc domum Agnum comederit, profanus est: si quis in arca Noe non fuerit, peribit regnante diluvio[6]: *"Making none but Christ first of all whom to follow, I join in fellowship of communion with thy holiness, that is to say, with the see of Peter. Upon that rock I know the church is builded. Whosoever eateth the Lamb without the compass of this house, he is profane. If any remain without the ark of Noe, he shall be lost when the flood cometh*[8]*."*

The third answer.

Fourthly, touching the authors of this new gospel, with the same Hierome we say, all under the person of one: Non novi Vitalem, Meletium respuo, ignoro Paulinum. Quicunque tecum non colligit, spargit; hoc est, qui Christi non est, antichristi est[6]: *"Vitalis I know not, Meletius I refuse, Paulinus I wot not what he is (these were head heretics in St Hierome's time). Whosoever gathereth not together with thee (holy pastor), he scattereth abroad; that is to wit, who is not of Christ's side, he is of antichrist's side." To transfer this to ourselves, the names changed, the case remaining like, for our answer to our gospel*[9] *prelates we say: Luther we know not; Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Latimer,*

The fourth answer.

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[1] Dissension, Conf.]
[2] Conf. omits *they.*]
[3] They specially then, Conf.]
[4] They then have, Conf.]
[5] Fathers, Def. 1570.]
[6] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Damas. Epist. xiv. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 19, 20.]
[7] Was first christened, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[8] Reigneth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[9] Our new gospel, Conf.]

Ridley, Cranmer, Hooper, we reject and refuse; Calvin, Beza, Jewel, Pilkington, Grindal, Horne, and their fellows, what they are we wot not. We see they are not gatherers with the supreme pastor of the catholic church, but scatterers....[10] Recourse to Peter's Chair.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It appeareth by that hath been already said, that the gospel of Christ is now misliked and doubted of you, as it was in old times of the infidels and heathens. Chrysostom thereof saith thus: *Venit gentilis, et dicit, Vellem fieri Christianus; sed nescio cui adhæream. Multæ inter vos sunt pugnæ, seditiones, ac tumultus. Nescio quod dogma eligam, quod præferam. Singuli dicunt, Ego verum dico*[11]: "The infidel or heathen cometh and saith, I would be a christian man; but I know not whom I should follow. There is much strife and dissension and trouble amongst you. I cannot tell what doctrine to choose to set before other: for every one of you will say, 'I say the truth'." As ye agree with[12] them in form of words, so I pray God ye agree not with them in faith and spirit and contempt of God. The same Chrysostom, speaking not only of the heretics, but also of the faithful Christians that were in his time, saith thus: *Hanc ob causam ridiculi facti sumus et gentibus et Judæis; dum ecclesia in mille partes discinditur*[13]: "For this cause we are scorned and laughed at both of Jews and gentiles; while as the church is thus rent into a thousand parts." Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 33. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

Therefore it was not amiss, M. Harding, to demand you this question, which of these sides ye would have followed, and which of all these gospels ye would have believed. For it may well be thought that, being minded as they were, ye would have answered as they did.

But ye say ye would rather have said as St Hierome sometime said to pope Damasus touching the heresies which he found in Syria.

If ye would use St Hierome's answer, M. Harding, and would say[14] unto the pope as St Hierome said, perhaps ye should deserve no great thanks for your labour: for St Hierome, in that self-same place, beside sundry others, utterly denieth the primacy of the bishop of Rome. His words be plain: *Ego, nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathedræ Petri communione consocior*[15]: "I following no first man (that is to say, no head or chief), but only Christ, am joined as a fellow in communion unto thy blessedness, that is to say, unto[16] Peter's chair." St Hierome telleth the pope he knoweth "no first, no chief, no head," no, not the pope himself, but only Christ. Again, he saith not, I am thrall and subject to thy commandments; but, "I am joined as a fellow in communion unto thy blessedness." "Fellowship" will hardly stand with that universal power which you imagine the pope ought to have over the whole church of God. Verily, the pope himself would take it in scorn, if you this day would follow St Hierome, and call him your "fellow." Hieron. ad Damas. Nullum primum. Beatitudini tuæ communione consocior.

But St Hierome saith he "agreeth in faith and religion with Damasus." And what great marvel is this, that, being a godly-learned man, he would leave Vitalis and Meletius and other heretics, and rather join[17] himself to that bishop whom he knew to be godly and catholic? Hereof he writeth thus himself: *Vineam Christi exterminant vulpes; ut inter lacus contritos, qui aquam non habent, difficile, ubi fons signatus et hortus ille conclusus sit, possit intelligi. Ideo mihi cathedram Petri et fidem apostoli ore laudatam censui consulendam*[18]: "The foxes destroy the vineyard of Christ; so that, among these broken cisterns that have no water, it is hard to understand where is that sealed fountain and that inclosed orchard. Therefore I thought it good to hearken to St Peter's chair, and to that faith which was commended by the apostle's mouth." Hieron. ad Damas.

[10 Harding goes on to allege that various protestants held serious heresies, and were perpetually changing their opinions.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxxiii. Tom. IX. p. 258.]

[12 Agree well with, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Id. in cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 669.]

[14 And say, 1567.]

[15 Hieron. Op. Ad Damas. Epist. xiv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 19.]

[16 To, 1567.]

[17 And join, 1567.]

[18 Id. ibid.; where *Christi vineam.* See before, note 6.]

Recourse to Peter's Chair.

St Hierome from his youth was brought up in Rome; he was christened in Rome; he had been a student in Rome; he had taught a school in Rome; he had been secretary to Damasus the bishop of Rome; he was a priest of Rome; and of late they have furnished him also with[1] a cardinal's hat[2], as if he had been a cardinal of Rome; and, as it is thought by some, saving for some displeasure that certain of the clergy had conceived against him, he was like to be chosen the bishop of Rome. What great marvel therefore is it, if he had some special affection to the see of Rome? Alphonsus de Castro saith that the Franciscan friars be sworn to Duns, and that he heard a Dominican friar say openly in his sermon, that "he was to be suspected as an heretic that in any thing dissented from Thomas of Aquine[3]." There is no man lightly but hath a special credit in some one man before all others.

In Vit. Hieron.

Alphons. adv. Hær. Lib. i. cap. vii.

But how holdeth this argument, M. Harding, St Hierome joined with a godly bishop; *ergo*, we must join with a wicked bishop? Or, St Hierome agreed in faith and religion with Damasus; *ergo*, we must agree with one that doth all things of purpose contrary to Damasus? So might you say, The godly people of the Jews were bound to obey Aaron and Moses; *ergo*, all others that followed afterward were likewise bound to obey Annas and Caiphas.

The faith of Christ, M. Harding, goeth not always by succession. The bishops of Rome have been Arians, Nestorians, Monothelites, and otherwise found in horrible heresies, as hereafter shall be shewed. Would ye in such cases have recourse to such a one, only for that he sitteth[4] in Peter's chair? Would ye say to such a one, "You are the salt of the earth; you are the light of the world?" Would ye say, "This is the faith that was commended by the apostle's mouth?"

Truly St Hierome himself, when he saw abuses or errors maintained in the church of Rome, made small account of St Peter's chair. For thus he saith: *Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem? ... Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt*[5]: "What tellest thou me of the custom of that one city (of Rome)? The power of riches, and the humility of poverty, cannot make a bishop either higher or lower. All bishops are the successors of the apostles."

Hieron. ad Evagr.

As for Luther, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Calvin, and others, ye say ye know them not. Neither doth it so greatly force whom you list to know. God give you grace to know yourselves! The Lord is able to know his own.

2 Tim. ii.

Touching the dissensions in religion, which ye imagine to be amongst us in the church of England[6], I will say nothing. It grieveth you full sore to see that in all the articles of the faith, and in the whole substance of doctrine, we do so quietly join together. The ancient father Leo of the like case saith thus: *Diabolus gentium vocatione cruciatur, et quotidiana potestatis suæ destructione torquetur; dolens utique se deseri, et verum Regem in locis omnibus adorari. Parat fraudes, fingit dissensiones*[7]: "The devil is sore grieved with the calling of the heathens (to the faith), and with the daily decreasing[8] of his power; sorrowing to see himself forsaken, and (Christ) the true King to be worshipped in all places. Therefore he deviseth guiles, and imagineth dissensions."

Leo, in Epiph. Serm. 6.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 1.

But, good God! what manner of fellows be these, which blame us for disagreeing? And do all they themselves, ween you, agree well together?

[1 Him with, 1567.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Hieron. Vit. Tom. V. col. 11.]

[3 Quales ego vidi in tantam insaniam devenisse, ut non sint veriti in publica ad populum concione hoc effundere: Quisquis a beati Thomæ sententia discesserit, suspectus de hæresi est censendus...Valde enim displicet etiam mihi, quia et nostrum sodalitium in verba Scoti fere jurasse videatur.—Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. vii. fol. 14.]

[4 Recourse to him that sitteth, 1567.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 803; where the sentences are transposed.]

[6 1567 omits the preceding five words.]

[7 Cruciatur enim vocatione gentium, et &c. dolens ubique se &c.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Epiph. Serm. vi. 2. col. 89.]

[8 Increasing, 1609, 1611.]

Is every one of them fully resolved what to follow? Have[9] there been no strifes, no quarrels[10], no debates amongst themselves[11] at no time? Why then do the Scotists and the Thomists[12], about that they call *meritum congrui* and *meritum condigni*, no better agree together? Why agree they no better among themselves concerning original sin in the blessed virgin, concerning a solemn vow and a single vow? Why say their[13] canonists that auricular confession is appointed by the positive law of man; and their[13] schoolmen, contrariwise, that it is appointed by the law of God? Why doth Albertus Pius dissent from Caietanus? Why doth Thomas dissent from Lombardus, Scotus from Thomas, Occamus[14] from Scotus, Alliacensis[15] from Occamus[14]? And why do their[13] Nominals disagree from their[13] Reals? And yet say I nothing of so many diversities of friars and monks; how some of them put a great holiness in eating of fish, and some in eating of herbs; some in wearing of shoes, and some in wearing of sandals; some in going in a linen garment, and some in woollen[16]; some of them called white, some black; some being shaven broad, and some narrow; some stalking upon[17] pattens, some going[18] barefooted; some girt, and some ungirt. They ought, I wis[19], to remember, there[20] be some of their own company which say, that the body of Christ is in his supper naturally; contrary, other some of the self-same company deny it utterly[21]: again, that there be others[22] of them which say, the body of Christ in the holy communion is rent and torn with teeth[23]; and some again that deny the same: some also of them there be which write that the body of Christ in the sacrament is *quantum*[24], that is to say, hath his perfect[25] quantity in the sacrament; some others[22] again say nay: that there be others of them which say, Christ did consecrate with a certain divine power; some, that he did the same with his blessing; some again that say, he did it with uttering five solemn chosen words; and some, with rehearsing the same words afterward again. Some will have it, that when Christ did speak those five words, the material wheaten bread was pointed unto by[26] this demonstrative pronoun *hoc;* some had rather have that a certain *vagum individuum*, as they term it, was meant thereby. Again, others there be that say, dogs and mice may truly and in very deed eat the body of Christ; and others again there be that stedfastly deny it. There be others which say, that the very accidents of bread and wine may nourish; others again there be which say, that[27] the substance of the bread returneth[28] again by a miracle[29]. What need I say more? It were over long and tedious to reckon up all[30]: so uncertain and full of doubts is[31] yet the whole form of these men's religion and doctrine, even amongst themselves, from whom it sprang and grew up first[32]. For hardly at any time do they well agree between themselves; except it be peradventure

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[9 Hath, Conf.]
[10 These two words are not in Conf.]
[11 Them, Conf.]
[12 And Thomists, Conf.]
[13 The, Conf.]
[14 Occanus, Conf.]
[15 Alliensis, Conf.]
[16 In a woollen, Conf.]
[17 Stalking abroad upon, Conf.]
[18 Conf. omits *going*.]
[19 Ye wis, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[20 Remember how there, Conf.]
[21 Deny it to be so, Conf.]
[22 Other, Conf.]
[23 With our teeth, Conf.]
[24 Christ is quantum in eucharistia, Conf.]
[25 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[26 Pointed by, Conf.]
[27 Say how that, Conf.]
[28 Doth return, Conf.]
[29 Conf. omits *by a miracle*.]
[30 See Vol. I. page 123; Vol. II. pages 782, &c. 787, &c.]
[31 All things; so very uncertain and full of controversies is, Conf.]
[32 From whence it did first spring and begin, Conf.]

as in times past the Pharisees and Sadducees, or as Herod and Pilate accorded together against[1] Christ.

M. HARDING.

Whatsoever ye bring for some shew of diversity and dissension to be found among the catholics, it may be reduced to two heads: the one containeth a diversity in points of learning, the other in trades of life. Concerning matters of learning, thanked be our Lord, for that the very enemies of the catholic church cannot charge the catholics with dissension in any of the grounds and articles of our faith. As for small matters and questions disputable on both sides, they may therein dissent one[2] learned man from another without blame, the faith remaining inviolated....

The dissensions with which the defenders charge the catholic church.

But, good sir defender, what meant you to name the Nominals and Reals[3]? Understand you what they be? If a man should upon the sudden demand of you that question, [a]perhaps you would be to seeking of an answer. Sir, if you be an Oxford man, as I suppose you be, you may remember, if ever you learned your logic after that trade it was taught in, when we resorted to the parvis *there, what ado was made in daily disputations for exercise of young wits about* genus *and* species, *and the rest of the universals, whether they were* termini primæ *or* secundæ intentionis, *whether they were* entia realia *or* rationis: *which is a matter pertaining to logic, not to divinity. Now some schoolmen be of the opinion that the five universals be* termini *or* nomina secundæ intentionis, *and they be called thereof Nominals: some hold opinion they are* entia realia, *and thereof they be named Reals,* &c.... *In the behalf of those holy religious men, we[4] tell you ye are to blame to belie them. For what discipline and order of life soever they have addicted themselves unto, for better opportunity to serve God, truth is truth; they put not great holiness (as ye say) in eating of fish nor of herbs; in shoes nor in sandals; in linen nor in woollen garments; in white nor in black; in broad nor in narrow crowns; in going on pattens nor on the bare ground; in girding themselves nor in being ungirded. They be not so ignorant as to put holiness in such outward things, though their obedience performed in the humble observation of these outward things according to their rule be an holy thing. These things they use for restraint of their will, and for discipline, according to the order and rule under which, the better to serve God, they have promised obediently and humbly to live. Neither put they more holiness in the things by you scoffed at than Elias did in his mantle and leathern girdle, wherewith he girded his loins; than John Baptist did in eating of locusts and wild honey, in wearing a garment of camel's hair, and in girding himself about the loins with a skin....*

[a] A great doubtful question. Every poor logician may easily know it.

The catholic religious men put no holiness in outward observances.

To what end be those observances of the religious.

Elias. 2 Kings i.

John Baptist. Matt. iii.

But, I pray you, sirs, who be ye? If we would follow your lightness, have we not like matter of diversity in outward things to twit you withal; but that your diversity is with breach of due order and law, and that of religious men is according to order and rule? If ye think diversity in things of their own nature indifferent, as meats, apparel, shaving, &c., worthy to be reprehended, and deduce from thence an argument of mutual dissension; among your ministering clergy is not likewise diversity found? Do not some among you wear square caps, some round caps, some button caps, some only hats; do not some wear side gowns having large sleeves with tippets, which is not well liked of your sect, some of more perfection Turkey gowns, gaberdines, frocks or night gowns, of the most lay fashion, for avoiding of superstition?[5]... The thing is indifferent, and may be yielded unto, saith the one sect; they be the pope's rags, and may not be worn, saith the other sect. And therefore they will rather be justly put from that which justly they cannot keep, than yield one jot: neither her majesty's commandment nor their metropolitan's decree care they for. They had rather[6] seem to the people, whom they use for their claw-backs, and to

[1] Did accord against, Conf.]
[2] On, 1611.] [3] And the Reals, Conf.]
[4] In whose behalf we, Conf.]
[5] Harding refers in the part left out to the bishops' vestments, and speaks of the great difficulty of bringing bishop Hooper in king Edward's days to wear a rochet.]
[6] Lever, Conf.]

whose judgment they stand or fall, stout champions of their own gospel, than meek followers of Christ's gospel. Such mighty Sampsons, such constant Laurences, your jolly gospel breedeth....

Christ's body torn with teeth, how is it understood?

"Some say, the body of Christ in the communion is torn and crushed with teeth, some deny it:" yea, forsooth, and both mean right well. The hundred and thirteen bishops assembled in council at Rome under pope Nicholas the second prescribed such form of recantation to Berengarius, the first actor[7] of the sacramentary heresy, openly there to pronounce, acknowledge, and with subscription to ratify, as he should confess the very true body of Christ, not only the sacrament thereof, sensibly and in verity to be handled with the hands of the priests, [b]to be broken and crushed with teeth of the faithful[8]. By which words these fathers' mind was to express a verity of real presence, [c]a true eating of Christ's body indeed, and to exclude the only spiritual eating, so as the old fathers did eat Christ in their manna. Neither is this doctrine dissonant from the fathers, specially from Chrysostom, who hath the like words, Homil. xlv. in[9] Johan.[10]... *Howsoever our Saviour Christ consecrated, with a certain divine power, or with his almighty blessing, or with utterance of words, or with repeating the same words; whatsoever the pronoun* hoc *pointeth or signifieth in the words of consecration; whatsoever your dogs and mice have eaten, or yourselves have trodden under your wicked feet; whether the accidents do nourish or substance return; what narrow points soever the schoolmen, after tossing of arguments to and fro, as their manner is, have agreed or disagreed upon, the matter is subtle and curious, neither determined by definitive sentence of the church in any council. And therefore, sith it containeth no article of our faith, let us not be offended with the whetting and sharpening of their subtle wits in matters neither to the truth of God's word prejudicial, nor to the understanding and judgment of any man hurtful....*

Berengarius' recantation.

[b] This was a blasphemous and horrible error.

[c] The true eating of Christ's body is spiritual; this imagined eating with mouth and teeth is heathenish and fantastical, and hath no truth.

Curious questions not defined by holy church in any council.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching your Nominals and Reals, M. Harding, if ye had been so cunning and skilful as ye make yourself, ye would not have sent us back to learn your first and second intentions amongst children. But, that ye may understand your own error, and certainly see that these two houses, your Nominals and your Reals, have heretofore kept a stir not only in logic, but also in your scholastical matters of divinity, without further searching of the bottom thereof, I pray you only to consider these few authorities.

Nominales, Reales.

Veselus, sometime for his great fame in learning named *Lux Mundi*, writeth thus: *In Nominalibus si quid fidei contrarium putarem, hodie remearem vel ad Formales vel ad Reales*[11]: "If I thought there were any thing in the Nominals contrary to the faith, I would presently leave them, and go either to the Formals or to the Reals."

Veselus.

Another saith: *Ex sententiariis alii Terminales aut Nominales esse volunt; alii Reales*[12]: "Of the doctors of the scholastical divinity, some will be called *Terminales* or *Nominales*, and some *Reales*." Another saith: *Citius e labyrinthis temet explices, quam ex involucris Realium, Nominalium, &c. In quibus omnibus tantum est eruditionis...ut putem apostolis ipsis opus fore alio spiritu, si cogerentur istis de rebus cum hoc novo theologorum genere conserere manus*[13]: "Ye may sooner wind

Illyric. de Sect. p. 80.

Erasm. in Mor.

[7 Auctor, i. e. author, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 42. col. 1932. See Vol. I. page 459.]

[9 1611 omits *in*.]

[10 ...οὐκ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέσχε τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅψασθαι, καὶ φαγεῖν, καὶ ἐμπῆξαι τοὺς ὀδόντας τῇ σαρκί.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Johan. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VIII. p. 273.]

[11 The treatise from which this quotation is made is not included in the only edition of the works of this writer which the editor has met with. See Aura purior, hoc est Wessel. Gansfort. Op. Amst. 1617; where in the prefixed list we find: Sequentes desiderantur. Notularum pro Nominalibus adversus Realium Formaliumque defensores, ac ex parte contra Rodolphum Agricolam Liber. valde tamen obscurus, ut vix intelligi possit, quid auctor velit.—fol. ***6. Conf. M. Flac. De Sect. &c. Basil. 1565. pp. 91, 2; where the quotation here made may be found.]

[12 Nam alii ipsorum volunt esse Terminales aut Nominales, quidam Reales, quidam Formales.—M. Flac. De Sect. &c. p. 80.]

[13 Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Stult. Laus, Tom. IV. cols. 465, 6; where *ut existimem ipsis apostolis alio spiritu opus fore si cogantur hisce de rebus.*]

Holiness in Apparel.

yourself out of a maze than out of the shifts and corners of these Reals and Nominals, &c., in whom there is such abundance of learning, that I think the apostles themselves should have need of another spirit, if at any time they should be driven to encounter with this new kind of divines." Here, M. Harding, your Nominals and Reals are called a new kind, not of logicians, but of divines. And, if ye consider well Udalrichus Zasius, ye shall find that your said Nominals and Reals have intruded themselves, not only into divinity, but also into the civil law[1]. Therefore it was somewhat out of reason[2] to tell us this tale of your second and first intentions.

Udal. Zas. de Gen. Oblig.

Concerning apparel, ye say ye "set not great holiness neither in shoes nor in sandals, &c." Whereby ye would seem to give us to understand that ye set some holiness in these things, although not great. Neither doth it appear that the Pharisees ever made any "great" account of holiness of their garments; yet, notwithstanding, under the colour and shadow thereof they deceived the people: and therefore Christ saith unto them, "Wo be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees!" and unto the people he saith, "Beware of them that love to go in long robes." Of such men Seneca saith: *Personam habere malunt quam faciem:* "They will rather wear a vizard than a natural face." Another saith: *Dolosi hominis dolosæ vestes:* "Crafty man, crafty coat."

Matt. xxiii. Mark xii. Luke xx.

Seneca.

Macrobius.

But, if no man ever reckoned any holiness to be in your apparel, wherefore then was this decree so long ago written in the council of Gangra, *Si quis virorum putaverit sancto proposito, id est continentiæ, convenire, ut pallio utatur, tanquam ex eo justitiam habiturus, &c., anathema sit*[3]? "If any man think it agreeable to his holy purpose, of continent life, to wear a cloke, as though thereby he may be justified, &c., accursed be he?" Or wherefore doth St Chrysostom cry out against such folly, used, as it may appear, in his time? *O impietatem! Majorem sanctitatem in vestimentis suis volunt ostendere, quam in corpore Christi, &c. Ut desperans de misericordia Dei confidat in veste hominis*[5]: "O the wickedness hereof! They will shew more holiness in their own apparel than in the body of Christ, &c. That he that despaireth of[6] God's mercy should put his trust in the garment of a man."

Conc. Gang. cap. 12.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 43. in Opere Imperf.[4]

Or wherefore doth Thomas of Aquine tell us so certainly, that the wearing of Francis or Dominic's cowl had power to remove sin, as well as the sacrament of baptism[7]? Or wherefore doth your bishop, in hallowing the priests' vestiments, say thus, *Ut ... sacerdotes ... tui, hac sacra veste induti, ab omnibus impulsionibus seu tentationibus malignorum spirituum muniti et defensi esse mereantur*[8]? "That thy priests, wearing this holy vesture, may deserve to be shielded and defended from all assaults and tentations of the wicked spirits?"

Thom. Aquinas.

In Pontif. in Bened. ad Vest. Sacerd.

Your Doctor Durand furnisheth out your priest at mass in his complete harness, *à capo à pie: Amictus est pro galea, &c.*[9]: "His amice," saith he, "is his head-piece; his alb is his coat of mail; his girdle is his bow; his subcingle is his quiver; his stole is his spear; his maniple is his club; his chisible is his target." And in the end he saith: *Hæc ... sunt arma quibus pontifex vel sacerdos armari debet contra spirituales nequitias pugnaturus*[9]: "These be the pieces wherewith the bishop or priest must be harnessed, that will fight against the spiritual wickedness." Thus much, I trow, he would not have said without some opinion of special holiness.

Durand. in Rat. Lib. iii. cap. i.

To be short, wherefore do your doctors keep such hot schools amongst themselves, whether, if the sexton happen to mend his hallowed vestiment with a

Extr. de Cons. Eccl. vel Altaris, Quod in dubiis.

[1 Udal. Zas. Op. Franc. 1590. In *ff.* vetus, De Pact. Tom. I. pp. 252, 3.]

[2 Season, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Concil. Gangr. can. 12. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 419.]

[4 The latter part of this reference is not in 1567, 1570.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiv; where *impietas*, and *suis vestimentis.*]

[6 In, 1567.]

[7 The passage where Aquinas asserts this has not been found.]

[8 Pontifical. Antv. 1627. Pars II. De Bened. Sacerd. Indum. p. 357; where *his quoque sacris vestibus...sacerdotes.*]

[9 ...amictus pro galea...alba pro lorica...cingulum pro arcus, subcingulum pro pharetra assumit... stola...quasi hastam...vibrans...manipulo pro clava utitur...casula quasi clypeo tegitur...Hæc &c.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. III. cap. i. 4. fol. 62. 2.]

thread unhallowed, the whole vestiment be not thereby become unhallowed[10]? How could these so doubtful matters ever have fallen in question amongst your fellows, if ye had been fully and thoroughly persuaded that there is no holiness in your apparel? The ancient father Lactantius saith: *Vestes, ... gemmas, et cetera, quæ habentur in pretio, si quis putet Deo cara, is plane quid Deus sit nescit*[11]: "If any man think that apparel, precious stones, or other like things that we have in estimation, are pleasant or delectable unto God, undoubtedly he knoweth not what is God." Lactant. Lib. vi. cap. xxv.

Obedience.

But (ye say) whatsoever your apparel be, yet your obedience is very holy. The "obedience" ye mean is to do whatsoever your abbat shall bid you do; as to carry baskets from Palestino to Damasco[12]; to sit seven years together in silence, without speaking of any word; for the space of twelve months, twice every day to water a dead tree; and, briefly, to do whatsoever fond business ye be commanded; as it is written of one that, at the commandment of his abbat, threw out his child into the stream[13]. This, I trow, is that "obedience" that ye commend to be so holy. In Vit. Johan. Damascen. Cassian. Lib. iv. cap. xxvii.

But St Paul saith: "Ye are bought with a price[14]: make not yourselves slaves unto men." And St Ambrose saith: *Servi ... hominum ... sunt, qui humanis se subjiciunt superstitionibus*[15]: "They are the slaves of men, that make themselves subject unto men's superstitions." God himself saith unto you: "Who required these things at your hands?" St Hierome saith: *Viros ... fuge, quos videris catenatos; quibus fœminei contra apostolum [sunt] crines, hircorum barba, nigrum pallium, et nudi ... patientia frigoris pedes. Hæc omnia argumenta sunt diaboli*[16]: "Flee those men that thou shalt see go in chains; that, contrary to the apostle's commandment, wear long hair, as women; that are bearded like goats; that have upon them a black cloke; that go barefoot, patiently bearing the cold. All these be tokens of the devil." Alphonsus de Castro, one of your own, saith: *Paulus quidem jussit captivare intellectum nostrum, sed in obsequium Christi, non autem in obsequium hominum*[17]: "Indeed Paul hath commanded us to submit our understanding, but unto the obedience of Christ, not unto the obedience of men." 1 Cor. vii. Ambros. 1 Cor. vii. Isai. i. Hieron. ad Eustoch. de Virg. Serv. Alphons. adv. Hær. Lib. i. cap. vii.

Choice of Apparel.

The godly-learned men, at whose persons it pleaseth you so rudely to scoff, that refuse either to go in your apparel, or otherwise to shew themselves like unto you, have age sufficient, and can answer for themselves. Notwithstanding, thus much I may say in their behalf: Neither do they commend any manner of apparel as holy, nor do they condemn any apparel as unholy. That is your proper and peculiar error, M. Harding, to make so deep account of outward shews.

They know that Eusebius saith, "Justinus Martyr preached the gospel of Christ, being apparelled as an heathen philosopher[18];" and yet the philosopher's weed was no hindrance to the gospel[19]. They know that John the evangelist preached God's word at Ephesus, wearing upon him the bishop's brooch[20], as if he had been a bishop of the Jews. St Augustine saith: *Nihil sane ad istam pertinet civitatem, quo habitu vel more vivendi, si non est contra divina præcepta, istam fidem, qua pervenitur ad Deum, quisque sectetur. Unde ipsos quoque philosophos, quando Christiani fiunt, non habitum vel consuetudinem victus, quæ nihil impedit religionem, sed falsa dogmata mutare compellit*[21]: "It pertaineth nothing unto this city (of God) in what kind of apparel, or in what order of life, so that it be not Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. xi. Ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν...λόγον. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xli. [ὁ] τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς. August. de Civ. Lib. xix. cap. xix.

[10 Item arg. quod in reficiendis sacris vestibus filum non sacrum sive pannus non sacer potest apponi, nec est opus nova consecratione.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xi. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 1360.]

[11 Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. VI. cap. XXV. Tom. I. p. 508; where *quid sit Deus.*]

[12 Joan. Damascen. Vit. per Joan. Patriarch. Hierosol. in Joan. Damascen. Op. Basil. 1559. fol. *a* 6. 2.]

[13 ...senior...præcepit patri, ut tollens eum [infantem] jactaret in flumen. Tunc ille, velut a Domino sibi hoc præceptum esset, confestim celeri cursu rapiens filium, ulnis propriis usque ad oram fluminis advexit jactaturus. &c.—Cass. Op. Lips. 1733. Lib. IV. De Just. Renunt. cap. xxvii. p. 66. This father's name was Mucius.]

[14 With price, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. vii. v. 23. Tom. II. Append. col. 135.]

[16 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. de Cust. Virg. Epist. xviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 40.]

[17 Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. vii. fol. 14; where *hominis.*]

[18 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xi. p. 101.]

[19 This clause is not in 1567.]

[20 Id. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 155.]

[21 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 563.]

Choice of Apparel.

against God, any man follow this faith, whereby we come unto God. Therefore, when philosophers become Christians, the church compelleth them not to change their apparel or manner of living, which can nothing hinder religion, but only she compelleth them to change their false opinions." St Hilary saith: *Ad ecclesiæ... decus detracta a diabolo gentium spolia dividuntur*[1]: "The spoils of the heathens, taken from the devil, are divided to the furniture and the ornament[2] of the church of God." St Hierome saith: *Episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste procedit*[3]: "The bishop, priest, and deacon, and the other ecclesiastical company at the administration of the sacrifice, come forth in white apparel." St Chrysostom unto the priests and deacons saith thus: *Hæc est dignitas vestra, hæc corona; non quia induti tunicam candidissimam per ecclesiam ambulatis*[4]: "This is your dignity, this is your garland; not that ye walk through the church in white apparel."

Hilar. in Psal. lxvii.

Hieron. adv. Pelag. Lib. i.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

They say not therefore, that the apparel is either holy or unholy; but they may truly say, the same apparel of your part hath been foully abused to filthy purposes. They may justly say, they would not gladly in any appearance shew themselves like unto them that have so untruly and so long deceived the world. And herein they are not without sundry authorities and examples of the godly fathers. St Augustine saith his mother left bringing of wine and cakes to the church, not for that it was ungodly or unlawful of itself so to do, but only for that she was warned it was a resemblance of the superstition of the heathens[5]; and therefore she left it[6]. St Gregory, speaking of the three sprinklings or dippings into the holy font, saith thus: *In una fide nihil efficit consuetudo ecclesiæ diversa. Tamen, quod hæretici id facerent, negant idem esse a catholicis faciendum*[7]: "The faith being one, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing. Yet, forasmuch as heretics have thus done, they say that the catholics may in no wise do the same;" not for that the thing itself was ill of itself[8], but for that they would not seem to follow heretics.

August. Conf. Lib. vi. cap. ii. Quod...superstitioni gentilium essent similima.

Gregor. Lib. i. Epist. 41.

Gab. Lect. 38.

Gabriel Biel saith the church of Rome thought it good to use common leavened bread at the ministration of the holy mysteries, lest in using unleavened bread they should be thought to follow Ebion the heretic[9]. Tertullian reasoneth vehemently, that a christian man ought not to go with a laurel garland upon his head; and that for none other cause, but only for that the heathens used so to go[10]. Whereupon Beatus Rhenanus giveth this note: *Non solum ab his temperandum fuit, quæ manifestam præ se ferrent impietatem, sed etiam ab illis quæ possent indifferentia vocari, hoc est* [*quæ essent*] *neque bona neque mala; partim, ne quisquam infirmior ex Christianis offenderetur; partim, ne ethnici in suis erroribus confirmarentur, dum rectius putant* [*esse*] *quod etiam Christianos observare vident*[11]: "It was meet for them to refrain, not only from such things as have a manifest shew of wickedness, but also from such things as might be called indifferent, that is to say, neither good nor ill; partly, lest any of the weaker Christians should be offended, partly also lest the heathens should be encouraged in their errors, thinking that thing, for that the Christians themselves do it, to be the better." Again Tertullian saith: *De hoc... primo consistam, an cum ipsis quoque nationibus communicare in hujusmodi servus Dei debeat; sive habitu, sive victu, vel quo alio*

Tertull. de Cor. Mil.

B. Rhen. in Lib. de Cor. Mil.

Tertull. de Idol.

[1 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. In Psalm. lxvii. Tractat. 12. col. 197; where *detracta ab his diabolo.*]

[2 And ornament, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Lib. i. Dial. adv. Pelag. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 502; where *processerint.*]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 789.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. vi. cap. ii. 2. Tom. I. col. 120; where *quia* for *quod.*]

[6 The last five words are not in 1567.]

[7 ...in una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa....Sed quia nunc usque ab hæreticis infans in baptismate tertio mergebatur, fiendum apud vos esse non censeo.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. i. Indict. ix. Ad Leandr. Episc. Hisp. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 532.]

[8 1567 omits *of itself.*]

[9 Orta est autem hæc dissensio Græcorum a Latinis: quia sicut dicit Leo papa, quoniam error vigebat de legali observantia, qui fuit Ebionitarum, qui dixerunt necessarium esse christianos judaizare, et per consequens pascha suum in azymo conficere; decreverunt quod ecclesia non conficeret de azymo. —Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lugd. 1517. Lect. xxxiv. fol. 55.]

[10 Ita et corona idolothytum efficitur. Hoc enim ritu, et habitu, et apparatu idolo immolatur auctoribus suis: &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Cor. Mil. 10. p. 126.]

[11 B. Rhen. Arg. Libr. de Cor. Mil. ad calc. Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. p. 36; where *quæ possint,* and *confirmarentur erroribus.*]

genere lætitiæ eorum[12]: "Herein will I first stand, whether it be lawful for the servant of God to communicate with whole nations in such things, either in apparel, or in diet, or in any other kind of their mirth." Choice of Apparel.

And St Basil saith: Σιγάσθω τὰ περιττὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ[13]: "Let needless and superfluous things be put to silence in the church of God." To be short, Origen saith: *Quærendum est, quid hoc sit quod sequitur, Non fiant ei reliquiæ: Ne aliqua, inquit, rescindatis Chaldæorum, aliqua reservetis. Ob id jubet, ne pusillum quidem relinquatur in ea*[14]: "We must examine what is meant by this that followeth, 'Leave her no manner of remnant.' The meaning is this, Abolish not certain of the superstitions of the Chaldees, reserving certain. Therefore he commandeth that nothing be left in her, be it never so little." Basil. de Nat. Christ. Orig. in Jer. Hom. 3.

Howbeit, I take not upon me to enter into the conscience of others. "Let each man abound in his own sense." Rom. xiv.

Yet, M. Harding, forasmuch as ye make such a reckoning of your antiquity, as if all your orders and ceremonies had undoubtedly been conveyed over unto you from Christ himself and his apostles, may it therefore please you to understand, that at the beginning there appeareth no such distinction or difference of apparel in the ministry. Valafredus Abbas saith: *Veteres communi indumento utentes celebrabant missas*[15]: "The old fathers said mass (that is to say, ministered the holy communion) having on their own common apparel."

St Augustine, in his rule to his clerks or monks, writeth thus: *Ne sit notabilis habitus vester*[16]: "Let not your apparel be notable." St Hierome, describing the order of the church at Bethleem, saith thus: *In veste nulla discretio, nulla admiratio; utcunque placuerit incedere, nec detractionis est nec laudis*[17]: "In apparel there is no difference: there is no wondering. Howsoever any man list to go, it is neither slandered nor praised." And pope Cœlestinus the first saith: *Discernendi sumus a plebe doctrina, non veste; conversatione, non habitu; mentis puritate, non cultu. Si enim studere incipiemus novitati, traditum nobis a patribus ordinem calcabimus, ut locum vacuum superstitionibus faciamus. Docendi potius sunt rudium animi, quam illudendi; nec imponendum est illorum oculis, sed mentibus infundenda præcepta sunt*[18]: "We must be known from the lay-people by our doctrine, not by our coat; by our conversation, not by our apparel; by the pureness of our mind, not by the attire of our body. For, if we once begin to devise novelties, we shall tread our fathers' orders under foot, and make room for superstition. The minds of the ignorant ought to be taught, and not to be mocked: neither may we go about to dazzle their eyes; but rather ought to pour wholesome doctrine into their hearts." Here you see, by the pope's own judgment, that your superstitious choice of apparel serveth not for increase of holiness, but rather for the deceiving and mocking of the people[19]. To conclude, it is noted in your own gloss upon the Clementines: *Clerici seculares non habent certum habitum, cum non sit*[20] *expressum in jure de colore, vel forma; per quæ, vel quorum alterum, oportet habitum discerni*[21]: "Secular priests have no certain apparel appointed them, forasmuch as there is no express mention made, neither of the colour nor of the form; by which two differences, or by the one of them, apparel must be discerned." August. in Reg. Mon. Hieron. ad Marcel. ut commigret Bethleem. Cœlest. I. in Epist. ad Episc. Gall. cap. i. Clem. I. de Elect. cap. I. Gloss. ult.

God's name be blessed, the religion of Christ may stand both with and without these things. But without such props the whole roof of your religion must needs come down, as having nothing else but shews and vanities to bear it up.

But, lest ye should conceive over-great opinion of so small a matter, and think

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[12] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Idolol. 13. p. 112; where *lætitiæ earum.*]

[13] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Sanct. Christ. Gen. Hom. 6. Tom. II. p. 602. This homily is considered spurious.]

[14] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Jerem. Hom. xx. 5. Tom. III. p. 281; where *sit hoc,* and the words *quærendum est* follow *reliquiæ.*]

[15] Nam primis temporibus communi indumento vestiti missas agebant.—Walafr. Strab. Lib. de Reb. Eccles. cap. xxiv. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. IX. Pars I. p. 962.]

[16] August. Op. Reg. ad Serv. Dei, 6. Tom. I. col. 791; where *non sit.*]

[17] Hieron. Op. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcell. Epist. xliv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 551.]

[18] Discernendi a plebe...sumus doctrina, &c. Nam si studere incipiamus &c. locum supervacuis superstitionibus faciamus. Rudes ergo fidelium mentes...docendi...potius sunt, quam illudendi. &c. est eorum &c.—Cœlest. Papæ I. Ad Episc. Gall. Epist. ii. cap. 1. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 526.]

[19] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[20] Fit, 1570.]

[21] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. I. Tit. iii. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 26.]

Choice of Apparel.

there can be none other apparel meet and comely for the clergy but only yours, or that without the same the whole church of Christ must needs go to waste; may it like you therefore to remember what the ancient father Origen hath written of you in this behalf: *Non solum... apud Judæos, sed etiam apud nos, multos est invenire peccata hujusmodi peccantes, et glutientes camelos, in eo quod maxima delicta committunt. Et oportet hujusmodi homines frequenter considerare, quomodo in rebus minimis religionem suam ostendant. Et bene eos hypocritas appellat*[1]: "We may find, not only among[2] the Jews, but also amongst ourselves, men that offend in such faults, swallowing down whole camels, in that they commit great offences. And we ought well to mark such manner of men, how they countenance out their religion with small matters. Very well and justly Christ calleth them hypocrites."

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 25.

Posid. in Vit. August.

Posidonius, writing the life of St Augustine, saith thus: *Vestis ejus, et calceamenta, et lectualia ex moderato et competenti habitu erant; nec nitida nimium, nec abjecta plurimum: quia his plerunque vel jactare se nimium homines solent, vel abjicere; ex utroque non quæ Jesu Christi, sed quæ sua sunt,... quærentes*[3]: "Augustine's apparel, shoes, and bedding were of a competent and mean making; neither over fresh, nor over homely. For in such things men use oftentimes either to vaunt or to abase themselves above measure; in either side seeking their own, and not that pertaineth to Jesus Christ."

August. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. ii.

St Augustine saith: [*Ex*] *ceteris ejus operibus potest conjici, utrum hoc contemptu superflui cultus an ambitione aliqua faciat; quia et sub ovina pelle cavendos lupos Dominus præcepit*[4]: "We may gather by the rest of his works whether he do thus (attire himself) in contempt of superfluous apparel, or else for ambition, that he may be noted. For our Lord hath commanded us to beware of the wolf, even under the sheep's skin." Again he saith: *Illum parcum habitum ac necessarium etiam simulatores sæpius usurpant, ut incautos decipiant*[5]: "That homely kind of apparel, standing only in necessaries, hypocrites and dissemblers do for the more part counterfeit, to the end they may deceive men before they be ware." Thus much only by the way, lest ye should think more of your coat than it is worthy.

August. in eod. Libro.

Christ's Body torn and crushed with teeth.

"Some say, the body of Christ in the sacrament is torn and crushed with teeth; and some deny it." "Yea, forsooth, (say you), and both mean right well." Thus would ye not say, M. Harding, if ye knew what it were to eat the body of Christ.

St Chrysostom[6] saith: *Iste panis... replet mentem,... non ventrem*[7]: "This bread feedeth the mind, and not the belly[8]." We eat it with the spiritual tooth of our faith, not with the material tooth of our body. Your very gloss, be it never so blind, was able to see that these words, "to tear" and "to crush Christ's body with your bodily teeth," can hardly have so catholic and so good a meaning as you imagine. The words thereof be these: *Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim quam ipse habuit. Et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas*[10]: "Unless thou discreetly understand these words of Berengarius, thou shalt fall into a greater heresy than he had any. Therefore these words must have relation to the forms," and not unto Christ's very body. It followeth therefore, that the catholic construction that you gather hereof must needs be this: Christ's body is crushed and torn with teeth; that is to say, Christ's body is not crushed nor torn with teeth. Germans' lips be not so far asunder, but ye may easily join them together by such constructions.

Chrysost. ex variis locis in Matt. Hom. 9. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Ego Bereng. in Gloss.

But Chrysostom saith in like wise: *Dentes inserimus in carnes Christi*[11]: "We

Chrysost. in Encæn.

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Serm. 19. Tom. III. p. 843.]

[2 Amongst, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. August. Vit. Possid. auct. cap. xxii. Tom. X. Post-Append. col. 272; where *vestes, vel lectualia*, and *se insolenter homines*.]

[4 Id. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. II. cap. xii. 41. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 216; where *præcipit*.]

[5 Id. ibid.] [6 St Cyprian, 1609, 1611.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ex Matt. cap. v. De Orat. Domin. Hom. Tom. V. col. 716.]

[8 St Cyprian saith, *Est cibus mentis non ventris*: it is the meat of our mind, not of our belly, 1567.]

[9 Cypr. de Cœna Domini, 1567, 1609, 1611.]

[10 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 42. col. 1932. See Vol. I. page 459, note 5.]

[11 ...τοῦ θείου σώματος μεταλαμβάνειν νομίζετε, καὶ ὡς τῆς θείας καὶ ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς ἐφαπτόμενοι τοῖς χείλεσιν, οὕ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος μεταλαβώμεν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœn. Hom. ix. Tom. II. p. 350. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. De Euch. in Encæn. Admon. Serm. Tom. III. col. 920. See also before, page 613, note 10.]

thrust our teeth into the flesh of Christ." O M. Harding, you cannot be ignorant of Chrysostom's extraordinary or[12] vehement manner of speech; and therefore ye are the more to blame, thus of purpose and wittingly to abuse your reader. For, as Chrysostom saith, "We thrust our teeth into Christ's flesh;" so he saith likewise, "Christ is slain upon the communion-table; and his blood is poured from his side." Likewise he saith unto a slanderer of his neighbour: *Linguam tuam humano sanguine rubefecisti*[13]: "Thou hast dyed thy tongue red in man's blood." So St Hierome saith: *Detractatores vivis carnibus saturantur*[14]: "Slanderers are filled with live flesh." So saith St Cyprian: *Cruci hæremus: sanguinem sugimus: et intra ipsa Redemptoris nostri vulnera linguam figimus*[15]: "We cleave to the cross, and suck the blood; and we fasten our tongues within the wounds of[16] our Redeemer."

Christ's Body torn and crushed with teeth.

Chrysost. ad Rom. Hom. 21. Hieron. in Job. cap. xix. Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

These and other like phrases, commonly used in the ancient fathers, may not be racked to the extremity of the words, but rather ought favourably to be applied to the meaning; which was, by the material tooth and tongue of the body to express the spiritual and inward eating and sucking of the mind. So St Augustine saith: *Figura ergo est, præcipiens passioni Domini communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod caro Christi crucifixa pro nobis et vulnerata sit*[17]: "Therefore it is a figure or a figurative phrase of speech, commanding us to be partakers of Christ's passion, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our hearts that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes."

August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

As for your consecration, *corpus quantum, non quantum, non per modum quanti, individuum vagum*, &c., which lately were the substantialest points of all your doctrine, it is sufficient for you now to say, they are no articles of your faith. Such grace have you for advantage, to make your faith more or less at your pleasure. Touching your dogs and mice, whether they eat the very body of Christ or no, and that substantially, verily, and indeed, ye seem still to stay in doubt, as not yet being well assured of this article of your faith. But this is a most certain and undoubted article of our faith, that no creature can eat the body of Christ, but he that is a member of Christ's body. St Augustine saith: *Hoc est . . . manducare illam escam, et illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, et Christum manentem in se habere*[18]: "This is the eating of that meat, and the drinking of that drink, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling within him." And therefore we say, whosoever will hold that a dog or a mouse may eat the very body of Christ, and that really and indeed, or whoso staggereth or doubteth whether it may be so or no, accursed be he.

Dogs and Mice.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

You say your contentions between your two contrary armies, the Thomists and the Scotists, and other schoolmen, stand only in certain terms metaphysical: as, *Utrum ens et unum differant ratione, an reipsa;* the truth whereof is very agreeable to the rest of your doctrine. For, to leave a whole world of the endless contentions that are among you, Alphonsus, one of your own doctors, saith that one of your Thomists doubted not to pronounce openly in the behoof of his master, *Quisquis a B. Thomæ sententia discesserit, suspectus de hæresi est censendus*[19]: "Whosoever forsaketh the judgment of Thomas of Aquine must be taken as suspected of heresy." I think ye use not to place your heresies in terms metaphysical.

Alphons. de Hær. Lib. i. cap. vii.

Erasmus, that lived in that age, and well understood[20] of the furies of your schools, saith thus: *Qui Thomam sequuntur, et a Scoto et a Gersone dissentiunt, eos pene habent pro hæreticis*[21]: "They that follow Thomas, and dissent from Duns and Gerson, account them in a manner as good as heretics."

Erasm. contr. Latom.

[12 And, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Id. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 679.]

[14 The editor has not discovered the passage intended.]

[15 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 41; where *figimus linguam.*]

[16 Or, 1570.]

[17 ...figura est ergo, &c. dominicæ &c.: quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa &c.—August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 52.]

[18 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 18. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 501; where *bibere potum*, and *et illum manentem.*]

[19 Alfons. de Castr. adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. vii. fol. 14. See before, page 610, note 3.]

[20 And understood, 1567.]

[21 Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Apol. in Dial. Jac. Latom. Lib. II. 82. Tom. IX. col. 100; where *dissentiant eosque pene pro hæreticis habeant.*]

Dominicus à Soto[1] and Catharinus were both learned men; both of your side; both sworn to the pope; both present at your late chapter at Trident. Yet thus doth the one of them greet the other: *Tu permanes in sensu damnato per synodum*[2]: "Thou remainest still in a sense condemned by the council." Catharinus condemneth cardinal Cajetane for two hundred sundry errors; and some of them he calleth "wicked and antichristian." These terms must needs be very metaphysical, M. Harding, that can yield you such heretical and antichristian errors.

Dom. à Soto[1] contr. Cathar.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 1.

They were best therefore to go and set peace at home rather among themselves[3]. Of a truth unity and concord doth best become religion; yet is not unity the sure and certain mark whereby to know the church of God. For there was the greatest unity[4] that might be amongst them that worshipped the golden calf, and among them which with one voice jointly cried against our Saviour Jesus[5] Christ, "Crucify him." Neither[6] because the Corinthians were unquieted with private dissensions, or because Paul did square with Peter, or Barnabas with Paul, or because the Christians upon the very beginning of the gospel were at mutual discord touching some one matter or other[7], may we therefore think there was no church of God amongst them. And for[8] those persons, whom they upon spite call Zuinglians and Lutherans[9], in very deed they of both sides be Christians, good friends, and brethren. They vary not betwixt themselves upon the principles and foundations of our religion, nor as touching God, or[10] Christ, or[10] the Holy Ghost, or the[11] means of[12] justification, or of everlasting[13] life, but upon one only question, which is neither weighty nor great; neither mistrust we, or make doubt at all, but they will shortly be agreed. And, if there be any of them which have other opinion than is meet, we doubt not but ere[14] it be long they will put apart all affections and names of parties, and that God will reveal the truth unto[15] them; so that by better considering and searching out of the matter, as once it came to pass in the council of Chalcedon, all causes and seeds of dissension shall be thoroughly plucked up by the root, and be buried, and quite forgotten for ever. Which God grant.

M. HARDING.

Unity.

The defenders be like in conditions to such honest women as commonly we call scolds.... Because unity pleaseth you not, as being that through lack whereof your new church is of all good men detested, and of the meanest very much suspected, ye say it is not a sure and certain[16] *mark whereby to know the church of God. Yes, masters, among other notes and marks of the true church, unity is one: not every unity, but unity in the Holy Ghost, which giveth life to that one body the church, whereof every faithful is a member, and Christ the head, and, pouring charity abroad in our hearts, so linketh all right believers together in the bond of peace, as they all say one thing, think one thing, savour one thing. The unity*

[1 Petrus à Soto, 1567.]

[2 Patere tantisper, dum id ostendam, quod dixerim, te perdurare in sensu damnato per synodum.—Apolog. contr. Cathar. cap. ii. ad calc. Dom. Soto in Epist. ad Rom. Comm. Antv. 1550. p. 239.]

[3 Their own selves, Conf.]

[4 Consent, Conf.]

[5 Jesu, Conf.]

[6 Nother, Conf.]

[7 Conf. and Def. 1567 omit *or other*.]

[8 And as for, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[9 Lutherians, Conf.]

[10 Nor, Conf.]

[11 Nor of the, Conf.]

[12 To, Conf.]

[13 Nor yet everlasting, Conf.]

[14 Or, Conf.]

[15 Reveal it unto, Conf.]

[16 And a certain, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

that is the note and mark of the true church, whereof we speak, is that for which the church is called one, and, being gathered and knit together, professeth unity of faith, of good-will and mutual love together, and of sacraments. The unity of them who worshipped the golden calf, and with one consent against our Saviour cried, Crucifige, *was far distant from the unity which is a note of the church, and is the work of the Holy Ghost. Such is the unity of the devils, who conspire against Christ and all his with one consent. Such unity is oftentimes in thieves. Such unity is found in you and all your sects. For, be ye never so divers and at variance within yourselves, yet ye join together in wicked amity and unity against the church of Christ. And therefore St Augustine compareth you, and all such as ye be, to Sampson's foxes, that were sundered by the heads, and tied together by the tails*[17].

Unity.

Neither say we that among them who vary in small points, and things not pertaining to the grounds of faith, there is no church. For all that certain of the Corinthians in the primitive church were at square, howsoever Paul told Peter that he thought good, though Barnabas and Paul agreed not about John Mark, yet were they of Christ's church; what else? But where ye bring this for excuse of the Lutherans and Zuinglians[18] *and other sects sprung out of them, the cause is not like, pardy. For, say on what ye list, and lie so long as ye list, their dissensions cannot be dissembled; much less can they be accorded, &c....*

1 Cor. i. Gal. ii. Acts xv.

Yet, lest they, whose fortune is not to see ought thereof written elsewhere, should mistrust my report, as all do espy your lying, the words of Nicolaus Gallus, your own doctor of Luther's school, here I will rehearse: Non sunt leves inter nos concertationes de rebus levibus, sed de sublimibus doctrinæ christianæ articulis, de lege et evangelio, de justificatione, et bonis operibus, de sacramentis, &c.[19]: "*The strifes,*" *saith he,* "*that be amongst us be not light nor of light matters, but of the high articles of christian doctrine, namely, of the law, and of the gospel, of justification, and of good works, of the sacraments,*" *&c. Here, as ye see, he reckoneth up a great many of the weightiest points of our religion, whereof they dissent among themselves. But I doubt what I may call weight*[20]*, and great, seeing these good fellows call the controversy which is betwixt the Lutherans and the Zuinglians, concerning the body of our Saviour Christ, neither weighty nor great. But, as they make a foul lie therein, so do they also in saying they vary not betwixt themselves, but upon one*[21] *only question. Of the dissension that is between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, thus pitifully complaineth Nicolaus Amsdorfius in his book intituled* Publica Confessio Puræ Doctrinæ, *himself being an earnest Lutheran*[19]*:* "*The world goeth with us worse and worse daily. All things do prognosticate the utter ruin of the gospel; and that in place of the gospel we shall have nothing but mere errors, and the same very notable.*" *Then after a few words:* "*Now Brentius (saith he) and the Adiaphorists (they be a special sect of the Lutherans), being at the communication or conference at Worms, would not condemn Zuinglius and Osiander, because they were trim men in the tongues, and well seen in humanity. And as for us and our side, because we refused to agree unto that communication unless they were condemned, they dressed us vilely with their scoffs and railings, thrust us out of the communication, and compelled us to go away,*" *&c.* Item *after a few:* "*There be that say they condemn Zuinglianism; but the preface of Brentius to master James the minister of Goppingen his book witnesseth far otherwise. For there they go about (a God's name) to conciliate good father Luther and Zuinglius, and make them friends one with another:* Quod plane impossibile est. Quis enim unquam audivit contradictoria posse redigi in concordiam? "*Which is impossible. For who ever heard that contradictions may be accorded?*" *(But the masters of the Apology make no doubt at all but they will shortly be agreed.) Such childish and impossible things they stick not to set forth, who would be counted the teachers of the world, as though we were but blocks and asses. But as for*

In Thesib. et Hypotyp. fol. ult.

[17 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. lxxx. Enarr. 14. Tom. IV. col. 864.]

[18 And the Zuinglians, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19 See Vol. II. page 686.]

[20 Weighty, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[21 On, 1611.]

Unity.

the heresies and errors of Zuinglius and Osiander, with a quiet conscience we cannot embrace. Neither can we subscribe and yield to their departing away, and new gewgaws, which have divided themselves from Luther." Thus far Amsdorfius, and much more there to the same purpose, which here I leave to blot the paper withal.

To conclude, thus all men may plainly see how the masters of this Defence be convinced of foul lying by their own doctors and school-fellows, beside the thing itself that giveth manifest evidence against them. But such stuff in their writings and preachings is not geson[1]*. Leaving others, I report me to M. Jewel's late sermon made at Paul's Cross, on the Sunday before Ascension-day last*[2]*, in which (if uniform report made by sundry there present be true) he abused certain honourable and worshipful*[3] *personages, and of common people a great multitude, with lies worthy rather to be chastised by laws than to be confuted with words. But be it as it is written:* Qui in sordibus est, sordescat adhuc.... *Rev. xxii.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see your trifling. If ye thought it so good skill for advantage of[4] your cause to compare us to scolds, wherefore then did not you, although not through your whole book, yet at least in the[5] self-same place where ye so deeply charge us with scolding, refrain better from such wild speeches as might seem to prove yourself a scold? For, I beseech you, call your words a little to[6] remembrance; and consider indifferently what women they be that commonly use the like. Thus ye say: "Even so, good sirs, proudly, wickedly, and fondly ye object; ye shew your clerkly prowess; ye brag; ye boast;" "now have you told your scolding tale;" "ye join in wicked amity against the church of Christ;" "the founders of your church;" "the apostles of your gospel;" "ye are convinced of foul lying;" "all men do espy your lying;" "lie on so long as ye list;" "he that is filthy, let him be filthy still:" these be your words, M. Harding, all together in one place. If you can find so many the like in all our whole Apology, condemn us hardly, and call us scolds.

Unity we love, and honour it as the greatest comfort of christian hearts. But if unity be the only and undoubted token of the church of God, wo then be to you and to your fellows. For by that token, agreeing so ill amongst yourselves, ye should seem to have no church.

But, as we have said, all they that agree together are not therefore evermore of the church. Herod and Pilate were made friends, and agreed together. David saith: "The kings and princes of the earth have met, and agreed together against the Lord, and against his Christ." St John saith of the friends and favourers of antichrist: *Hi unum consilium habent, et vires ac potestatem suam tradent bestiæ: hi pugnabunt cum Agno:* "These shall have all one counsel (and one mind); and shall deliver over their strength and their power unto the beast; and shall fight against the Lamb."

Luke xxiii. Psal. ii. Rev. xvii.

Chrysostomus saith: *Expedit et ipsis dæmonibus obaudire sibi invicem in schismate*[7]*:* "It is good even for the devils themselves to be obedient one of them unto another in their division." Symmachus and other like maintainers of the heathenish idolatry said: *Æquum est, quicquid omnes colunt, unum putari*[9]*:* "It is meet that whatsoever all men worship be counted one." And thus the heathens and infidels[10] would they seem to hold by unity.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 29. in Opere Imperfect.[8] Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 30.

If your unity, M. Harding, be so sound and so certain as ye would seem to make it, why then do you condemn yourselves one another of heresy? Certainly heresy importeth division, and not[11] great unity. The whole shew and substance of[4] your unity standeth in this, to give ear to yourselves, and to put Christ to

[1] Geson: rare, unusual.]

[2] The sermon referred to was preached May 27, 1565. For an account of it and Harding's attack upon it, see Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xlv., and Appendix, No. xxx. Conf. Vol. I. page 85.]

[3] And many worshipful, Conf.]

[4] Or, 1570.]

[5] This, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] 1570 omits *to*.]

[7] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxix. ex cap. xii. Tom. VI. p. cxxiii; where *in schemate*.]

[8] *In Opere Imperfect.* is not in 1567, 1570.]

[9] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Relat. Symmach. 10. Tom. II. col. 830.]

[10] 1567 omits *the heathens and infidels*.]

[11] No, 1567.]

silence. But the true and christian unity is this, that the whole flock of Christ hear the voice of the only Shepherd, and follow him. The band of unity is simple verity; which, M. Harding, forasmuch as ye have forsaken, ye have no great cause to talk much of unity.

Lutherans. Zuinglians.

As for Sampson's fox-tails, it seemeth ye lacked somewhat to play withal: otherwise they serve you here to no great purpose. For, if there be any dissension amongst us, it is not in any article of the faith, but only in some particular point of learning; the like whereof hath been between St Augustine and St Hierome, and others the learned, godly, and catholic fathers of the church. And thus, contrary to Sampson's foxes, notwithstanding one or other have been divided in some certain conclusion, as it were in the tails, yet we join thoroughly all together in one Head, in one gospel, in one way of salvation, and in one sum of religion; and all together, with one mouth and one spirit, we[12] glorify God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

John x.

Concerning the disagreement that is between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians touching the being of the body of Christ in one only place or in many, we say that, in respect either of salvation, or of other article, of God the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other the grounds and principles of the christian faith, it is not weighty. In that respect we speak it only: otherwise we say the error is weighty.

Such errors in sundry the ancient fathers have been dissembled, and passed in silence. St Hilary seemeth to say that "Christ received not flesh of the blessed virgin;" and that "the same flesh of Christ was impassible, and could feel no grief[13]." Origen saith: *Quidam putant Christum in futuro seculo iterum pati oportere, &c.*[14]: "Some men think that in the world to come Christ must suffer in his body, or be crucified again." Brentius seemeth to hold that Christ's body is infinite, and in all places, as is the Godhead: which error it seemeth was defended by some in St Augustine's time; and therefore he saith: *Cavendum est, . . . ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus*[15]: "We must take heed we do not so maintain the divine nature of Christ, being man, that we take away the truth of his body." These errors, notwithstanding they were great in themselves, yet, in respect of other greater errors, have been dissembled. And therefore Jacobus Andreas, albeit he could not be ignorant of this dissension, being himself a party to the same[16], yet he saith: *Quod vociferantur, nostros de summa evangelii nondum consentire, mendacium est*[17]: "Whereas they cry out (as M. Harding doth)[18] that we cannot agree among ourselves about the substance of the gospel, it is a very great untruth."

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. x. Hominis habitus est,... origo non hominis. Naturam non habens ad dolendum. Orig. ad Rom. cap. vi. Lib. v. Brentius. August. Epist. 57. ad Dard.

Jacob. Andr. de Author. Script. p. 178.

But you say: "The masters of the Apology tell us, they doubt not but these parties will be reconciled. And yet Nicolaus Amsdorfius (with whose words ye are ashamed to blot your paper) taketh the matter to be impossible." And here ye think ye have driven us near the wall, specially finding us so far disagreeing in judgment from a doctor (as you call him) of our own.

But, M. Harding, ye might better have considered that Amsdorfius and we speak of sundry matters, and therefore our sayings may well stand together.

Amsdorfius saith, the doctrine and terms standing still as they do, it is not possible by any manner of construction to make the parties agree. But our trust in God is, that they that are deceived shall find their own error, and alter their terms, and correct their judgments, and submit themselves unto the truth, and so join together all in one.

So St Augustine saith: *Recte dicitur, glacialem nivem calidam esse non posse. Nullo enim pacto, quam diu nix est, calida esse potest*[19]: "It is well said, snow frorne or congealed can never be hot. For as long as it is snow, it is not possible

August. in Sec. Disp. contr. Fortunat.

[12 1567 omits *we*.]

[13 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. x. 47. 23. cols. 1066, 52.]

[14 ... miror quosdam ... velle asserere, quod in futuris iterum seculis vel eadem vel similia pati necesse sit Christum, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. v. 10. Tom. IV. p. 568.]

[15 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681.]

[16 1567 omits *to the same*.]

[17 This treatise has not been found.]

[18 1567 omits the words in parentheses.]

[19 Sic enim dictum est...quemadmodum si diceretur, glacialem &c.—Id. contr. Fortun. Manich. Disp. II. 22. Tom. VIII. col. 104.]

Lutherans. Zuinglians.

to make it hot." And yet the liquor that now is frorne may afterward be resolved and made hot[1].

So likewise he saith of the heretics named the Manichees: *Sic delirant Manichæi; sed resipiscant, et non sint Manichæi*[2]: "Thus fond are the Manichees; but let them amend their errors, and no more be Manichees."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxiv. cap. ii. Mal. iv.

What is there so contrary in judgment as a Jew and a Christian? Yet God hath promised that he will "turn the hearts of the fathers (the Jews) unto their children; and the hearts of the children (the Christians) unto their fathers." And St Paul saith: *Judæi, si non permanserint in incredulitate, inserentur. Potens enim est Deus iterum inserere eos:* "The Jews shall be grafted[3] into the tree, if they abide not in unbelief. For God is able to graft[4] them in again." What is there so contrary as light and darkness? Yet the prophet saith: *Illumina tenebras meas:* "O Lord, lighten thou my darkness." To conclude, what is so contrary as the kingdom of the pope and the kingdom of Christ? And yet we trust it is not impossible but the pope himself may once turn to God, and confess his errors, and profess the gospel of Christ, that he now oppresseth.

Rom. xi.

Psal. xvii.

These things considered, M. Harding, it was no deadly sin to say, we trust that these matters of variance between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians will once be accorded, and that all causes and seeds of dissension shall be thoroughly pulled up by the roots, and be buried and quite forgotten for ever. This change God hath already begun to work, not only in sundry learned men, but also in great cities, in good universities, and in whole countries. Therefore we trust our hope is not in vain.

As for the lies which (it liketh you well to say) M. Jewel made openly at Paul's Cross, I doubt not of your modesty, but ye would have blazed them better, if ye had thought them worth your colours. Such general and so great exclamations upon so simple reports stand not always with greatest wisdom. He is too rash to be a judge, that pronounceth before he know the cause. What I said there, forasmuch as ye touch nothing in particular, it is needless to make rehearsal. But well I remember I might truly have said, M. Harding commonly misallegeth[5], misreporteth, misconstrueth, corrupteth, wresteth, and falsifieth the ancient councils and holy fathers. I could have said, M. Harding is oftentimes directly contrary to himself. I could have said, M. Harding in one book hath uttered two hundred five and fifty great untruths. These, M. Harding, your conscience knoweth had been no lies, and therefore not meet to be chastised by any laws.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 1 and 2.

But this is the heaviest and most grievous part of their slanders, that they call us[6] wicked and ungodly men, and say we have thrown away all care of religion. Though this ought not to trouble us much, whilst[7] they themselves that thus have charged us, know full well how spiteful[8] and untrue their slander is[9]. Justin[10] the martyr is a witness that[11] all Christians were called ἄθεοι[12], that is, a "godless people," as[13] soon as the gospel first began to be published, and the name of Christ to be openly declared. And, when Polycarpus stood to be judged, the people stirred up the president to slay and murder all them which professed the gospel, with these words, Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους[14], that is to say, "Rid out of the way

[1 1567 omits this sentence.]

[2 Id. Contr. Faust. Lib. xxiv. cap. ii. Tom. VIII. col. 432.]

[3 Graffed, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Graff, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Misalleged, 1611.]

[6 But this is the most grievous and heavy case that they call us, Conf.]

[7 Whiles, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 Spitefully, 1611.]

[9 How spiteful and false a saying it is, Conf.]

[10 For Justin, Conf.]

[11 Witness how that, Conf.]

[12 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. 6. p. 47.]

[13 That is, godless as, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[14 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 105.]

these wicked and godless creatures." And this was not because it was true that the Christians were godless indeed[15], but because they would not worship stones and stocks, which then were[16] honoured as God. The whole world seeth plainly enough already what we and ours have endured at these men's hands for religion and our only God's cause. They have thrown us into prison, into water, into fire, and have imbrued themselves in our blood; not because we were either adulterers, or robbers, or murderers, but only for that we confessed the gospel of Jesus[17] Christ, and put our confidence in the living God; and for that we complained too justly and truly (Lord, thou knowest) that they did break the law of God for their own most vain traditions; and that our adversaries were the very foes to the gospel and enemies to Christ's cross, so wittingly, and willingly, and obstinately despising[18] God's commandments.

Wherefore, when these men saw they could not rightly find fault with our doctrine, they would needs pick a quarrel and inveigh and rail against our manners, surmising that[19] we do condemn all well-doings; that[20] we set open the door to all licentiousness and lust, and lead away the people from all love of virtue. And, in very deed, the life of all men, even of the devoutest and most christian, both is and evermore hath been such as one may always find some lack even in the very best and purest conversation. And such is the inclination of all creatures unto evil, and the readiness of all men to suspect, that the things which neither have been done, nor once were[21] meant to be done, yet may be easily both heard and credited to be true[22]. And, like as a small spot is soon espied[23] in the neatest and whitest garment, even so the least stain of dishonesty is easily found out in the purest and sincerest life. Neither take we all them which have at this day embraced the doctrine of the gospel to be angels, and to live clearly without any mote or wrinkle; nor yet think we these men neither[24] so blind that, if any thing may be noted in us, they are not able to perceive the same, even through the least crevie; nor so friendly, that they will construe ought to the best; nor yet so honest of nature or[25] courteous, that they will look back upon themselves, and weigh our lives[26] by their own. If so be we list to search this matter from the bottom, we know that[27] in the very apostles' times there were Christians through whom the name of the Lord was blasphemed and evil spoken of among the gentiles. Constantius the emperor bewaileth, as it is written in Sozomenus, that[28] many waxed worse and worse[29] after they had fallen to the religion of Christ. And Cyprian in a lamentable oration setteth out the corrupt manners of[30] his time: "The wholesome discipline," saith he, "which the apostles left unto us hath idleness and long rest now utterly marred: every one studied to increase his livelihood; and, clean forgetting either what they had done before whilst[31] they were under the apostles, or what they ought continually to do, having received the faith, they earnestly laboured to make great their

[15 Conf. omits *indeed.*]
[16 Were then, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[17 Jesu, Conf.]
[18 Who so wittingly and willingly did obstinately despise, Conf.]
[19 Surmising how that, Conf.]
[20 How, Conf.]
[21 Conf. omits *were.*]
[22 Credited for true, Conf.]
[23 Spied, Conf.]
[24 Either, Conf.]
[25 Nor, Conf.]
[26 Fashions, Conf.]
[27 Conf. omits *that.*]
[28 How that, Conf.]
[29 Conf. and Def. 1567, omit *and worse.*]
[30 In, Conf.]
[31 Whiles, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

own wealth with an unsatiable desire of covetousness. There is no devout religion," saith he, "in priests, no sound faith in ministers, no charity shewed in good works, no form of godliness in their conditions: men are become effeminate; and women's beauty is counterfeited[1]." [2]And, without reciting of many more writers, Gregory Nazianzene speaketh thus[3] of the pitiful state of his own time: "We," saith he, "are in hatred among the heathen for our[4] own vices' sake, we are also become now a wonder, not only[5] to angels and men, but even to all the ungodly[6]." In this case was the church of God when the gospel first began to shine, and when the fury of tyrants was not as yet cooled, nor the sword taken off from the Christians' necks. Surely it is no new thing that men be but men, although they be called by the name of Christians.

M. HARDING.

Lo, a grievous and a heavy case....that the world calleth you wicked and ungodly men; I wis they be to blame for it. And so be they that call them thieves which come to be promoted to Tyburn; for, God knoweth, little have you[7] deserved so to be called, &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All this, with the rest, is only hickscorner's eloquence, not worthy of answer.

HERE ENDETH THE THIRD PART.

[1 ... traditam nobis divinitus disciplinam pax longa corruperat...Studebant augendo patrimonio singuli; et obliti quid credentes aut sub apostolis ante fecissent, aut semper facere deberent, insatiabili cupiditatis ardore ampliandis facultatibus incubabant. Corrupta barba in viris, in feminis forma fucata.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. p. 123.]

[2 Here Conf. introduces the following sentence: And before his days said Tertullian, O how wretched be we which are called Christians at this time! For we live as heathens under the name of Christ.]

[3 This, Conf.]

[4 1611 omits *our*.]

[5 Alone, Conf.]

[6 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, μισούμεθα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι...καὶ γεγόναμεν θέατρον καινὸν, οὐκ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις...ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μικροῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Apologet. Orat. ii. 83, 4. Tom. I. p. 52.]

[7 Ye, Conf.]

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